THE AKBAR NĀMĀ
OF
ABU-L-FAZL

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN
by
H. BEVERIDGE

VOL III

LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS
DELHI - 110052

First Published 1902-193
Reprinted 1989

ISBN 81-85395-03-9 (Set)
ISBN 81-85395-04-7 (Vol. 1)
ISBN 81-85395-05-5 (Vol. 2)
ISBN 81-85395-06-3 (Vol. 3)

Published by:
LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS
425, Nimri, Ashok Vihar,
Phase IV
Delhi-110052.

Printed at:
D.K. Fine Art Press
Delhi.

PRINTED IN INDIA

FOREWORD

The completion of the final volume of the English translation of Akbarnāma by the late Henry Beveridge, I C S , has taken a long time Mr Beveridge completed the translation, and the last fascicle was issued in 1921 He also prepared the Index and passed pp 1–32 of it for printing Besides the Index, the Dedication, Introduction, Errata and Addenda to the volume and a Prefatory Note were completed before the death of the author in 1929 What was left to be accomplished was the correction, revision and printing of pp 33–66 of the Index and other preliminary matters including the preparation of Lists of Contents, Abbreviations and additional Errata and Addenda to pp 1–22 of the Index Unfortunately this was not done due to a variety of causes, the most serious of which was a period of quiescence which occurred in the activities of the Society during this time Thanks, however, to the initiative of Dr Baini Prashad the incomplete portion of the work was taken up this year and the volume has now been completed The work of Mr D K Das, the press clerk, who laboured very hard to see it through the press deserves special mention

It is hoped that the reading public while forgiving the delay of this publication, will appreciate the great erudition and care bestowed on it by Mr Beveridge

B S GUHA,
Hon General Secretary
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

1, PARK STREET CALCUTTA,
September 4, 1939

DEDICATION

I dedicate this book, being the third and concluding volume of my translation of the historical part of the *Akbarnama*, to the memory of my father and mother and to my dear wife, Annette Susannah Beveridge

H BEVERIDGE

PITFOLD
SHOTTERMILL
The 5th October 1921

INTRODUCTION

I have at last finished the translation of the historical part of the *Akbarnama* It has occupied me, with occasional interruptions, for over twenty years, and I must confess that the work has not been always congenial In fact, I must say that I began it with a feeling of aversion I had the idea that Abu l Fazl was a rhetorician and a shameless flatterer And I admit that the feeling still remains I must also say that his style, especially in the later volumes, is tortuous and obscure Possibly, this is due to the loss, during the progress of the work of Faiz', his elder brother, who was a poet and who revised part of the book, and who, presumably, improved Abu l-Fazl's style Left to himself, he may have adopted a still more stilted and archaic style which, perhaps, he picked up from 'Abdullah Waṣṣāf and others, with the result that he became even more obscure than he was originally But I must go on to say that his indomitable industry, and his accuracy wherever he was not, from prudential motives, suppressing the truth, have at length overcome me, and I leave him with greater feelings of respect than I began with After all, when everything has been said that can be said against Abu l Fazl, should we not be grateful to him for his book? If he had not given so many years of nights and days to his task, where would we have looked for a knowledge of many important facts of Indian history? And what a pity it is that Jehāngīr, Akbar's unworthy son, should have murdered the author, when he was approaching the end of his task and when there were not wanting signs that he was beginning to see that there were spots on his sun and that his idol had not worked out the beast!

I believe that I am indebted to my learned friend Dr Hoernle, C I E , for having led me to undertake the translation of the *Akbarnama* He it was who, as Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal set me on a task for which I, a poor *opsimath*, was very imperfectly fitted I hope I have improved as

I went on, but the want of early training in scholarship can never be made good

Since I finished the translation, I have been engaged in making the Index Not that I have any skill in such work, but I have thought that if I did not do it, no one else was likely to undertake it, and that my translation, to use the expression quoted by Mr Norton, the Indian Barrister, might remain a costly tool without a handle So, I have begun it and have nearly got to the end of the letter M which is by far the biggest letter in an index to a Muhammadan work I have also made a list of Errata and Addenda I am sorry that they are so many and so important, but it is satisfactory that I have found them and acknowledged them I do not think that it would repay any one to read through my translation of the *Akbarnāma*, and I very much doubt if any one will do so I think the world is too busy for this What I would recommend is that somebody should abridge the book He, or she, might profitably omit the horoscopes and the biographies of Akbar's real or imaginary predecessors and ancestors before Bābur He might also omit the strings of names, the discussion about comets and a digression, in the third volume, into Persian History He might also curtail occasional verbiage On the other hand, he might, I think, add "The Sayings of Akbar" in Colonel Jarrett's translation, with perhaps some additions and corrections, and Abu l Fazl's account of his early struggles He might also add in the original Latin, Monserrate's description of Akbar's person, pp 640-41 of his *Commentary*, A S B edition I am too old and feeble for such work and shall only say "*Exoriare aliquis nostris e tocibus auctor.*"

Abu l Fazl is not a picturesque writer, nor are his reflections profound or affecting Very seldom does he make an interesting remark He has not the charm of Herodotus, nor the outspokenness and raciness of the crabbed bigoted and sinful Badāūni He seldom tells a story without spoiling it See, for instance, the account of Akbar's chivalrous rescue of the Jodhpūr Rajah's daughter from a compulsory Satī We are not told her name,

nor the length of Akbar's ride, nor any other of the little details which would have enhanced the interest of the narrative Perhaps the best instance of his picturesqueness is the account of Rūpmati's death, and his most sensible remark is that in the third volume where he says that the accounts of a battle are like the blind men's descriptions of an elephant

On the other hand, Abu l Fazl's love for sources—the *Quellen* of the Germans—is far in advance of his age To him we owe not only the *Akbarnama* but also the *Memoirs* of Gulbadn Begam Jauhar the ewer bearer, Bajazat (Bāyazid) Biyat and perhaps, Nizāmu d din's history But I have treated of this matter in a paper published in the J P A S B, Vol XIV, 1918, p 469

I should also like to say something about Abu l Fazl's flattery of Akbar It is gross, but it is not unnatural, and is in part the result of an honest hero worship We must remember the position of the two men Akbar was emperor of India and a very remarkable man He had raised Abu l Fazl and his family from indigence and obscurity to affluence and power It must also be borne in mind that Akbar was the elder of the two men He was born in October, 1542, and Abu l Fazl in January, 1550, so that there were seven years and more between them Akbar therefore was in the position of an elder brother This, when added to the attraction of Akbar's position as sovereign, was more than human nature could withstand Even Badaūni felt this I believe too that Abu l Fazl really thought that the fact of Akbar's ignorance of reading and writing, when combined with his mental gifts, placed him in the category of inspired beings or super men and placed *him on a level with such prodigies as Buddha, Zoroaster and* Muhammad, if indeed he was not superior to them That Abu l Fazl really believed in Muhammad's spiritual greatness seems to be proved by his occasional involuntary ejaculations, and by the labour and cost which he bestowed on making copies of the Qorān and in publishing an elaborate commentary on it It is also well known that all orientals used to believe, and probably do so still in mystics and fanatics See also Akbar's own saying, Jarrett

III, 385 "The prophets were all illiterate Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition" He did not, however, keep any of his three sons uneducated

Abu-l-Fazl's general accuracy has been vindicated against Elphinstone, who has made a charge against him which is based on Elphinstone's own imperfect knowledge of Persian I refer to a note in the latter's *History of India*, p 452 of the 4th edition, 1857, which I have quoted at p 731 of my translation, Elphinstone says there that A F, after giving a full description of the disaster in Afghānistān, concludes by stating the loss at (only) 500 men Now the work in the original for "men" is *kas*, and this in Persian has two meanings Firstly, it means ordinary persons or "no-account men" Secondly, it means persons of distinction, that is, personages, and the context shows that the word is used here by A F in the secondary sense On this point see Vullers' Dict, II, 831, where *kas* is rendered by *vir dignus*, and Richardson, 1008a And that the 500 of A F here means 500 notables or men of rank, is sufficiently evidenced, I think, by the fact that Ferishta and Badāūnī, while stating the loss at 8,000 and more, make no comment on A F's 500 which would have been quite contrary to their statements if *kas* had been understood by them to mean the total loss Blochmann, too, in p 345 of his Āīn translation, has "500 *officers* fell" Here it may be remarked in passing that Blochmann has inadvertently said that the disaster took place in the Khyber It should have been Kekur or Balandarī in the Yūsufzai country A F's character for accuracy is also supported by Monserrate's *Commentary* where he describes the campaign against Muhammad Hakīm in Afghānistān Indeed, the two accounts A F's in the *Akbarnāma* and Monserrate's in the *Commentary*, agree so well that one thinks they must have discussed the expedition together Both of them were in it, but Monserrate's is fuller, and where he states something more than A F does, for example where he describes the interview of Muhammad Hakīm's sister with Akbar in Cabul, where she pleaded the cause of her brother, Monserrate's statement should be preferred

Lord Macaulay, in his *History of England*, remarks "To speak the whole truth concerning William Penn, is a task which requires some courage, for he is rather a mythical than a historical character Rival nations and hostile sects have agreed in canonising him" A similar remark might be made about Akbar, and my point is not affected by doubts as to whether Sir James Makintosh and Macaulay were right in identifying the go between in the affair of the pardons with the apostle of Pennsylvania They may have been wrong This is a question I am not competent to decide but on account of my love and admiration for Macaulay's writings, I may be allowed to say that I have never seen any proof that Penn the intriguer and Penn the Quaker were two different persons All I think that Macaulay's detractors have shown is that there was another Penn who dabbled in the political intrigues of the day, and that so he may have been the guilty person in the affair of the pardons But proof that he was so, seems to be wanting I admit, however, that Macaulay's note is not as conclusive as, perhaps, it might have been

To return to Akbar He certainly has been over praised He had charming qualities and had a keen intellect, but he was by no means a saint or a philosopher He had by no means worked out the beast, and he had the defects of his age and race, and of his own idiosyncrasy If regarded as a Man, who makes his moral being his first care he was inferior to the bigoted Aurungzeb After all, he was a Tartār, or at best had Cingiz Khān blood in his veins He was both ruthless and self indulgent The man who could order[1] a lamp lighter to be flung over the battlements for the crime of having fallen asleep in an imperial bed and could condemn some twenty children to death or idiocy because like Psammatichus of Egypt he could learn in this way what was man's primæval language[2] and who could subject an officer to the agony of being thrown under the feet of

[1] See Asad Beg's Waqaya in Elliot's Hist VI 164

[2] See Badaunī's touching verse in Vol II 288 and in Lowe's translation 296 Adam says in Paradise Lost Book X How gladly would I lay me down as in my mother's lap

an elephant even though the beast had been privately ordered not to kill him, was at heart a savage This has been well put by my friend Vincent Smith in a note to p 343 of his life of Akbar

On another occasion, when he was on the banks of the Indus in 1581, he sent an officer to look for a ford (Monserrate, p 582) The man went up stream for 25 miles, but could not find a ford and was told by the villagers that there was not any ford in that part of the country and so he returned But as Akbar found that he had not gone as far as he had directed him to go, he ordered him to be taken to the place he (Akbar) had mentioned to him, tied upon an inflated ox-hide and flung into the river! When this order was given practically the whole army turned out to see what would happen The unfortunate man was carried down the stream, lamenting and crying for pardon When he was passing the imperial tent he was taken out by Akbar's orders but his property was confiscated and he himself was publicly sold as a slave A friend bought him in for eighty pieces of gold, taken, apparently, from the royal treasury, and he was eventually pardoned!

Akbar's order to the officer was that he should inquire if the Indus could be forded anywhere on horse-back After Prince Jelālu d din's exploit in Cingiz Khān's time it was perhaps impossible to say that the Indus could not be crossed by cavalry But it would seem that for practical purposes the Indus is unfordable either above or below Attock unless one goes very far up stream Even when the Indus or the Cabul river is fordable, they are liable to sudden freshets as shown by a melancholy experience near Jelālābad during the Afghān war Major Rennell says in his *Memoir* of 1792, p 98 "The Indus is sometimes fordable above Attock but we never hear of its being fordable below"

The *Akbarnāma* tells us that on another occasion Akbar, in anger at a poor man coming into his presence drunk, had him drenched with cold water with the result that he eventually died of shock

The love of cruelty for its own sake was a characteristic of

the age and race, and was shown in the chivalrous Bābur who had a man flayed alive and who had men killed by inches, and in the generally humane Humāyūn and in Akbar's son Jehāngīr who took pleasure in inventing new methods of killing people, such as causing them to be bitten by snakes and who inflicted the lingering death of impalement upon rebels, and added thereto the making his son witness the deaths of his followers It is true that Akbar, after he became half a Hindu or half a Parsee, expressed horror at his son's cruelties, but it was Akbar who hanged the innocent Manṣūr Shīrāzī, and it was he who killed or connived at the killing of his old and once venerated teacher! There is ground for the current native view of Akbar that he was a man who could disembowel a pregnant woman in order to see what she carried in her bosom, even if it be not true that he actually did this

I may add that if the tradition that Akbar buried the slave-girl Anārkalī (the pomegranate flower) alive for the crime of exchanging a glance with his son Selīm (afterwards Jehāngīr) be true, he committed an atrocity which excuses, if it does not justify, the son for making war upon him, and might even have excused an act of parricide

The tomb and its touching inscription still exist, but the bigotry of a good but narrow-minded Bishop caused it to be removed from the mosque (now the English Church) into what the Imperial Gazetteer of India euphemistically calls "a repertory of Secretarial records," in plain language, a *daftarkhāna*, to lumber-room for waste paper! But perhaps Lord Curzon had the tomb removed to a more fitting place

Akbar's Spiritual Experiences.

Like many Eastern potentates Akbar had a feeling of the paltriness of life, and an interest in religion. His father and grandfather had similar emotions, and these were also felt by his grandfather's great antagonist—Shaibānī Khān of Samarkand Unfortunately, Akbar, though a man of genius and one eager in the quest of truth, was less educated than were his ancestors He

could not even read and write He had been told, perhaps, that the apostle Muhammad was an ignorant man and this may have encouraged him to neglect studies There also seems to be no doubt that for an oriental he was of singularly slow development As a boy, he seems to have passed most of his time in amusements such as pigeon flying, and in good eating This, apparently, is what Abu l-Fazl means when he so often says that Akbar remained long under the veil When he grew up, his flatterers told him that his educational deficiencies were an advantage But he came too late into the world to play the part of an ignorant and inspired prophet, even if he had not been born in too high a position of power and responsibility to be fitted for it It is probable that if he had known to read and write he would have been saved from one of his worst blunders and crimes, that of his putting to death the innocent and able Persian Shāh Manṣūr For then he would have been able to detect the forgeries which caused the condemnation Such knowledge also might have saved him from his rash interference with chronology It is creditable to Akbar that he endeavoured to give a good education to his sons

Like most religious innovators, he began by being very orthodox Having been brought up as a Muhammadan he began by being pious and very observant of the rules of the Qorān Religion was in the air when he came to the throne and he strove to imitate the ceremonial exercises of Sulaiman Kararānı the ruler of Bengal and the other Sulaimān who was ruler of Badakhshān This feeling continued to influence Akbar for many years and Nizāmu d din, the excellent and orthodox historian, tells us in his account of the 24th and 25th years of the reign that Akbar at that time used to join in the public prayers five times a day See p 344 of Newal Keshore's lithographed edition of the *Tabaqāt i-Akbarī* Akbar, indeed, continued his practices of outward devotion long after he had ceased to be a believer See the accounts of his public devotion to an alleged Holy Stone, and his repeated visits to the Ajmere shrine And Monserrate tells us that he had a private oratory carried about with him during his

advance into Afghānistān, though it disappeared during his return journey Probably this was used for quasi Christian practices such as an adoration of the Virgin Mary, and also for Parsee rites

A Remarkable Incident in Akbar's Life

In May 1578 and the 23rd year of the reign, 14 Ṣafr 986 A H he had a strange experience which is described in the third volume of the *Akbarnāma*, see my note p 345, and also Nizāmu d din Ahmad's history and in Badāūnī Akbar had arranged to hold a great circular hunting-drive which is called by a word which is half Arabic and half Persian (*Qamargah*) *qamar* being Arabic for the moon, and *gāh*, which is Persian for place Birds and beasts had been gathered together, for miles round near the river Jhelam in a place called Nandana in the Pind Dādan Khān *tahsil* of the Jhelam district of the Punjab Suddenly, a change came over Akbar and he ordered every bird and beast to be released and the hunting arrangements to be abandoned It was not known what had caused this change, but it was supposed to be a case of *jazba* or spiritual attraction It was supposed that he had had a vision, or that some hermit had visited him Shortly afterwards his mother came from Fatḥpūr Sikrī to see him Probably, she had been alarmed at the news about her son, as it had caused a good deal of public commotion The result was that he gave up further progress into the Punjab and went back with his mother to Fathpūr Sikri The incident reminds one of the "Tolle lege tolle lege" as St Augustine's confessions Both took place in a forest, and both were cases of a sudden conversion, or of a conviction of sin But the two were not of equal value St Augustine's resulted in purification and change of life Akbar's was less lasting and less beneficial It does not appear that he led a better life afterwards or that it had any other effect upon himself or the world than to increase his self conceit and to lead him to the fantastic attempt to establish a new Religion, the Divine Faith, which died out after his death He was about the same age as St Augustine when the change came to them both But Akbar was not a student and he was

more tied and bound by the chain of his sins and his position than was Augustine His life too was probably far more worn He was thirty four or so when the *jazba* occurred, and St Augustine was two or three years younger when the change came to him

It will be seen that the attractive incident took place before the arrival of the Jesuit Mission

I fear that Akbar was too much tied and bound with the chain of his sins—the sin which doth so easily beset us—and also by his regard for his wives of whom he had more than 300, to accept Father Rudolf's exhortations Indeed who but a young and impetuous fanatic like the Duke's son could expect him to do so I doubt very much if Mọnserrate made similar demands on the emperor

THE JESUIT MISSION TO AKBAR

There was a great discovery in our knowledge of Akbar's character and of his campaign in Afghānistān when Canon Firminger found the original Latin edition of Father Monserrate's commentaries in the Library of the Calcutta Cathedral How General Maclagon would have been delighted if he had met in with the volume! But it fell into good hands when Canon Firminger discovered it in 1906 and when Father Hosten S J, edited it in 1914 The history of the MS is a curious one, but is not yet completely known Father Anthony Monserrate, the author, was a Spaniard and was born in Catalonia in 1536 His father was personally acquainted with Ignatius Loyola and Antnony became a member of the S J In 1574 he embarked for India He and Father Rudolf were the two missionaries who were sent to Akbar at his request to instruct him on the Bible They left Goa in November 1579, and arrived at the Court in Fathpūr Sikri in February 1580 and had an audience early in March Rudolf was an Italian and of noble descent, his father having been Duke of Atri in the Abruzzi and his paternal uncle Claude Aquaviva being General of the Jesuits Rudolf was born in October 1550 so that he was 15 or 16 years younger than Monserrate The two missionaries lived together for a good while but in February 1581 Monserrate accompanied Akbar in his

expedition to the Punjab and Afghānistān See Commentary p 580 In November 1582 Akbar and Monserrate returned to Fathpūr Sikrī Rudolf, who had joined *Akbar at Lahore, also* came back with him In May 1583 Rudolf took leave of Akbar and went to Goa, and in July of that year he was killed by the villagers May 1583 is given in Father Goldin's book (Chronology Table) as the date of Rudolf's return, but Father Hosten says (p 521) that he left in February, and perhaps May is the date when Rudolf arrived at Goa Monserrate had already left for Goa in the end of 1582 in order to go with Akbar's Moghul Ambassador to Portugal But the embassy never got any further than Goa Monserrate was at Goa when Rudolf was killed, but apparently was not present at the martyrdom *Eventually Monserrate was* sent on a mission to Ethiopia but was wrecked at Dofar in Arabia and was captured by the Turks there and taken to Eynam and afterwards to Sanan where he was imprisoned for over six years He finished his Commentary there in January 1591 He was ransomed and returned to Goa in 1596 He was afterwards posted to Salsette and died there in 1600

Monserrate's simple piety gave an explanation of the real cause of the failure of the mission It failed, he says, because Akbar's invitation for the mission had not been divinely inspired (Comm 638) *for if this had been the case nothing could have* stopped or prevented its success *Nam si opus hoc a Deo fuisset, nullis incommodis, aut obstaculis, inpediri non potuisset At vero, quia non erat a Deo per seipsum,* etiam renitente Rege, *concidit et dissolutum est*

No dear Father Monserrat! Your mission, at least as far as you were concerned, was not a total failure It gave rise to a valuable book We should remember too the lines in the Epic of Hades which John Bright admired and which tell how far high failure overleaps the bounds of low success Nor was Rudolf's blood altogether wasted Doubtless his teachings and his death had a good influence on Akbar and Muhammadan Court

Monserrate has a long and eloquent eulogium on Father Rudolf who, no doubt, was a noble minded man, but wanting in

gnosis He might have done much good at Agra He might have converted Akbar's three sons who were all favourably disposed towards him and were allowed *by Akbar to attend his* teaching He was a quick man and speedily attained a good knowledge of Persian But he weakened himself by his fastings and scourgings and did much less good to India and the world than Monserrate The latter produced a book of priceless value, and stuck to his post Nor was he responsible for the deaths of four Christians, and for the cruel reprisals perpetrated by the Portuguese civil authorities

Monserrate worked at his book for eight years and finished it *in 1591 He does not tell us much about himself,* but there is something touching in his finding consolation for his years in prison from the fact that he had a priest as his companion to whom he could make a full confession (propter exomologesem) Poor man, shut up as he was, he could not have material for a long confession That he was not all unhappy is shown by his saying of his imprisonment that his lines had fallen in pleasant places

Selim, afterwards Jehāngīr, accompanied his father, and so also did Murād, the second son, to whom *Monserrate was tutor* Father Rudolf, the Duke's son remained at Fathpūr His uncle was Claude Acquaviva the General (Praepositus) of the Jesuits order Rudolf went up-country afterwards to meet Akbar on his way back from Cabul, but fell ill at Sirhind He afterwards joined Akbar at Lahore, and the two returned together to Agra or Fathpūr He eventually left the Court and went back to Goa in 1583, where he arrived in May Three months afterwards he was killed by the Hindu villagers of the Goa Salsette, along with four other Christians at Cuncolim *All five were beatified by the Pope* as recently as 1893 Rudolf was more brilliant than Monserrate and distinguished himself by the rapidity with which he acquired the Persian language He was perhaps more ascetic and saint like than Monserrate, but I doubt if his canonisation was altogether justifiable Apparently, he had no business to go des troying idols, which was what led to his death For he was only

a private individual and was not supported in his visit to Cunculim by the Portuguese civil authorities This point was taken by the Devil's advocate at one of the investigations into his claims as a martyr, but probably it was feebly urged He himself had a keen desire to become a martyr, and was distressed to find that there was little chance of thus acquiring such a crown as long as he was at Akbar's Court He had the intolerance and impatience of his youth and upbringing To me it seems that he committed a great mistake in leaving Fathpūr It is true that there was no likelihood of his converting Akbar, and how could he expect Akbar to repudiate his more than 300 wives, and to confine himself to the aged lady whom he had married in his childhood Akbar might have answered as Agrippa did to St Paul "With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian" But he might have exercised a great and beneficial influence over Akbar's wives and children Akbar allowed the missionaries to talk freely to his children and even to proselytise them

Monserrate was sent off to Ethiopia after the failure of the embassy to Europe He was captured at Dhofar or Dofa (Zafr ?) in South Arabia in the end of 1588 or beginning of 1589 From there he was taken to Eynan (Aimad) and then to Sanan Altogether he was 6½ years a prisoner in Arabia His imprisonment does not seem to have been a hard one He calls it an ergastution and I am not sure if this means that he had to work or that it was confinement only He was released at last, perhaps in consequence of a ransom, and returned to Goa in the end of 1596 He died at Goa-Salsette in March 1600

When Monserrate went off with Akbar, his companion and superior Father Rudolf remained alone at Fathpūr Sikrī He was of high rank and of stainless character But he was young and impetuous and wanting tact and commonsense

Akbar liked him and regretted his death But it seems evident that Akbar preferred the quieter Monserrate as a companion for he took him with him in his long march to Cabul instead of Rudolf He, however, left Monserrate at Jalālābād out of consideration for his health

That Father Rudolf had a ready wit is shown by the dexterity with which he met the outcry of a Parsee at Surat. They were discussing religious topics and the Father, perhaps accidentally, opened a casquet (scriniolum) which contained some relics. They were the bones of St Stephen, the Protomartyr and other saints. The Parsee was horrified, started back and said "These are the bones of dead men, I cannot wait here and I must rend the clothes I am wearing." Rudolf pacified him by saying "We do not carry about with us dead men's bones. These are the bones of living men." And with that he closed the casquet. A similar remark was made not long ago though from a different point of view, when there was a question about the proper site for a bridge over the Hooghly. The engineers found that the best site for one end of the bridge was one which was very near some saints' graves. The Muḥammadans objected to these being disturbed. An Englishman replied that the saints were dead and so would not be hurt by the removal of the bones. But the rejoinder was that saints were not dead though no longer on earth, but were still living.

The question arises, what should now be done with Monserrate's autograph Commentary? He wanted to send it to Rome to the general of the Jesuits. But, apparently no autograph or copy was ever sent there. Monserrate died in India in 1600, and his papers seem to have been dispersed. Perhaps, they fell into the hands of that eminent but misguided antiquary and scholar Colonel Wilford who, I believe, was a Hanoverian. It seems to me that the proper thing to do now would be to follow the example of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his gift to America of the Log of the Magbloner and to send the Calcutta Cathedral autograph to the Jesuit College in Rome, or to the Pope.

But I think that another attempt should be made to find another copy, and that before sending the autograph to Italy, it should be submitted to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and that they be requested to revise the edition published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Father Hosten did excellent work in editing the Commentary but it is difficult to edit properly from

one copy. Experts too might be asked to examine the MS. and to furnish full notes. Several readings want revision.

53, Campden House Road,
London, W. 8.

H. Beveridge.

INSTRUCTIONS TO BINDER

AKBARNĀMA VOLUME III

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Akbar
A F	Abu l-Fazl
A H	Hijra
A N	Akbarnama
A S B	Asiatic Society of Bengal
B	Badaūni (historian)
Bib Ind	A S B ed Akbarnāma, printed at Calcutta
B	Beg, Begam Bengal and Blochmann
b	brother
d	daughter and district
f	father
s	son
B M	British Museum
H M	His Majesty
I G	Imperial Gazetteer of India
D A	Darbar Akbari (a book)
I O	India Office
J	Jahangir and Jarrett
K	K͟han
l	line
M	Mirzā
M K	Mīrzā Koka ('Aziz K) and Mirza K͟hān i e K͟hān Khānan M 'Abdurrahim
M U	Ma'āṣiru-l Umarā
Muh	Muhammad
n	note
P	Page, Persian and Prince
P T	Persian Text
prov	province
R	Raja
S	S͟haik͟h and Saiyid
T A	Tabaqat i-Akbari
t	town

CHAPTER I

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

Verse.

I refresh my words with the name of God
For his name guides to Reality.
For to this end gave He us tongues
Speech [1] cannot rival Praise in weight
What weight can God-knowing Reason assign to it?
In the desert which casts down the litter
Men cannot tread with speech's foot
The orator whose fame resounds to the sky
Utters in this plain the cry of lamentation

Alas, Alas! What strength has an accidental atom tossed about in the desert of bewilderment and thirst to attempt the comprehension of the stablished Sun? What force has it to rise from the hollow of Error to the height of Recognition? How can it reckon potsherds of its fancies and the frayed tinsel of its knowledge among the rareties of the storehouse of truths and the excellencies of substantive treasuries?

Verse

The Divine mysteries are not comprehended by us
Nor is the ocean contained in the cowry! [2]
Neither sage nor simpleton can grasp them
The chamaeleon [3] is blinded, even as the bat

But simple-minded terrestrials convert into materials for Divine praise, whatever perfections they find in the record of their own

[1] This and the following line are obscure, and the Lucknow editor's note does not remove the difficulty In his edition the lines are reversed, and so are they in the variant.

[2] Goshmāhī, lit., "fish's ear"

[3] The chamaeleon is fabled to have powerful sight and to be ever gazing upon the sun Hence the Persian name of *āftāb-parast*, "sun-worshipper."

conduct, or gather from the volume[1] of enlightenment, and although the incomparable Personality be excluded from their ken they regard those things as the Divine Attributes Inasmuch as the unequalled Creator chants His own praise with the glorious voice
3 of His marvels and recites the tale of His panegyric with creation's tongue, even if I admitted that there could come to any one the heaven-measuring power of eulogising God, still such an one would stay his hand when so great a blaze of the sun of truth was presented to his eye and ear, and would not turn to his own skill nor lift the head of understanding from the abyss of ecstacy And let praise for ever and ever be given to the divinely chosen ones, who are the gardeners of the aromatic herbs of morals, and the unveilers of spiritual and physical mysteries, for that they have in this glorious audience hall consigned the books of their own knowledge to the waters[2] of silence, and have trodden the line of ignorance, folded up the pages of their eloquence and opened a tongueless[3] tongue Therefore it is far better that this wanderer in bewilderment's desert should address himself to the recording the events of a rule which is conjoined with eternity and should by one[4] great performance in some degree set in order two arduous tasks!

Quartain.

Glory to God the Incomparable, the Formless
That He hath made such a mirror of His beauty as the Shāh
His glorious substance is beyond thought's ken
And his letter is beyond Reason's line,—Glory to Him!

His (Akbar's) keen eye is the astrolabe[5] of the substantive sun—his truth-discerning heart is the celestial observatory of Attributes—he is of noble lineage, of joyous countenance—of right disposition—

[1] Either the book of nature, or religious writings Possibly the Koran is meant. A F.'s meaning seems to be that though God cannot be known, yet mortals take whatever is excellent in themselves, or others, and regard it as Divine Attributes

[2] Papers used to be destroyed by throwing them into water

[3] Meaning that they have practised "expressive silence"

[4] He means that by recording Akbar's actions he also performs his duty of worshipping God. See his preface

[5] God is the substantive or personal sun and Akbar the astrolabe which reads the sun

of open brow—of well proportioned frame—of magnanimous nature—of lofty genius—of pure purpose—of enduring faith—of perfect wisdom—begirt with varied talents—of wide capacity—of high honour—of splendid courage—of right judgment—of choice counsel—of generosity unfeigned—of boundless forgiveness, abundant in graciousness—at peace with all compendium of dominion—of plenteous sincerity—multiple of single minded warriors—abounding in wealth—accumulator[1] of the world's rareties—of pure heart—unspotted by the world—leader of the spiritual realm—of enduring alertness! How has he been gathered together into one place? Or how doth a single body upbear him on the shoulders of genius?

Verse

Sphere of wisdom and vision, Akbar Shāh the Only One
Whose brow has opened on the earth like the dawn.
A king whose eyes have been lessoned by the heart
A king who has been taught by Wisdom in person.

Glory be to God the Creator, who hath made the adorner of the kingly throne a witness of His lovely and awful attributes, and hath made the standard bearer of God's shadow an ensample of His glorious praises

Verse

An Alexander-minded Elias[2] the producer of the fountain
Determiner of the Pole star, expounder of the Almagest
The substance of kingship and saintship is in him
The magazine of divine mysteries is in him
From his great power, he is the head of princes
From his wondrous wisdom, he is the famed of epochs
While night and day endure, may his night be day 3
May his kingdom's jewel illumine the night

If (even) by rising and falling (i e, stumbling) I cannot attain to the court of his praise (because) auspicious speech has not been granted to me, nor the glory of wisdom vouchsafed, and if I address

[1] Probably this refers to Akbar's having gathered round him all the great wits of the age

[2] Elias found the fountain of life which Alexander failed to find

myself to the beginning of that task with a short fingered hand and a broken pen, I shall be involved in a typhoon of shame, and shall find no path [1] to the shore of the ocean! How shall I describe in mortal speech his noble qualities and glorious gifts which are known to those who preside over the heavens? Who shall dare to advance beyond the limit of his capacity? 'Tis true enlightenment to turn away my heart from this and to address myself to my noble task with the help of the arm of Faith I must accept the secret message and withhold my soul from the suggestions of the devilish carnal spirit (*deo-nafs*), [2] and by legitimate necromancy make my inner and outer man dazzling to the eyes of the profound and critical I must fulfil in some measure the various obligations of expressing thanks and carry on the task of adorning dominion I must suspend in the antechamber of my being the charm for awakening the sleepers and the talisman for insensing the infatuated

Verse

I wrote in this book the thought
That a memorial of me might remain in the world
Perhaps on beholding this garden
Friends may utter a benediction on me
By virtue of imploring the genius of the ancients,
May my [3] heart and speech accord.

When favour was shown to me the empty-headed one, and the door of design was opened for me, a ray was cast upon my clean heart to the effect that a separate volume should be indited for every thirty years of the transactions of the earth's lord, so that the heavy burden of expectancy should be lightened somewhat for the students of the age, and that mortals might be cheered by learning something of the wondrous fortune of the world ruler And also that those

[1] *lit* از من تا خاشاک دریا رہ نمی ماند (from me to the rubbish (or flotsam) of ocean no road remains The passage has puzzled the copyists for there are different readings. One MS Add. 26, 27 reads *Az mauj ba*, from the wave, instead of *az man ta*, and the Lucknow ed has بس خاشاک

[2] Possibly the *deo nafs* means the inclination to sloth and to abandon the task. The language of this preface is throughout very forced and obscure

[3] Or perhaps, May my mind and words be like theirs

might be for all—both those near and those afar off—a general distribution of the Divine abundance With this view, the series of endless epochs was begun at the commencement of the existence of the Lord of the saints. With this heavenly note the drums of joy beat high

Quatrain

I hope that this record may become valuable
That it may be impressed on the world and be a thing of joy
From the blessing of the wise king's approbation
It receives both its name and its fame

Though this is the middle of the seventeenth Divine year from the accession of the Prince of rulers, yet a message of eternal dominion brought the mandate that the second cycle should be dated with reference to the time of the brightening of the face of the "Beloved of Creation" (*s̲h̲āhid-i-āfrīnis̲h̲*).

Verse [1]

Let the second cycle begin from the Birth
May it be glorious, O God, by conquests
May the foot of his dominion be stable, and his fortune firm
May he be an eternal king in a fading world
A happy morn has dawned for the Age 4
May this orient light fill the western sky
The throne of his fortune's power long endures
Whom celestial auxiliaries have chosen.

One [2] of the occurrences of this time was that Sulaimān Kararānı

[1] The first lines are quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe 363, as the beginning of an ode by Faizī in celebration of the completion of the thirtieth year Faizī wrote *K̲h̲ilāfat* (Caliphate), and A F has changed this into *wilādat* (birth) Though the literal rendering is "from the birth what is meant is "with reference to the birth viz., the first 30 years of Akbar's life which ended in the middle of the 17th year of his reign

[2] The text gives no date, but at least three MSS in the I O mss, Nos 235, 236 and 257 of Ethé's catalogue have غره ابان, "the beginning of Āb̤ān, before the word Sulaimān, and one B M MS Add 26, 207 has the same The words must also have occurred in the MS used by Chalmers I have no doubt that the words are authentic, and they are important as fixing the date of Sulaimān's death for which B

who exhaled the breath of power in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar departed this life Ascetic sages, and politicians who had regard to the repose of mortals, which is bound up with one rule, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one thought, recognised in the emergence of this event an instance of the helps of fortune, whilst those who were void of understanding and who made the agitation of the black-fated Afghans in the eastern provinces an argument in support of their own views, and opposed the expedition to Gujrat, were by this event cast into the pit of failure. Another faction whose narrow intellects could not comprehend the idea of marching to Gujrat and of overcoming it, and which indulged in foolish prattle, made the event a pretext for prating and urged the propriety of marching to the eastern provinces As the God-worshipping Khedive reflected that the oppressed ones of Gujrat should be brought into the cradle of grace he did not give ear to these futilities and said with his holy lips that it was good that the news of Sulaimān's death had come during the march to Gujrat, for had it come while he was in the capital, assuredly he would, out of deference to the opinions of most of his officers, have addressed himself in the first place to an expedition to the eastern provinces What necessity was there now for the Shahinshāh's personal visit to these countries after Sulaimān's death? Now the conquest of that country would be accomplished by the skill and courage of the officers Accordingly an order was sent to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān that he should conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in concurrence with the other officers

One of the occurrences was the wounding of the Khān[1] Kalān The account of this is as follows —The Khan Kalān and other great officers—who had been made a vanguard—reached the town of Bhādrajan[2] which is near Sirohī, and were halting there Rai

only gives the year see 427n Properly, Sulaimān's death should come into the second volume for it occurred on 1 Ābān and Akbar's birth day was on 8 id and accordingly some copies have put this paragraph before the Khātima or conclusion But perhaps A F went by the date when the news reached Akbar 1 Ābān 980 is 11 October 1572

[1] Mīr Muhammad the elder brother of Shamsu-d-dīn Atka B 322 and the M'āaṣir III 211

[2] J II 276 where it appears as belonging to Jodhpūr Gladwin has Bhadrajoon and Tiefenthaler I 308 Tabaur ahoun It is not mentioned in the I G or the Rajputana Gazetteer It is marked in the Atlas vol of I G Plate 34 and lies between Jodhpūr and Sirohī

Mān Singh Deohra, the chief of Sirohi, took to feline tricks and sent some Rājputs as envoys, and professed obedience. When they had paid their respects to the Khān Kalān, he, at the time of dismissal, called up each one of them, and, in accordance with the Indian custom, was giving *pan* to each and bidding them adieu One of these daring and furious men struck a blow with his dagger between the Khān Kalān's collar-bone so that the point came out below the shoulder-blade to the extent of three finger-breadths Bahādur K. Turbati, one of his servants ran and felled the Rajput to the ground Ṣādiq Khān and Muhammad Quli Khān acted with promptitude and killed him Others were stretched upon the ground as being involved in his wickedness When the truth of the affair was 5
brought to the hearing of H.M. he, in contradiction to the foolish fancies of men of small capacity, prosecuted more earnestly the conquest of Gujrat He arrived on the day of Tir, the 13 Abān Divine month (about 20 October 1572,) at the place where the officers had been previously, and who now came in to welcome him When he perceived that there was such rebellion on the part of the men of Sirohi he issued an order that the victorious troops should march to Sirohī and should demolish the rebels thereof He also decided to go there himself On the day of Sarosh, the 17 Abān Divine month he encamped in the territory of Sirohi The presumptuous ones of that country took refuge in the mountain-defiles In accordance with the custom which prevails among turbulent Rajputs of a number surrounding their master's palace, and of some of them establishing themselves in an idol-temple, a large body of men collected in a temple[1] of Mahādeo which was one *kos* distant from Sirohi. The world's lord restrained the alert heroes from making war on this canaille and sent off swordsmen and archers on foot to account for these doomed ones Among the servants of the threshold of fortune, Dost Muḥammad, the son of Tātār Khān missed his way and drank the sherbet of death

One of the occurrences was that Yār 'Ali Beg Turkamān came with a number of Persians on behalf of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudā-

[1] Probably this is the temple of Sarneswar, (Sarapeswar) about two miles from Sirohī, and on the way to Erinpura, described in the Rajputana Gazetteer III 125

who exhaled the breath of power in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar departed this life Ascetic sages, and politicians who had regard to the repose of mortals, which is bound up with one rule, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one thought, recognised in the emergence of this event an *instance of the helps of fortune*, whilst those who were void of understanding and who made the agitation of the black-fated Afghans in the eastern provinces an argument in support of their own views, and opposed the expedition to Gujrat, were by this event cast into the pit of failure Another faction whose narrow intellects could not comprehend the idea of marching to Gujrat and of overcoming it, and which indulged in foolish prattle, made the event a pretext for prating and urged the propriety of marching to the eastern provinces As the God-worshipping Khedive reflected that the oppressed ones of Gujrat should be brought into the cradle of grace he did not give ear to these futilities and said with his holy lips that it was good that the news of Sulaimān's death had come during the march to Gujrat, for had it come while he *was in the* capital, assuredly he would, *out of deference to the* opinions of most of his officers, have addressed himself in the first place to an expedition to the eastern provinces What necessity was there now for the Shāhinshāh's personal visit to these countries after Sulaimān's death? Now the conquest of that country would be accomplished by the skill and courage of the officers Accordingly an order was sent to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān that he should conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in concurrence with the other officers

One of the occurrences was the wounding of the Khān[1] Kalān The account of this is as follows —The Khān Kalān and other great officers—who had been made a vanguard—reached the town of Bhādrajan[2] which is near Sirohī, and were halting there Rai

only gives the year see 427n Properly, Sulaimān's death should come into the second volume for it occurred on 1 Ābān and Akbar's birth day was on 8 id, and accordingly some copies have put this paragraph before the Khātima or conclusion But perhaps A F went by the date when the news reached Akbar 1 Ābān 980 is 11 October 1572

[1] Mīr Muḥammad the elder brother of Shamsu-d-dīn Atka B 322 and the M'āṣir III 211

[2] J II 276 where it appears as belonging to Jodhpūr Gladwin has Bhadrajoon and Tiefenthaler I 308 Tahaur ahoun It is not mentioned in the I G or the Rajputana Gazetteer It is marked in the Atlas vol of I G Plate 34 and lies between Jodhpūr and Sirohī

Mân Singh Deohra, the chief of Sirohi, took to feline tricks and sent some Râjputs as envoys, and professed obedience When they had paid their respects to the Khân Kalân, he, at the time of dismissal, called up each one of them, and, in accordance with the Indian custom, was giving *pan* to each and bidding them adieu One of these daring and furious men struck a blow with his dagger between the Khân Kalân's collar bone so that the point came out below the *shoulder blade to the extent* of three finger-breadths Bahâdur K Turbati, one of his servants ran and felled the Rajput to the ground Ṣâdiq Khân and Muhammad Quli Khân acted with promptitude and killed him Others were stretched upon the ground as being involved in his wickedness When the truth of the affair was 5
brought to the hearing of H M. he, in contradiction to the foolish fancies of men of small capacity, prosecuted more earnestly the conquest of Gujrat He arrived on the day of Tîr, the 13 Abân Divine month (about 20 October 1572,) at the place where the officers had been previously, and who now came in to welcome him When he perceived that there was such rebellion on the part of the men of Sirohi he issued an order that the victorious troops should march to Sirohî and should demolish the rebels thereof He also decided to go there himself On the day of Sarogh, the 17 *Abân* Divine month he encamped in the territory of Sirohî The presump *tuous* ones of that country took refuge in the mountain defiles. In accordance with the custom which prevails among turbulent Rajputs of a number surrounding their master's palace, and of some of them establishing themselves in an idol temple, a large body of men collected in a temple[1] of Mahâdeo which was one *kos* distant from Sirohi The world s lord restrained the alert heroes from making war on this canaille and sent off swordsmen and archers on foot to *account* for these doomed ones Among the servants of the threshold of fortune, Dost Muḥammad, the son of Tâtâr Khân missed his way and drank the sherbet of death

One of the occurrences was that Yâr *'Ali Beg Turkamân* came with a number of Persians on behalf of Sulṭân Muḥammad Khudâ-

[1] Probably this is the *temple* of Sarneswar, (Sarapeswar) about two miles from Sirohî, and on the way to Erinpura, described in the Rajputana Gazetteer III 125

banda, the eldest son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who was governor of Khurāsān for his father, with the rareties of Persia as an emissary [1] He was received with princely favours

At this stage (Sirohī) an order was issued to Rai Rai Singh and a number of servants to abide in the territories of Jodhpur and Sirohi and to exercise supervision therein, so that if the disaffected should on hearing of the advance of the royal army wish to come out of Gujrat and cause disturbance in the imperial territories, they might be prevented When the Shāhinshāh's mind was at ease about the affairs of that country he marched onwards From the borders of Pattan he sent forward Shāh Fakhru d-din [2] with rescripts to 'Itimād Khan, who had repeatedly sent petitions and had expressed desires for the arrival of the exalted court, and gave him salutary advices to guide him in the paths of auspiciousness When H M had halted in the vicinity of the town of Diha,[3] the intelligencers reported to him that when Sher Khān, who had possession of Ahmadābad, had heard of the royal advance he had fled to the territory of Surat [4] and Junagarh, and had sent his sons Muhammad Khān and Badar to
6 Pattan to convey his family and goods to places of safety They had now done so and were proceeding to rejoin their father Also that Ibrāhim Husain M, who had come to help 'Itimād Khān, had gone back to his own estate and that 'Itimād Khān intended to wait upon H M H M sent Rajah [5] Mān Singh and a body of troops to seize Sher Khān's sons, but they fled to the defiles The troops, however, came up with their baggage and were victorious On the day of Ashtād 26 Ābān Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 1 Rajab (7 November) 1572, H M encamped in the pleasant city of Pattan which was formerly known as Nahrwāla The inhabitants, both high and low, showed reliance on the justice and kindness of the Shāhinshāh and tendered their homage H M directed his

---

[1] Ṭahmāsp was then living and Khudābanda was only governor of Khurāsan Cf Elliot V 342 where the statement that Ṭahmāsp had also sent the ambassador is a mistranslation

[2] Son of Mir Qāsim, Blochmann 406

[3] So in text but doubtless Dīsa in Gujrat

[4] The variant Sorath is probably right

[5] He was only Kuar till Rajah Bhagwān's death and is generally called so by A F

attention to Mirzā Khān and questioned him about the martyrdom of Bairām Khān (his father) In his graciousness he said that he would make over Pattan to him, and that as at present he had not the means[1] of looking after it, Saiyid Ahmad Khān would be appointed to take care of it From this place he deputed Ḥakim 'Ain al-mulk to bring to court 'Itimād Khān and Mir Abu Turāb Mirzā Muqim who was related to M Sharafu d din Husain, was one of the first to take the path of auspiciousness and to come and kiss the threshold Here, too, the good services of Moẓaffar Khān were called to mind, and as his merits were found to outweigh his defects an order was issued rescinding his departure for the Hijaz, and bringing him to Court On 3 Āzar Divine month or 7 Rajab (13 November 1572), H M marched towards Ahmadābād

When he reached Jutāna[2] it appeared that Mozaffar Gujrāti, who was the document of sovereignty for the Gujrātis, had separated from Sher Khan Faulādi and was wandering about in a distracted state in the neighbourhood Mir Khān Yesawal and Farid Qarāwal were sent, and after them were despatched Abu l qāsim Namakin[3] and Karm 'Ali to investigate and to bring that confused wanderer to court When Mir Khān had gone some way, Mozaffar's umbrella and canopy fell into his hands He was then joined by Mir Abu l qāsim and Karm 'Ali who had followed him They went on and at last Mir Khān seized Mozaffar, who was hiding in a corn field, and brought him before H M He had compassion on him and made him over to Karm 'Ali On the night of the same day Mir Saiyid Hāmid Bukhari and Ulugh Beg Habshi arrived with their troops and did homage, and were encompassed with royal favours No long time had elapsed after that when Shāh Fakhru d din and Hakim Ainu l mulk brought to Court Mir Abu Turāb, who was the chief 7
counsellor of Gujrat, and reported that 'Itimād Khān was *coming to* offer his submission Before Shah Fakhru d din arrived, he had sent Mir Abū Turāb, Wajih al mulk and Mujāhid Khān to court in order that they might procure him fresh confidence and then return

[1] On account of his youth His father's body was apparently still there then It was removed to Mashhad in 985 (1577) According to the Maasir I 381, it was first taken to Delhi

[2] So in text, but should be apparently Chotana, Blochmann 518

[3] Blochmann 470

When Shāh Fakhru d dīn met in with the envoys, he comforted them and went on to 'Itimād Khan Hakim 'Ain al mulk came and turned back Abu Turāb and carried him to Ahmadābād After much discussion all the Gujrat officers and grandees of that country set their hearts to loyalty and glorified the faces of the coins and the tops of the pulpits with the name of H M the Shāhinshāh and proceeded to court 'Itimad Khan dismissed the ambassadors along with Mir Abū Turāb from the town of Kari When this news was brought to the royal hearing, Khwāja Jahān Khan 'Ālam and Sādiq Khān were deputed to welcome them and they conducted them with honour Next day, when the royal standards had advanced from Jutāna, 'Itimād Khan and a large body of persons drew near Khwāja Jahān Mir Abu Turab and a number of others were ordered to hasten forward and to exalt him by bringing him to do homage H M mounted in his glory on an elephant, the envoys brought forward 'Itimād Khān and he was made illustrious by performing the prostration After that Ikhtiyār al mulk, Malik Mashriq[2] Jujhār Khān Habshi, Wajiha al mulk and Mujāhid Khan came and kissed the carpet and each was received with favour proportionate to his position 'Itimād Khān and some of the nobles of Gujrat were ordered to mount (on elephants?) and to come nearer H M conversed with them the whole way and encouraged them and halted at the town of Kari Saif al mulk and some others were in Mahmudabād Sadiq Khān and other servants were sent to give these loiterers the bliss of doing homage At this station as a matter of prudence and caution—which are adjuncts of administration—the Gujrat officers were summoned and told that H M would entrust the country to 'Itimād K and would leave him all the officers he wished for It was proper that each of them should give security so that there might be no failure of vigilance and forethought and that the conditions of honourable conduct (*futuwat*)[3] might be ful-

[1] Kadī in Baroda

[2] The text has Ikhtiyār-al mulk the son of Mashriqī or the Mashriqī but it appears from the T.A. and the Iqbālnāma that Malik Maskriq or Malik Ashraq is the name and that he is another person than Ikhtiyār al mulk Malik Sharq or Ashraq is mentioned in Chapter III as acting as guide to Akbar He was afterwards made collector of Thānesar and is mentioned by Badayūnī p 223

[3] *Futuwat* generally means liberality Perhaps the meaning is that if

filled Mir Abu Turāb engaged to be security for 'Itimād K, and the latter became surety for all the others except the Abyssinians H M ordered that the Abyssinians should be included among the royal slaves on the same terms as they had been slaves of Sultān Mahmud In observance [1] of certain matters, which were necessary for the guarding of sovereignty, they were made over to the great officers Next day the standards of fortune halted at the village of Sāntaj [2]

One of the warning occurrences was that a crew of libertines and 8
vagabonds of that country—where there are thousands of such—raised a shout to the effect that a sublime order had been given that the people of the army of fortune should plunder the Gujrāti's camp They began to do so and a great commotion resulted When this came to the Khedive's hearing, he summoned the great officers and ordered them to inflict punishment on the plunderers, and to put to death those who were found in the possession of plunder He himself held a public court and had fierce elephants present The rioters were brought before H M and were trampled under the feet of elephants The goods were returned to the owners, and in a short time the disturbance was quieted, and there was a sound of peace and security. By the glory of this justice the newly acquired territory became a seat of tranquillity On the day of Ābān 10 Āzar Divine month or 14 Rajab (November 20, 1572) the standards were set up in the neighbourhood of Ahmadābad, and merely by the glance of the Shāhinshāh a work which a crowd of men would have regarded as difficult was accomplished with ease A multitude of men, high and low, submitted and were made happy Everyone according to his means returned thanks [3] for the deliverance from

---

the Gujrat officers gave security Akbar would be able to deal liberally with them

[1] This passage is explained by the T.A. Elliot V 343, where it is mentioned that Akbar's officers were suspicious of the Abyssinians and reported to this effect to Akbar who ordered the headmen (*sardārān*) should be made over to trustworthy servants of the Court

[2] There is the variant Sāhaj I have not found the place According to the Mirāt Ahmadī the riots mentioned in the following paragraph occurred at Hājīpūr

[3] *Shukrāna*. Apparently this refers to the amount of *peshkash* or presents tendered by each

the calamities of the age, and was honoured by the sublime glance Aḥmadābād which is the metropolis and has 380[1] pūrahs (quarters) *i.e.*, wards, each of which is like a city, became a scene of heavenly excellences from the glory of the advent of the Shāhinshāh. H.M. several times entered this city. The wishes of many generations of mortals were fulfilled; the oppressed obtained favour, and the oppressors sank into the abyss of destruction. The talented came out of the secret chamber of capability into the conspicuousness of action. On this day[2] of joy the festival of weighing the Shāhinshāh was held and there was rejoicing upon rejoicing. The solicitous obtained their wishes, and the prayers of the suppliants were heard. At this time, while the camp was at Aḥmadābād, the envoys of Amīn[3] Khān Ghorī arrived with suitable presents and had the bliss of performing homage Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. sent a hypocritical petition and presents, but as he was not sincere, he did not find acceptance.

[1] In the Aīn and in T.A the number is given as 360 See J II. 240

[2] The particular day is not specified If, as usual, the day chosen was Akbar's birthday, it should have been 5 Rajab, but this occurred before he arrived at Ahmedābād.

[3] He was ruler of Jūnagarh, etc A F's account of the two expeditions to Gujrat should be compared with the accounts in the T.A, both in the part which gives the history of Akbar, and in the part which gives the history of the kings of Gujrat Nizam-ud-dīn had served in Gujrat and his descriptions are often fuller and more correct than A.F's See especially Elliot V 360-70 It was 'Itimād Khān's intrigues which led Akbar to interfere in the affairs of Gujrat 'Itimād first produced Mozaffar or Nathū and swore on the Koran that he was Sultan Maḥmud's son, and then when Mozaffar left him for the Afghans (Sher Khān Fulādi and others), 'Itimād turned round and wrote that Mozaffar was not the king's son

CHAPTER II

March of the Sacred Army of the Shāhinshāh from Aḥmadābād to the Port of Cambay, and his beholding the Sea

When the delightful country of Gujrat had become the abode of peace and tranquillity by the advent of the Shāhinshāh, he made over the government of Ahmadābād and this side of the river Mahindri (i e, the Mihi) to the Khān A'ẓam M 'Aziz Koka The other side, 9
viz, Baroda, Cāmpānir, Surat, and the districts which had been usurped by the Mirzās were entrusted to the Gujrat officers who had bound on the straps of fealty and had been included among the imperial servants 'Itimād Khān Gujrati was placed at the head of them, and these officers, new and old, engaged to administer the territories, and to extirpate the Mirzās Thereafter H M determined that after he had visited the sea, he would return to the capital (i e, Ahmadābād) Accordingly on the day of Asman 27 Āzar Divine month or Monday 2 Shābān, 2 December 1572,[1] he marched to the port of Cambay which is thirty *kos* from Ahmadābād The Gujrat officers took leave for some days in order to make their arrangements and stayed in the city He left Hal im 'Ain al mulk, who had relationships with them, in order that he might civilise these savages of the desert

On the march he heard that Ikhtiyār al mulk had in his wickedness absconded, and that 'Itimād Khān and the other Gujrat officers were on the point of falling into evil ways Accordingly Shabbaz Khān received orders to go there quickly and come with those traitors and prevent them from turning into the desert of error

On 1 ¹ Dai Divine month H M encamped at the port of Cambay so that pleasant spot became the meeting-place of the spiritual and material oceans The merchants of Rūm,[2] Syria, Persia and Turan regarded the advent of the Shāhinshāh as a great boon and paid their respects H M embarked on a ship with a select party, and

---

[1] T.A Friday, 6 Shabān (12 December 1572).

[2] The Iqbālnāma has Farang (Europe) instead of Syria

ranks of mankind the preservation of their honour, the observing of peace with all, etc, and bade him confirm him (Akbar) in his good opinion of himself He (Akbar) also appointed as his assistants Shāh Fakhru d din Khān, Dastam Khān, M'aṣūm Khān, Saiyid Hāmid Bokhāri, Shaikh Muhammad Bokhāri and a large number of loyal heroes, and he encompassed them with favours above their positions His purpose in sending them was that they might inflict suitable punishment on the Mirzās if they should try to raise a disturbance there On the day of Āẕar the 9th of the said month (Dai) he reached Baroda Next day he learnt that the ill fated Mirzas had strengthened the fort of Surat and had collected near Cāmpānir The Khān 'Aālm, Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Shāh Quli Khān Muhram, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Mān Singh, and Khwāja Ghiāṣu d din 'Ali Iṣfahāni [1] and another body of troops were deputed to give those infatuated ones a lesson It was past midnight when an intelligencer brought news that when the news of the advance of the Shāhinshāh s army reached Ibrāhim Husain M in the fort of Broach, he put to death Rustum [2] Khān Rumi who had resolved on becoming loyal and wished to do homage Though he could not maintain himself in that fort against the world conquering standards, yet the wine of pre sumption in his brain was making him pass by at a distance of eight kos from the camp of fortune in order that he might cause a distur bance in the country As many of the loyal servants had already
12 been sent against those vagabonds the world lord—who in his excess of courage always wished to wield his sword in the battlefield —was pleased, and determined that he would personally make a rapid expedition and chastise those evildoers

---

[1] The variant is Aṣofkhani is preferable.

[2] This is the Rustum Khān who had so long defended Broach It appears from this account that it was not altogether in breach of a compact that Ibrāhim put him to death

CHAPTER III

RAPID MARCH OF H M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH AGAINST IBRĀHĪM HUSAIN M, THE BATTLE AND THE DEFEAT OF THE ENEMY

As H M knew that the chastisement of the presumptuous and rebellious was at the head of the deeds of sovereignty, he sent off Shahbāz Khān Mīr Bakhshī quickly in order that he might turn back the officers who had previously hurried off to put down the Mīrzās, and cause them to join the imperial force He left Mīr Muhammad the Khān Kalān, Khwaja Jahān, Shujā'at Khān and Sādiq Khān in the camp and in charge of the princes (Akbar's children), and put his foot in the stirrup of victory He took with him Khwāja 'Abdullah, Jalāl Khān Qurcī, Raisāl Darbārī, Āsaf Khān Jaimal[1] Bahādur Khān Qurdār, Maqbul Khān, Aqā[2] Sarkh Badakhshī, Mathurā Dās, and Adam Tājband Dilāwarkhān[3] was ordered to remain on the edge of the camp and to see that no one else should follow them H M. did not judge it proper that more than two[4] or three servants (*mardum*) of his companions should go with them lest Ibrāhīm Husain should decamp on account of the crowd of victorious warriors Though those loyalists who had the privilege of speech implored and lamented, it was of no avail He said that such was his reliance on God's help that he needed not a large force to quell those wretched insurgents But out of farsightedness—which is the foundation of conquest and world rule—he ordered that the army[5] which had gone in advance should be united with his band

[1] The Iqbālnāma has Wazīr Jamīl and this is probably right He is the man who afterwards turned traitor in Bengal.

[2] There is the variant Wāfa, and the Iqbālnāma has Wafa Cela and Sarkh

[3] The Iqbālnāma has *dilāwarān* Brave men were ordered.

[4] The text has *du kas* ' two persons, but as I O M.S. 236 and B M Or 26 207 have *du sih kas* two or three persons, I have adopted that reading I O MS 235 has *du sih hazar kas*, " two or three thousand persons

[5] *Lashkar-i-pesh*. This must the army which had previously marched against the Mīrzās and which the Bakhshī Shahbās K. had now been sent to recall. It is mentioned again a little lower down

On the same night that the news of the rebels had been brought, he mounted his swift steed when about two hours of night remained and went off at a gallop Malik Ashrāq[1] Gujrātī was added as a guide, as he was acquainted with the country. On that swift journey the guides went wrong owing to a design of Providence At last the path was found by the illumination of the sun of fortune and they went on still more rapidly.

One of the mysterious indications, which caused joy to H M.'s comrades, was that when it became morning, and the world-lighting splendour of the great luminary took possession of the world, a deer
3 appeared It passed into the mind of the Shāhinshāh that if he caught this deer it would be a sign of victory So a *cita* was slipped, and immediately the deer was captured When this became known to H.M.'s followers their hearts were strengthened a thousandfold and they addressed themselves to the march No trace of the enemy could be seen It appeared as if they had heard of the victorious, royal army, and had increased their pace Delay was also caused by the cavalcade's missing its way. When two hours of day remained, they fell in with a *brahman* and inquired from him about the enemy He said they had crossed the Bikānīr[2] river and encamped in large force at Sarnāl, and that the distance was about four *kos* H M. took counsel with his followers. Jalāl Khān said, Our troops have not come up yet, and the enemy is in force When we are so few in number it is not advisable to engage in daylight with so many The proper thing is to halt a while and make a night-attack" The mine of truth and courage did not approve of a night-attack, which is a form of deception and fraud, and in order to encourage his comrades, said, "Courage is a helper, and many cowards become brave men out of shame It is far better not to be

[1] Ashraf in text, but Ashraq is the correct reading

[2] So in text, but there is evidently an error Elliot VI 37 has Sakānīr, and Bird's Gujrat 310 has 'the ford of Biākāpūr" Evidently the river is the Mahindrī or Mahī, and perhaps the place is Wancaneer (Wankānīr) marked as on the Mahī, between Ahmadabad and Baroda, in the map to Bayley's Gujrat. The Bombay Gazetteer VII 529 mentions the town of Vāsopura as a place where the Mahī is fordable The original of the Mirāt Ahmadī has "the river Mahindrī at the ford of Bikānīr Bom lith 120

put off the work of the day till the night, and to fight with the smartness and alacrity that we are marching with" He uttered words of encouragement and said, "Friends, be stout hearted, and let each one of us overthrow a foe" Khwāja 'Abdullah said "Your Majesty will remember that you have often said that 'A good elephant is one who is not satisfied with overthrowing one opponent but addresses himself to the casting down and trampling upon many.'" H M commended this speech, and resolved, heaven helping, to fight by day,[1] and pushed on faster than ever At last the town of Sarnāl,[2] which was on the top of a hill, appeared in sight After H M had proceeded a little way further, he drew up his men on the banks of the Mahindri, and ordered them to put on their cuirasses At this time, when this Tiger of God was preparing for combat—and not more than forty men had arrived, news came of the approach of his other troops He was angry at their delay, and said to his companions, "We'll not suffer them to share in the fight with us" But when it was explained that the cause of their delay was that they had hurried off in an opposite direction and also that Shahbāz Khan, who had been sent to call them, had been long in coming up with them, his wrath was appeased, and he permitted some of them to present 14
themselves The Khān 'Aālm, Saiyid Muhammad Khan Bārhā Rajah Bhagwant Das, Shāh Quli Khan Mahram, Kuar Mān Singh Bābā Khān Qāqshal, Bhupat, Salim Khān Kākar, Bhoj, Haji Yusuf Khān and many others of the officers and cavaliers bent forward the head of shame and joined the royal cavalcade So the number of the troop became about two hundred At the time of crossing the river Mān Singh petitioned to be placed in the van H M said, "What force have we that we should make a division. To-day we are all one and have set our hearts upon the fight" He begged, saying, 'It is the privilege of devotion to go a few steps in front and to show life sacrifice" The just prince granted his desire and allowed him and some experienced warriors to go in front He himself, proceed-

[1] Akbar's meaning was that it was advantageous to fight in daylight as then men were ashamed to run away

[2] Sarnāl seems to mean "Head of the river and A F plays on this saying it was head of the hill. It is not marked on the maps and seems to have disappeared It is entered in the Ain as in Sarkar Ahmadabad Persian text p 494

-ing on *pari passu* with the Divine assistance, put his bay horse into the deep river By the good fortune and miracle of his personality the river became fordable, and all the loyal servants crossed in safety Ibrāhim Husain M had a little while before halted in the town of Sarnāl When he saw the dust of the victorious army and the horsemen crossing the river he recognised the Divine glory (*far Izdi*) and said to his companions, "Evidently the king is here from their crossing so splendidly" From illfatedness and shortness of vision he immediately prepared for battle and came out of the town and took post on rising ground When H M had crossed the river the bank was found to be very rugged[1] The devoted heroes abandoned prudence and pressed forward Parties of them came into the broken ground, and sought for a means of success The lord of the earth and a few of his immediate followers came to the gate of Sarnal which faced the river, and then some of the wretches tried to oppose him Maqbul Khan, a Qalmaq slave and some brave men rushed forward and levelled them with the dust When they got into the town they found the streets full of baggage, and it appeared that Ibrāhim Husain M had gone out with the rest of the rebels by another road and was prepared for battle The world's lord and a party of kindred spirits got out, with great difficulty, from the narrow and encumbered streets and he addressed himself to encouraging his followers Bābā Khān Qaqshāl and his bowmen were driven off by the enemy The other heroes stood firm Many of the practised warriors, who had got separated in the ravines, came in from every side and attacked the foe One of them, Bhupat[2] the brother of Bhagwant Dās, became confronted with a number of the enemy, and bravely yielded up his life

Verse

In every corner there was a hot engagement,
There was a dealing with an ill-fated set,
As the troops were few but fortune was friendly
They were better than numbers and difficulties

[1] The Mirāt Ahmadī says the broken ground is called *Kotar* by the people of Gujrat Bombay lith 121

[2] Badāūni calls him Bhupat, and says he was Bhagwān s son' The Iqbālnama calls him the brother s son of Bhagwān

For in war the result is from the stars
Not from wealth and a large army

As the ground was rough and there were thorn bushes[1] two horsemen could not advance abreast The tiger of the forest of courage displayed the power of God and slowly advanced by the narrow ways Rajah Bhagwant Dās was close beside him, and when on every side there was hard fighting three daring men rushed from out the ranks of the opponents against the lion-hearted sovereign One of them made at Rajah Bhagwant Dās and aimed his javelin at him, but the Rajah stood firm in his stirrups and attacked him with his spear The javelin did not hit its mark, and the Rajah so smote that wretch with his spear that he was overthrown Just then the other two attacked H M The thorn bushes were an obstacle, and the Khān 'Aālm, Shāh Quli Khān Mahram and some others who were near at hand were so unfortunate as not to be able to assist That tiger slayer and world-champion, when he saw that those two evildoers were coming near him, urged on his horse and jumped over the thorns and in front of them The glory of the Divine radiance affrighted them and they fled Ibrāhim Husain M was vanquished by the fortune of the King

Verse

Dost thou not know that when he engaged in combat
Fortune uttered the cry of "Beware"!
What brave man will seek a contest with him?
What courage will he have to look on his brow?
He so fights that heroes, high or low,
Fall down as if drunk with wine
At each onset he strides thirty paces,
At each wound an elephant falls down
The soldiers fly in crowds on crowds
They give themselves to the river and the rock

All at once they fled in confusion, and the warriors pursued them and killed many By the blessing of the Shahinshāh's personality such a great victory was obtained by a few

---

[1] Zaqqūm, either euphorbia antiquorum or a cactus

Verse

No one has seen such fighting in the world
Nor has heard of such from the skilled in history

The account of this great masterpiece is beyond the mould of
16 language, and so instructive an event has seldom been met with among the feats of the ancients, to wit, that such a great King, at whose beck are a thousand armies, should in his high courage and greatness of soul, not delay, but with a few of his own followers should make so long a march against so many brave troops, and should, by the Divine help, uprear the standards of victory and drive such haughty ones before him! Assuredly human power cannot account for such deeds, nor comprehend them Clearly it is the special Divine favour to which they should be ascribed!

His world conquering mind desired that the pursuit should not be given up till Ibrāhim Husain should be seized, but as the cup of his life was not yet full the darkness of night threw a veil over him. Of necessity the farsighted Shāhinshāh returned and encamped in the town of Sarnāl[1] He returned thanks to God and proceeded to reward his followers He sent the bulletin of victory, which was full of the wonders of the Divine aid, to the camp by Surkh Badakhshi Next morning he proceeded towards the camp, and on 12 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to the night of Wednesday the 18th Shāban (24 December 1572), he returned to the camp The gates of rejoicing and thanksgiving were opened anew

One of the occurrences of this time was that Shāh Quli Khān Mahram, Sādiq Khān and some of the chosen heroes were appointed to go to the neighbourhood of the fort of Surat so as to allow none of the besieged to escape When the news of the royal army reached the besieged in the fort, Gulrukh Begam the daughter of M Kāmrān, and wife of Ibrāhīm Husain M, took with her her son Mozaffar Husain M and some of her trusty adherents and went off to the Deccan Though the officers hastened after her they did not

[1] A F's account of the battle of Sarnāl is translated in Elliot History of India, VI 37 There is also in vol V 344, a translation of Nizāmu-d-din's account of the battle

[2] The wording of the B M MS Add 27 247 differs considerably from the text and represents a different recension It states, as also does Nizāmu-d-din that Shah Quli

succeed,[3] and that wise woman manfully[1] got away from them

Another occurrence was the chastisement[2] of Shahbāz Khān Bakhshī Begi, and the warning given thereby to all the pillars of the state The cause of this direction was that Mahmūd the son of Iskandar Afghan had been made over to his care, and that he managed to escape from his guards and go off to the Deccan H M severely censured him In fact it was kindness in the guise of wrath, so that the servants of the threshold of the Caliphate might not show slackness in the affairs of sovereignty—which in truth is a form of Divine worship—and should not lose hold of vigilance and wariness

Mahram pursued Gulrukh for fifty *kos* and that though he did not catch her, he got hold of some of her belongings The same MS gives at the beginning of the chapter a long account of the fortress of Surat and of its construction by Khwajah Safar (Khudāwand Khan or Rūmī Khān) It seems that *chaukandi* was a defensive work and apparently a tower and that the Portuguese objected to it because it was in imitation of their own buildings

[1] Cf "stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach II Maccabees C VII, 21

[2] According to the account in B M Add 27,247, Shahbaz Khan was bastinadoed but so that no visible marks were made It would seem as if this account were the one originally written by A F and that a vestige of it remains in the expression kindness, or pleasantry (*latfī*) in the guise of anger The pleasantry was in the beatings not being severe

CHAPTER IV.

H M FORMS THE DESIGN OF TAKING THE FORT OF SURAT

When it was ascertained that the rebels were making the fort of Surat—which is in Gujrat on the bank of the Taptı and near the
7 ocean—their place of refuge, and were labouring to strengthen it, and had made it over to Hamzabān, who formerly had been among the *qurcis*[1] (body-guards) of the Shāhinshāh, but whom an evil fate had now included among the mutineers, H M turned his attention to the taking of the fort Rajah Todar Mal, who was distinguished for foresight and mental activity, was directed to go and examine the methods of ingress and egress of the fort, and to submit a report as to how it could best be taken He reported[2] that the capture of the fort could be very easily effected But it was decided that the untying of this knot should be done by H M in person It was from looking to the majestic fortune of the Shāhinshāh that the Raja represented this difficult task as an easy one If he had had regard to ordinary considerations he never would have ventured on such a bold statement But at a time when so extensive a country had come into possession, and the sovereign had come a long way from his capital, and had for some months been behind the shields

---

[1] Badāūnī speaks of him as having belonged to Humāyūn's body guard

[2] B M Add 27 247 says that Todar Mal returned within a week and reported There is some confusion in the text and it seems that there is another recension which is represented by Add 27 247 What happened apparently was that Todar Mal reported that the fort was an insignificant affair and that there was no need for Akbar's going in person to take it Abul Fazl's comment on this is that this was not the real state of the case—the taking of the fort was a difficult task—but that Todar Mal considered that it was not right that Akbar should go there in person when he had been so long away from his capital and there were so many more important matters calling for his attention So Todar Mal relied on the good fortune of Akbar's arms and represented the task as easier than it was Akbar assented to Todar Mal's reasoning about his being required elsewhere etc., but still judged it proper to go in person to Surat.

of the army, and when the seditious were everywhere lifting up their heads, both those of Gujrat and those of the eastern provinces, how could it be right so great a lord should personally undertake the reduction of a fort? The ruler of the world perceived in his farsightedness that although the circumstances were of this nature, yet if the disposal of the affair were left to the officers there might be delay in accomplishing it, and that if he did not give his personal attention to the matter, the root of those evildoers, which was supplying them with the means of strife, would remain fixed in the soil of sedition as before Accordingly he determined that he would personally undertake the task and make easy what was difficult An order was issued that Shāham Khān Jalāir should proceed with a number of loyal heroes towards the fort of Cāmpānir, and that Qāsim Khān Mir Bahr, who was there, should come to head quarters, as he was H M's best pupil in the matter of making *sabāts* and driving mines An order was also sent to the Khān A'azam, informing him that H M was about, with God's help, to accomplish this work, and that he, as the arm of dominion, should see, in concert with the other officers who had been left to assist him, that if the turbulent Mirzās should invade the country they should be suitably punished As caution was the foundation of administration, Sher Beg Tavaci had been sent to Mālwa to direct Qutbu d-din Muhammad Khān and the Mālwa officers, who had been ordered to Gujrat, to proceed thither as quickly as possible so 18
that, if necessity should arise, the whole body of officers should be at his (Khān A'azam's) disposal, and clear the country of rebellious rubbish

When the Shāhinshāh's mind was at rest about the affairs of Ahmadābād he marched on the day of Bahrām 20 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 25 Shābān (31 December 1572), from Baroda towards Surat He moved on, stage by stage, hunting and administering justice as he went, and at last reached the neighbourhood of the fort on the day of Ardibihisht 3 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 7 Ramzān (11 January 1573) Balls from cannon and culverins came several times into the holy quarters, but by the Divine protection they did no harm As the station was very near to the fort, H M at the request of his officers moved to a place near the Gopi

Tank.[1] That, too, was near the fort, but it was screened by forest, and uneven ground. Here, too, cannon balls reached the bounds of the quarters, but the Divine protection did its work. H.M. invested the fort with his victorious troops, and assigned each side of it to experienced loyalists. The besieged in their evil fatedness and blackened hearts turned away from the sun of fortune, and in reliance on the strength of the place, the abundance of provisions, the number of cannon, etc., and the recalcitrancy of the Mirzās, fell into the abyss of insouciance. Some of them continually sallied forth and made attacks on the batteries. The lives-devoting heroes exerted themselves in chastising these wretches. One of the occurrences was that on a day when there was a rain of balls and bullets from above, and an attack from below by some rebels on the miners in the batteries, Saif K. had fought and distinguished himself. As he was coming back he was struck by a bullet. Though he was confined to his bed for a month, he eventually recovered. Some one said to him "H.M. is not pleased with you, and why do men like you take the lead for he says[2] to many who have not attained to your rank, "Why do you knowingly and intentionally throw yourselves into such dangerous positions?" That loyal warrior replied 'At the battle of Sarnāl I missed my road and could not be present at that manhood-testing place. From the disgrace of that day my life is a burden to me and I wish to make it lighter."

---

[1] The text merely has kūlābī a tank, but a note to the text says that many MSS. have Kolī talāo, and this occurs also in MSS. Add. 26,207 and ... But the true reading is Kopī or Gopī talāo and this is found in several MSS. Gopī was a Hindu and the founder of Surat about the end of the 15th century. He wished to call the city Suraj or Suryapūr, but the Muhammadan king of Gujrat preferred to give it a name which was also that of the chapters of the Koran and called it Surat. Gopī made a tank and lined it with stone intending it to be the chief ornament of the city. The site of the tank is still known and is still called Gopī talāo, but it is now only a hollow and is used as a garden. See Bombay Gazetteer II. 70 and notes. See also "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar" by Jivanji Jamshedji, Bom. 1903, Du Perron's notes, p. 186. Gopīpura is in the suburbs of Surat and near Salābatpura and Rustampura.

[2] The use of the word *mīfarmāind* seems to show that the remark quoted is by Akbar. I conjecture that for bisyārī we should read *ba bisyārī*.

One of the occurrences of the siege was the obtaining pos-
session of some elephants and baggage of the Mirzâs. The brief 19
account of this is that those blind and inauspicious men had
made over some of their elephants and other property to Rānā
Rām Deo, a landholder of that part of the country. When the
sublime camp halted there the camp followers went out on a plunder-
ing expedition, and those elephants, etc., came into their hands.
They regarded this as a good omen and brought them to H. M.
who rewarded them by princely gifts.

One of the occurrences of this time was the deputation of some of the officers to the capital. The brief account of this is that Muhammad Ḥusain Mirzā and Shāh M. were near Pattan and were waiting in ambush there for an opportunity to cause a commotion. Ibrāhim Husain M. who had come away with disgrace from the battle field of Sarnāl joined those two rebels at Īdar. It is the nature of the dominion which is conjoined with eternity that dumbfounded enemies show an activity in upraising the standards of its victory which surpasses that of the loyal, and exert themselves for their own loss. Instances of this occur in this book of fortune. The new instance was this, that a discussion arose among the brothers about Ibrahim's defeat at Sarnal. From criticism they came to violent language, and from that to a quarrel. Ibrāhim Ḥusain M., who was skilful as a swordsman and distinguished for his want of sense, was displeased with his brothers and separated from them, and foolishly resolved to make an attack on the capital. His haughty brothers, from their evil destiny, were glād of the departure of such a brother and did not try to appease him. When this news came to the ears of H. M. he appointed S. Mahmud K. Birha, Shāh Quli K. Mahram and Rajah Bhagwant Dās to the capital, so that they should follow Ibrāhim Husain M. An order was also issued to Shāham Khān that he should retire from the siege of Campanir and hasten to Kālpi which was in his jāigir, as the general report was that the turbulent man (Ibrāhim) had rushed off there. When the great officers reached the capital the commotion of Ibrahim Husain M. had already subsided and the eastern Afghans had raised up their heads. Mun im Khan the Khān Khānān was asking for help. Rajah Bihāri Mal, who had charge of the administration of the capital, sent the army off to the eastern provinces. It had reached Etawah

when Lūdī left Dāūd, and a stone of dispersion fell among that crew. Consequently it hastened back to the capital

When the narrative has come so far it is necessary for the historian to give a brief account of the eastern provinces The concise statement of this long story is that when Sulaimān Kararānī, who had been one of Selīm Khān's officers, became possessed of Orissa Bihār and Bengal, he as being a hypocrite, did not openly cast aside the thread of obedience He always sent petitions and presents and so kept himself known at court On account of this adroitness the veil of his hypocrisy was not rent away Whoever does not bind himself to the saddlestraps of such a lord of fortune (as Akbar) will some time have the dust of ruin cast upon his head and on the heads of those connected with him Especially shall anyone who enters into opposition to his lord soon receive his retribution, and leave no trace of his dominion The case of Sulaimān is a fresh instance of this truth When he died the Afghans raised up Bāyazīd his eldest son in his stead His elevation helped his folly, and he in conjunction with the vagabonds of that country, had the khuṭba read in his own name In his presumption he abandoned the dissimulation by which his father had tamed the haughty and rebellious and proceeded to oppress and vex them He made a practice of overthrowing his father's counsellors Hansū, the son of his cousin 'Imād, who was his son in law and was on friendly terms with him, became annoyed at his bad behaviour, and being stirred up to ambition by instigators of strife he had Bāyazīd put to death Thus did this wretch disregard so many ties and commit such an act and thereby produce a result which the imperial servants could not have accomplished by a thousand endeavours Ludī, who was the rational spirit of the country, in concert with other officers raised up Sulaimān's younger son Daud, and arrested Hānsu and put him to death Gūjar Kararānī, who was the sword of the country, set up in Bihār the son of Bāyazīd, and Ludī set out for Bihār from Bengal with a large force From Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khanān's want of attention, and the tricks of Ludī, Gujar made out his expedition

The brief[1] account of this is that when the death of Sulaimān became known, Mun'im Khān proceeded from Cunār towards Bihār

[1] This part is translated in Elliot VI 39

At the same time Sikandar Uzbeg died, which was good for himself and for others The Khān-Khanān sent Tengri Quli, Farrakh Irghliq and Payanda Muḥammad Sagkash and others against Hājipur, and Talibi, Mirzā 'Ali and Nadim Beg and others against Patna Gujar was not able to withstand them, so he sent presents and professed concord, and promised that he would enter the royal service, and would co-operate in the conquest of Bengal My request is, he said, that I may this day be enrolled among the servants 21
of the Shāhinshāh and that Gorakhpur may be given to me for my family and dependents, and that the province of Bihār be given in fief to the King's officers, or that you leave Sarkar Ḥajipur and Bihār to me for this year that I may account for their produce to the State Next year I can have my fief in Bengal ' Mun'im Khan Khan-Khānān accepted his request, and was about to give him Gorakhpur Meanwhile Ludi who was the manager[1] of these towns and the crafty one of the province, got information of the affair, and in conjunction with Hāshim Khān, who was always of two colours, spoilt the arrangement When Gujar became hopeless of Mun'im Khān he of necessity arranged with Ludi Mun'im Khan retired after receiving suitable presents from Ludi

At this time news came that Yusuf Muhammad had taken Gorakhpūr and was prepared for strife The account of this event is that Mun'im Khan had taken Yusuf Muhammad the son of Sulaimān Uzbeg with him to court and had represented his disloyalty H M the Shāhinshah ordered him to be[2] imprisoned in order that he might be watched and reformed When the royal standards had moved to Gujrat the wretch escaped from his prison in the capital, and joining with some other vagabonds he took Gorakhpur from Payanda Muhammad Sag kash's people When the Khān-Khānān heard of this he sent off Jān Muḥammad Bahsudi, Payanda Muhammad Sag-kash, and Tengri Qulī to quell this insurrection He also set out in person from the town of Mahmudābād along with Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās, Majnun Khān Qāqshāl and other officers On the way, Majnun Khān and the other Qāqshāls got suspicious and

[1] *Dimna* A F apparently puns on the word, for *Dimna* though it means a steward or manager, is chiefly known as the name of one of the crafty jackals in the Anwār Suhaili

[2] This part is translated in Elliot VI 39

separated themselves from Mun'im Khān's army The cause of this was that idle talkers and liars had spread a report that Bābā Khān Jabbārī, Mīrzā Muhammad, Shāh Muhammad and the other Qāqshāls who were in attendance on H.M the Shāhinshāh in the Gujrat campaign had killed Shahbāz Khān and had joined with the Mīrzās, and that H M had issued orders for Majnūn Khān's arrest The Khān Khanan sent Mīr Farīdun, Muhammad Khān Uzbeg and Abū S'aid to soothe Majnun Khān and to bring him back But though the envoys tried to contradict the rumours, they did not succeed Meanwhile letters came from Bābā and Jabbārī full of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness and of their own good service Majnun Khān was ashamed of his behaviour and proceeded to join the Khān Khānān's camp The Khān Khānān had taken Gorakhpur and had returned when Majnun Khān arrived Various courtesies passed between them Meanwhile the day of Dāud's destruction approached, and in his presumption he went towards Jaunpur He sent on in advance
22 of himself Ludī with the best troops and the choice elephants
Ludī came with a large force and took Zamāniya Muhammad Qāsim Muhrdār surrendered it on terms The Khān Khānān sent *sazāwals* and collected the officers He also sent ahead Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Majnun Khān, Qiyā Khan Rajah Gajpatī and a large body of troops He himself marched slowly forward At that time he took an omen from the Divan of the Mystic Tongue (Hāfiz) and this distich was found

Verse [1]

O King of the beautiful, be just to the pain of my loneliness
Without thee my heart is dying 'tis time you return

The Khan Khānan quoted this ode in his petition and sent it to the court He prayed for assistance from the holy mind of the Shāhinshāh, and went on to extinguish the flames of rebellion Ludī's presumption was increased by the capture of Zamāniya and he sent Yusuf Muhammad, who had fled from Gorakhpur and joined the Afghans, across the Ganges with 5 or 6,000 men M Hasan Khan, Rajah Gajpatī, Nazr Bahādur and Tālibī, Tengrī Qulī and others of the servants of Mun'im Khān relied on the Shāhinshāh's fortune and waged war discreetly The rebels were

[1] See Rosenzweig Schwannau's Hāfiz III 12 also Elliot IV 510

defeated, and a number were slain, and many drowned After this victory Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās and other officers joined the imperial forces, and an army was drawn up in Ghāzipūr The Khān-Khānān, too, joined them with a suitable body of troops Lūdī built a fort between the Siāh Āb and the Ganges and took post with a large army Every day there were single combats between the brave men on both sides Though the generals waged war manfully yet the enemy was superior in men, elephants and guns As the imperial standards were engaged in the siege of Surat, Mun'im Khān proposed a peace Lūdi in his haughtiness did not agree The generals were in a strange position To fight was not advisable, and it was difficult to retreat Suddenly the good news of the Shāhinshāh's success arrived, and Ludi eagerly made peace and retreated

The account of this instructive occurrence is that when Dāūd went from Bengal to Monghyr, he put to death Yusuf, the son of Tāj and his own cousin, from apprehension that Lūdi would set him up. Though this idea was really caused by the Shāhinshāh's good fortune, yet apparently it was the result of remarks by envious people As Ludī was an old servant of Tāj, and his daughter was betrothed to that son (Yusuf) Dāūd believed whatever the evil-thoughted said about Lūdi When the news came to Lūdi he left Dāūd, and with great urgency made an arrangement with Mun'im Khān, and sent suitable presents to court When Dāūd heard that Lūdi had turned gainst him and was coming, he retreated in great confusion and fortified Garhi He also distributed his father's treasures among the soldiers Jalāl Khān Sadhauri, and Kālā Pahār, who was called Rājū, left Lūdi, and a discussion broke out among his followers Lūdī, who was marching against Dāūd, was obliged to retreat and take refuge in Rhotās, and ask assistance from Mun'im Khān He plainly wrote that he had become a servant of the Court and that he wished to see him speedily, and hoped that by his help he would be exalted by kissing the threshold Mun'im Khān sent assistance to him and waited for the arrival of the royal standards Whither have my words gone, and how far have they carried me for the sake of enlivening my discourse?

One of the occurrences during the siege of Surat was the defeat of Muḥammad Husain M and other rebels

CHAPTER V

Battle of Khān A'ẓam M 'Azīz Kokaltāsh with Muhammad Husain M and the Fūlādiāns and their defeat

The sage and acute minded man knows that whenever the lord of the earth forms a right design, and engages in the tranquillising of mankind, the servants of the threshold of fortune become loyal under his auspicious guidance, and with one heart and endeavour recognise the work of their king their teacher and benefactor, as the Divine command, and devote themselves to his service The world's work is adorned and glorious actions are revealed At once does the sovereign of the world become successful spiritually and materially, and the loyal pass by their own loss and gain and recognise the service of the sultanate to be the highest form of Divine worship Thus they perform services such as seldom appeared in the times of former rulers This tale of a great victory is an instance of this The brief account of this Divine aid is that when Ibrāhīm Husain M was driven out of Gujrat by the Shāhinshāh s fortune and went off towards the capital, Muhammad Husain M and Shāh M and the Fūlādiāns, who were in the hills in a disorganised state, made a compact and came down upon the city of Pattan Saiyid Ahmad Khān exerted himself to defend the fort When the news of the gathering of the rebels reached Khān A'ẓim, he assembled his forces, and by a happy coincidence Sher Beg Tawācī, who had been sent to fetch the Malwa officers, added to them Quṭbu-d din Muhammad Khān, Shah Budāgh
24 Khān, Muṭṭalib Khān and the other fief holders of Malwa The Khān A'ẓim also sent persons and recalled Shaikh Muhammad Bukhāri who was in Dūlqa, and who was preparing, under royal orders, to go to Surat

When the officers were assembled, the Khān A'ẓim proceeded to arrange his forces in a proper manner He himself took charge of the centre Shāh Badagh Khān, M uinu d dīn Āhmad Khān Farankhūdi and his son Ma'ṣūm Khān, and Muttalib Khān and a large [illegible] were stationed there Quṭbu d din Muhammad Khān, Mir

Jamālu d dīn Husaīn Injū[1] held the right wing, and his (whose ?) men were on the flank of the right wing Shaikh Muhammad Bokhārī, Muhammad Murād Khān, Shāh Muhammad Khān and Hājī Khān Afghān, the son of Khwaṣ Khān, adorned the left wing Shāh Fakhru d dīn Moẓaffar Moghal and Pīyinda Arlāt were on the flank of the left wing Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Muhammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī and Mihr 'Alī Sildūz were in the van Bāz Bahādur and a number of others formed the *altimash* After arranging his forces the Khān A'azim proceeded towards Nahrwāla which is best known as Pattan On the day of Gosh, 14 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday, 18 Ramazan, 22 January 1573, the army reached the neighbourhood of Pattan The enemy abandoned the siege and faced the victorious army Sher Khān Fulādī and Junaid Kararānī commanded the centre Muhammad Husain M, Shāh M and 'Aāqil Husain M commanded the right wing Muhammad Khān the *eldest son of* Sher Khān and Sādāt Khān held the left wing Bidar Khān the younger son of Sher Khān Fūlādī commanded the van The rebels did not intend that the fighting should begin that day, as the son of Jujhār Khan and other seditious ones had not yet joined them Sher Khān Fulādī, by a feline stratagem, sent men to Shaikh Muhammad Bokhārī and proposed a reconciliation Many of the leading men of the army who sought for safety did not consider properly and were disposed to peace Shah Budagh Khān whispered to the Khān A'azim "Beware, and do not agree to peace the object of this crooked minded crew is to put off the time" The Khān A'azim replied, "My opinion is the same as yours As the minds of the officers were inclined for peace, and they did not understand the matter and Sher Khān's agents used deceitful language, the Khān A'azim said, "*If you are really for* peace retire from the place where you are and encamp until we come to you, for it is not seemly 25
for us to retreat" As the words of this crew were deceitful and had no sincerity about them, they did not agree to this proposition The imperial officers proceeded to the battle field And as it was generally stated that the Mirzās would take the victorious army in the rear,

[1] Ānjū in text He is the author of the Farhang Jahāngīr See Rieu Pers Cat II 496 He is mentioned very favourably in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal see Foster Hakluyt Society, 238

Mirzā Muqīm, Carkis Khān and a number of brave men were stationed on the rear of the centre.

When the two armies approached one another the left wing of the enemy attacked the imperial right wing, and drove off most of Qutbu d din Khān's men. The Khān kept his ground manfully with a few of his followers. He smote [1] with his sword between the two tusks of one of the enemy's elephants and so excited admiration. The vanguard of the ill-fated rebels attacked the imperial vanguard. Naurang [2] Khān's elephant, which was *mast*, attacked a horseman of his own army and crushed him. Just then the brave men of the enemy's vanguard drove off the imperial vanguard. The *altimash* (reserve), too, could not stand and showed cowardice. In their flight some ran to the right and some to the left. The Afghans followed them up. About 500 horses came in front of the Khān A'ẓim and were soon dispersed. The other body, which had driven off the van-guard and the *altimash*, came upon the left wing of the imperial army. Most of the latter lost courage, and Murād [3] Khān made himself a spectacle by withdrawing himself. Shāh Muhammad Khān was wounded and carried off by his servants to Ahmadābād. Shaikh Muhammad Bokhāri [4] with a few of his relatives, such as the son of Saiyid Bahāū d-din, Saiyid J'afar the brother of Shaikh Farīd and others, displayed courage and offered up their lives. The rebels thought that they had gained the victory and turned to plunder. The Mirzās came in person against Mir Fakhru-d-din Khān and his people. The Mir made some resistance, but could not maintain a firm footing. Quṭbu-d-din Khān remained with a few men and showed a firm front against the enemy. When the rebels had driven off Quṭbu-d din's troops and had come to the baggage and were occupied in plundering, Quṭbu-d-din came upon them from behind and attacked them. By the Divine help a thorough victory succeeded to a complete defeat. The Khān A'ẓim and the heroes of the imperial centre drove off the black-thoughted Afghans and turned against the enemy's centre which was advancing against

[1] It is not quite clear if it was Quṭbu-d-dīn himself who struck the low.

[2] Quṭbu-d-dīn's son.

[3] Blochmann 373.

[4] Blochmann 396. The notice of Muḥammad Bukhārī here gives a good account of the battle. See also Badāūnī Lowe 153-54.

Quṭbu-d dīn As most of the enemy's men had hastened off to plunder, they lost heart on seeing this force, and solely by the Divine favour did so glorious a victory show itself The Khān 26 A'ẓim stood with his men on the top of the ridge and rejoiced in the shouts of victory At this time the Mirzās appeared They had, after severe fighting, driven off the flank of the left wing and had pursued it for two *kos* This was a great boon If they had gone against the centre affairs would have been critical When they had gone far, and their men had dispersed to plunder, they heard of the defeat of Shēr Khān and returned to the battle-field In fact, if they had followed up those whom they had driven off to Ahmadābād, they would have been successful. But from their evil fate they proceeded towards the ground of the battle The Khān A'ẓim was drawn up in battle array with many faithful heroes when the army of the Mirzās approached, and Shāh Budāgh K said, "Now is the time to attack" K A'ẓim was about to do so, when Yār M seized his rein, saying, "Many officers are standing still How can you attack?" When the Mirzās came nearer they saw the real greatness of the imperial army, which was adorned by a spiritual force, and did not think it fit to engage, and as their evil fate was written on their foreheads they turned their rein and took to flight By the Divine favour a difficult task became easy. If the heroes had pursued them, hardly any of them would have escaped. Apparently those who made a practice of caution did not think it proper to put the matter to the test, or else they listened to the opportunists and the evil intentioned In fine, most of the officers in seeing this mysterious favour bound fresh threads of devotion round their necks and increased in single-mindedness

One of[1] the wonderful things which happened on that fortunate day was that a *mast elephant belonging to the enemy's army*, whose driver had been pinned by an arrow and killed, went about of its own accord, and approached wherever it heard the sound of the drums

[1] Add 27, 247 tells this story in different language and gives the name of the elephant (Barbīr) It says that it was after the victory and when the drums of joy were beating that the elephant appeared that the horsemen tried in vain to catch it, and that it was only by stopping the beating of the drums that it was caught

and there scattered the troops The drums of joy, which were sounding in every corps, stopped for a while, and the elephant's turbulence ceased He was caught by Shāh Budāgh Khān's men, and formed part of the peshkash (present to Akbar)

When the ill fated crew was defeated, Shēr Khān Fulādi has tened off to Junagarh, and the Mirzās went to the Deccan The Khān A'ẓim and the officers pursued them When the good news of the Divine favour reached H M's ears he offered thanks to God, and then issued orders that the Khān A'ẓim should send Qutbu d din Khān, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Murād Khān, Mihr 'Ali Silduz and a
27 body of troops in pursuit of the rebels, and that he should himself come and do homage The Khān A'ẓim had come to the district of Sarnāl in company with Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Maṭṭalib Khān and M'aṣum Khān when Raẓavi [1] Khān brought the *firman* The Khan A'ẓim received it with respect and kissed the threshold on the day of Daibamihr 15 Isfandarmiz Divine month, correspond ing to Monday, 20 Shawwāl, 23 February 1573, and was graciously received

One [2] of the things which happened during the siege of Surat was the arrival of Mozaffar Khān It has been already mentioned the Shāhinshāh's kindness had forgiven his incompatibilities and had sent for him When he reached Ahmadabād, the Khān A'ẓim had gone to put down the Mirzās Although it had been intimated to him (by the Khān A'ẓim) that it was proper that he should co operate in this task, he did not do so, and threw away such an oppor unity of service He continued his journey and came to Baroda hen the royal *firman* reached him The purport of it was that he ould turn back from whatever place he had reached, and hasten to e Khān A'ẓim's assistance He was obliged to turn back When he came to Ahmadābād it appeared that the imperial servants had been victorious, and that the Khān A'ẓim was proceeding to court in accordance with the sacred orders Thereupon Mozaffar Khān pro ceeded rapidly to court, and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*

---

[1] Blochmann 438

[2] This paragraph differs somewhat in Add 27 247 It says nothing about Mozaffar's recalcitrancy in not joining the Khān A'ẓam It says he returned to Aḥmadābād on 1 Shawwāl and arrived in Sūrat two days before the K A

before the arrival of the Khān A'aẓim. He was received with princely favours.

One of the occurrences of the siege was that a large number of Christians came from the port of Goa and its neighbourhood to the foot of the sublime throne, and were rewarded by the bliss of an interview (*mulāzamat*) Apparently they had come at the request of the besieged in order that the latter might make the fort over to them, and so convey themselves to the shore of safety. But when that crew saw the majesty of the imperial power, and had become cognisant of the largeness of the army, and of the extent of the siege-train, they represented themselves as ambassadors and performed the *kornish* They produced many of the rarities of their country, and the appreciative Khedive received each one of them with special favour and made inquiries about the wonders of Portugal and the manners and customs of Europe It seemed as if he did this from a desire of knowledge, for his sacred heart is a depôt of spiritual and physical sciences But his boding soul wished that these inquiries might be the means of civilising (*istīnās*, i e familiarity or sociability) this savage race [1]

[1] Add 27, 247, pp 242*b* and 243*a*, describes this interesting incident differently It gives the speech made by the pretended ambassadors *and ends by saying that Akbar treat*ed them graciously as long as they remained in attendance In Bird's Gujrat, p 320, it is stated that the besieged had invited the Portuguese and offered to give them the fort See also Mirāt Aḥmadī Bom lith, p 124, where the Portuguese intrigue is described My friend Mr Whiteway has referred me to Diego da Couto's account of this period in his 9th Decade, Chap XIII., p 63 *et seq.*, Lisbon 1786 Couto's chronology *is* confused, and he does not say distinctly where the ambassadors were received I am of opinion, however, that the embassy described by him, and which was under the charge of Antonio Cabral, and that mentioned by A F, refer to one and the same occurrence The difficulty in reconciling the statements is due in part, I think, to A F's conciseness, for at times he errs by defect quite as much as by redundancy Just as he says that the Turkish guns were brought to Surat by Sulaimān, while what he must mean is that Sulaimān brought them to Diu, and that Safar Āghā afterwards had them conveyed to Surat, so does he speak of a great number of Christians coming to Surat, while probably what occurred was that the Portuguese Viceroy and his fleet came to Daman in order to see what could be made out of the troubles in Gujrat As in former days they came to

and there scattered the troops The drums of joy, which were sounding in every corps, stopped for a while, and the elephant's turbulence ceased He was caught by Shāh Budāgh Khān's men and formed part of the *peshkash* (present to Akbar)

When the ill fated crew was defeated, Shēr Khān Fulādi has tened off to Jūnagarh, and the Mirzās went to the Deccan The Khān A'ẓim and the officers pursued them When the good news of the Divine favour reached H M's ears he offered thanks to God, and then issued orders that the Khān A'ẓim should send Quṭbu d din Khān, Shāh Budagh Khān Murād Khān, Mihr 'Ali Silduz and a
7 body of troops in pursuit of the rebels, and that he should himself come and do homage The Khān A'aẓim had come to the district of Sarnāl in company with Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Maṭṭalib Khān and M'asum Khān when Razavi[1] Khān brought the *firman* The Khan A'ẓim received it with respect and kissed the threshold on the day of Daibamihr 15 Isfandārmaz Divine month, correspond ing to Monday, 20 Shawwāl, 23 February 1573, and was graciously received

One[2] of the things which happened during the siege of Surat was the arrival of Mozaffar Khan It has been already mentioned the Shāhinshāh's kindness had forgiven his incompatibilities and had sent for him When he reached Ahmadabād, the Khān A'ẓim had gone to put down the Mirzās Although it had been intimated to him (by the Khān A'ẓim) that it was proper that he should co operate in this task, he did not do so, and threw away such an oppor tunity of service He continued his journey and came to Baroda when the royal *firman* reached him The purport of it was that he should turn back from whatever place he had reached, and hasten to the Khān A'ẓim's assistance He was obliged to turn back When he came to Aḥmadābād it appeared that the imperial servants had been victorious, and that the Khān A'ẓim was proceeding to court in accordance with the sacred orders Thereupon Mozaffar Khān pro ceeded rapidly to court, and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*

---

[1] Blochmann 438

[2] Th s paragraph differs somewhat in Add 27 247 It says nothing about Mozaffar s recalc trancy in not joining the Khān A azam It says he returned to Aḥmadābad on 1 Shawwāl and arrived in Surat two days before the K A

before the arrival of the Khān A'ẓim He was received with princely favours.

One of the occurrences of the siege was that a large number of Christians came from the port of Goa and its neighbourhood to the foot of the sublime throne, and were rewarded by the bliss of an interview (*mulazamat*) Apparently they had come at the request of the besieged in order that the latter might make the fort over to them, and so convey themselves to the shore of safety But when that crew saw the majesty of the imperial power, and had become cognisant of the largeness of the army, and of the extent of the siege train, they represented themselves as ambassadors and performed the *kornish* They produced many of the rarities of their country, and the appreciative Khedive received each one of them with special favour and made inquiries about the wonders of Portugal and the manners and customs of Europe It seemed as if he did this from a desire of knowledge, for his sacred heart is a depôt of spiritual and physical sciences But his boding soul wished that these inquiries might be the means of civilising (*istinas*, i e familiarity or sociability) this savage race [1]

---

[1] *Add* 27, 247 *pp* 242*b* and 243*a*, describes this interesting incident differently It gives the speech made by the pretended ambassadors and ends by saying that Akbar treated them graciously as long as they remained in attendance In Bird s Gujrat p 320 it is stated that the besieged had invited the Portuguese and offered to give them the fort See also Mirāt Aḥmadī Bom lith p 124 where the Portuguese intrigue is described My friend Mr Whiteway has referred me to Diego da Couto s account of this period in his 9th Decade Chap XIII, p 63 *et seq*, Lisbon 1786 Couto s chronology is confused and he does not say distinctly where the ambassadors were received I am of opinion however, that the embassy described by him and which was under the charge of Antonio Cabral and that mentioned by A F, refer to one and the same occurrence The difficulty in reconciling the statements is due in part I think to A F s conciseness for at times he errs by defect quite as much as by redundancy Just as he says that the Turkish guns were brought to Surat by Sulaimān while what he must mean is that Sulaiman brought them to Diu and that Safar Āghā afterwards had them conveyed to Surat so does he speak of a great number of Christians coming to Surat, while probably what occurred was that the Portuguese Viceroy and his fleet came to Daman in order to see what could be made out of the troubles in Gujrat As in former days they came to

Footnote 1—(Continued)

Diu to help Bahādur and ended by getting possession of the fort, so this time the Viceroy may have hoped to make a similar stroke by coming to Surat to help the Mirzās and then getting possession of the fort So he came to Daman with his fleet, presumably after an invitation from the Mirzās and then when he found that Akbar was too strong, he changed his plan and sent an embassy to Surat to Akbar It is quite possible too, as Couto states that Akbar had already sent an embassy to the Viceroy Akbar had his harem with him and several of his ladies wished to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and for that purpose it was necessary to conciliate the Portuguese. Perhaps the 'mother of Akbar referred to by Couto was his step mother Hājī Begam who appears to have gone on pilgrimage at this time, but it may have been Miriam Makānī, Akbar's own mother Gulbadan Begam, too, may have been one of the proposed party for we know that she had for a long time wished to go on pilgrimage though she was unable to do so till two or three years later Couto gives a translation of Akbar's *firmān* dated 18 March 1573 This is ten days after Akbar had left Surat Possibly it was granted at Broach where Akbar halted on his way from Surat to Aḥmadābād Couto also describes Akbar as being visited by the Portuguese merchants at Cambay and as assuming the Portuguese dress there and as allowing the Portuguese to kiss his hand He says Akbar had to leave Gujrat on account of the *Lukios* who were as troublesome to him in the north as the Afghans in the east I conjecture that by the Lukios the Bilūcīs are meant though Akbar's real trouble then in the north was from Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M According to A F it was the Bilūcīs who eventually rid Akbar of his enemy, though Niẓāmu d-dīn and Badāūnī represent the assailants of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain as Jhils Couto's narrative has also been used by Danvers in his Portuguese in India II 4 Possibly his Lukios are the Langahs an Afghan tribe who at one time held Multan, or they may be the inhabitants of the Lakhi forest

CHAPTER VI

The opening[1] of the Fort of Surat by the key of the lofty genius of the Shāhinshāh. 28

Why should I mention the awakened of heart and the profound and the far-sighted? The superficial and the practical clearly perceive that those connected with this eternal fortune make, merely from such a connexion, conquests which do not even occur as possible to the solvers of difficulties Especially they do this when to such connection there is added the auspiciousness of devotion, and most of all if they be of that fortunate band which has been exalted by the degrees[2] of loyalty toward the Khedive of horizons, how successful are they in their glorious enterprises! Consequently every task which this one who has been magnified by God (Akbar) does personally, comes forth gloriously and without the veil of delay The few days which wear the appearance of retardation seem to be the result of the Divine wisdom which requires them in order that the inscriptions of the degrees of devotion of the loyal, and the grades of each one's service may be recorded on the portico of visibility, that the jewels of ability may be polished, and the world's lord's method of educating men may be revealed to the world, and that the gold encrusted copper may be placed in the dissolving crucible and the coin of the realm be purified, and that the testing may be carried out to the uttermost

In fine, through the Divine favour the taking of this strong fortress, which the sagacious would not have imagined possible even after years of siege, was accomplished by the supervision of the Shāhinshāh in the period of one month and seventeen days. The pioneers made from a long distance trenches and so brought themselves to the walls and began to break them down, and the alert

---

[1] A. F puns on the word *fath* which means both conquering and opening The word for key is *miftāh* which is a derivative from *fath*.

[2] The reference is to the four degrees of loyalty to be exhibited by Akbar's servants See B V n 1 and 177

servants raised mounds (*tilhā*) around it, and from them showered bullets on the garrison, and the bombardiers also performed marvels When the presumptuous garrison perceived the true state of the case, and awoke from their slumbrousness, they opened the door of entreaty and supplication Hamzabān sent his father-in law Mullā Nizāmu-d-din Lārī to the sublime court, and he, having been intro duced by those who had the right of audience, represented in skilful language the dismay of the garrison That adroit and eloquent man represented to the lord, who is the friend of the wretched and the succourer of the miserable, the lamentations and prayers of that crew The heart of the Khedive of horizons inclined towards him, and the boundless ocean of his benevolence was put in motion Though the supplications were the result of necessity, and though the grandees who had the right of speech spoke against the exhibition of clemency, they were not listened to On the contrary their urgency for punishment increased the graciousness of that world giver He soothed each one of his intimates by special addresses Those who were heavenly in character he rejoiced by Divine utterances, and those who were earthly he brought into repose by worldly arguments (*maqalat kauni*) In accordance with his (Nizāmu d-din's) petition he sent Qasim 'Ali Khan and Khwaja Dost Kilān,
29 (Daulat)[1] who were associates both in the battle and in the banquet, to reassure Hamzabān and the rest of the garrison and to bring *them to the place of prostration* On the day of *Rashn* 18 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 23 Shawwāl (26 February 1573), the stiff necked ones of the fort did homage with a thousand supplications The Shāhinshāh's graciousness received into the reservoir of his protection the lives, the property and the honour of all the shame-faced evil doers But they cut[2] the tongue of Hamzabān, as it was always uttering futilities Some others, whom prudence required should be kept for some days under restraint, were put into confinement Next day H M surveyed the fort, and ordered that some large mortars (*deg*, but perhaps only cannon) which were called Sulaimānī, should be conveyed to the

[1] The variant Daulat is supported by MSS 27, 247 and 26 207 and by Badāūnī

[2] *zabān baridand* A F puns on the name Hamzabān of like tongue

capital[1] It appeared that they had belonged to Sultān Sulaiman, the ruler of Turkey (Rūm) He had intended to take possession of the European ports on the borders of Hindustan, and had sent great mortars along with a numerous army. But as the governors of Gujrat did not assist properly, the troops were distressed for provisions and had to return. Nor were they able to take with them those large guns[2]

One of the things which happened, after the conquest of Surat, was the coming to Court of Baharji,[3] the ruler of Baglāna, who was an influential landholder in that part of the country He brought with him to Court Sharfu-d-dīn Husain M with a chain round his neck The just Creator hath glorified this adorner of the Sultanate from the beginning of his power so that the seekers after bliss may rise to high degrees of felicity by recognising and obeying him, and that the auspicious and loyal may increase their devotion One of the great favours which has been bestowed on this Khedive of God-knowers is that whoever withdraws himself from obedience to him either becomes a vagabond in the desert of destruction, and is brought to be in need of the threshold which is high as heaven Or else he descends into the whirlpool of evils and is conveyed by his own bad deeds into the Presence. A fresh proof of this was afforded by this Khwāja's son The brief account of this is that from the time when this weak headed

[1] Bird 322 says they were not removed to the capital

[2] The expedition here referred to took place in 1538 The Sultan of Turkey mentioned by A F is Sulaimān the Great the son of Selīm He sent his army and fleet after the death of Bahādur Shah under the command of a Greek called Sulaiman Pasha He reached Diu on 4 September 1538 and besieged it but the Portuguese made a brave defence and Sulaimān abandoned the siege in 6 November See Whiteway's "Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," pp 256 and 265 Sulaimān had landed some heavy artillery for Safar Agha (Rūmī Khan also Khudawand Khān) to put in position Afterwards Safar Agha brought these guns to Surat Add 27 247 has a different wording (p 243b and 244a) and says that some of the guns are now in Jūnagarh It says that the Turkish expedition was unsuccessful because the rulers of Gujrat regarded the Turks as more formidable than the Faringhīs and so sided with the latter, and did not supply the Turkish fleet with provisions

[3] Baharjīo in some MSS and in Badayūnī

and infatuated one did not understand the teaching of the Shâhinshâh and adopted evil thoughts of being supreme, and trod the path of faithlessness, he became a vagabond and wandered from door to door of every one, high or low, and gave his honour to the dust of disgrace Why shall I say this? He revealed his own baseness Firstly, he gave to the Fulâdis Jalaur which had been recently taken (by him) by the backing of the Shâhinshâh's fortune, and joined himself to these wretches He spent some time in Pattan, and from there repaired to Cingiz Khân, and when the cup of the latter's life was spilled, he joined the Mirzâs When the
0 ruler of Khândesh came with designs against Gujrat, and failed and retraced his steps with loss, Sharafu d din joined him Then he came back in wretchedness and associated himself with Muhammad Husain M When the world conquering standards came to conquer Gujrat, and a stone of dissension fell among the rebels of that country, this Khwâjazâda should have come to worship at Court and made amendment for his crimes but as he was radically bad he hasted away to the Deccan He had to pass through the territories of the aforesaid zamindar and he either from a desire of being loyal, or for his own advantage imprisoned the Mirzâ and plundered all his goods He also endeavoured to arrest Ibrâhim Husain M's wife and children when they passed through the country, but did not succeed, though the two years old daughter of Ibrâhîm M fell into his hands When H M heard of this he sent Mir Khân Yesâwal to bring the landholder and his prisoners to Court And as it appeared that the ruler of Khândesh had sent his brother Raja 'Ali Khân to Court and that he had reached the territory of Nidarbâr, but was now being detained by the petty notions usual with landholders, an order was given to Mîr Khân to bring him also After that H M sent Jotik[1] Rai, Jai Tawâci bâshî and Balbadhar[2] brahman that they might extricate the landholder aforesaid from the thorn brake of delay, and that he might invigorate his brain by gathering the flowers of the garden of service These envoys obeyed the order and brought him and his prisoners to Court The innocent daughter[3] was taken under the shadow of H M's protection and

[1] The Court astrologer Blochmann 404 n

[2] Blochmann 501

[3] This was Nûru nisâ who after-

made over to the guardians of the harem The Khwājazāda was frightened by means of an elephant which was not a manslayer, and as the sovereign was just and from extreme graciousness did not kill criminals, he was put in prison For, keen inspection and profound consideration are requisite before destroying what has been founded by God (i e life)

Let it not be concealed that Baglāna[1] is a country one hundred *kos* long and thirty *kos* broad It has 2,000 horse and 16,000 infantry Its revenue is 6½ kror of dāms Whoever is the ruler, is called Baharji There are two forts—Sālhir and Mulhir on the summits of hills It has also two large cities—Antāpur and Cintāpūr It lies between Gujrat and the Deccan, and it submits to whichever of the two is the stronger At this time, when Gujrat came into the possession of the imperial servants, the ruler, being awed by the majesty and might of the Shāhinshāh, did good service and brightened his countenance by performing the prostration

One of the occurrences was that an injury happened to H M 's 31 hand, but it was cured The brief account of this instructive catastrophe is that the sitter on the throne of the Caliphate is always shrouding himself under a special screen, while the stewards of fate are ever removing this screen and displaying the spiritual and physical glories of him who has been magnified by God One night there was a select drinking party Discourse fell upon the bravery of the heroes of Hindustan, and it was stated that they paid no regard to their lives For instance, some Rajputs would hold a double-headed spear, and two men, who were equally matched[2] would run from opposite sides against the points so the latter would transfix them and come out at their backs That Divine wrestler of the world, for the sake of screening his glory or for testing men, or from

wards married Jahāngīr Blochmann 464 and 477 note 2 In Price s Jahāngīr 21 she is called Shāei Begam Perhaps she is the Nur Serai Maḥal who died in the 15th year of Jahāngīr s reign Tūzuk 323

[1] Jarrett II 251 The number of horse is there stated to be 3 000 See account of Baglāna called there Baglan in Bomb Gazetteer XVI 399 *et seq* It is a northern subdivision of Nasik See also extract from Bādshāhnama Elliot VII 65 and Bird s Gujrat 122 and n The revenue of Baglāna as stated by A F would come to about Rs 1 62 500

[2] *Hamsir* perhaps rivals

the melancholy [1] engendered by his being in the outer world, fastened the hilt of his special sword to a wall, and placing the point near his sacred breast declared that if Rajputs were wont to sell their valour in their [2] way, he would rush against this sword Awe fell upon those who were standing at the feast, and none had the power to utter a word, nor even to offer any opposition Just then Mān Singh ran with the foot of fidelity and gave such a blow with his hand that the sword fell down and made a cut between H M's thumb and his index finger Those present removed the sword and H M angrily flung Mān Singh on the ground and squeezed him Saiyid Mozaffar [3] foolishly tried to free him from the grasp of that tiger of God and by twisting his wounded finger released Mān Singh This increased the wound, but by the Divine protection it soon healed

When H M's mind was at rest about the affairs of that country, he committed the charge of that lofty fortress (Surat) to Qulij [4] Khān and gave him weighty counsels On the day of Mār Isfand 29 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 3 Zi l q'aada, 8 March 1573, he proceeded to Ahmadabād, and at this time too Rajah 'Ali Khān was honoured by kissing the threshold [5]

---

1 Cf text p 89 near top A F means apparently that outward existence or social life was distasteful to Akbar I do not think that A F means that Akbar was intoxicated *nishāh i zahir* is used by A F to mean appearances *e g* text III 43 9 lines from the foot, where the phrase is put into Akbar's mouth *Nisha* also means intoxication Du Jarric describes Akbar as being melancholy by nature

2 The Iqbālnama represents Akbar as saying that the two Rajputs who killed themselves *in this way* were rivals and at feud with one another He had no rival and no feud with any one (*ham sir u hamkhashm na dārim*) and so he would pit himself against the sword So also Mirāt Aḥmadī, Bom lith 125

3 The Mirat Aḥmadī says he was the brother of Saiyid 'Abdullah K (B 465) Probably he is the Saiyid Mozaffar mentioned in Akbar's letter to the priests of Goa

4 Blochmann 34 n 2 Badaūni says the fort was put in charge of Qulij's son

5 As before noted Add 27, 247 differs considerably from the other MSS It speaks of the Faringhī ambassadors asking to be allowed to inspect the fort of Surat after its capture, and at p 244b it tells a story about Akbar when in a state of intoxication attacking Shahbaz Khān

CHAPTER VII

Beginning of the 18th Divine year from the Accession, *viz*, the year Shahriyūr of the second cycle

During this auspicious time the shining standards of the Sultan of spring (the sun) polished the mirror of dispositions, the gardens were adorned by the silks of the rose and the satins of the jasmine The north winds and the zephyrs swept away the weeds and rubbish of autumn from the rose garden of the world, and the temperate breezes, equable as the justice of the Shāhinshāh, produced wondrous 32
effects, and mortals blossomed into new and glorious actions

Verse [1]

The parterre from its lightness sought to fly
The jasmine from its delicacy sought to melt
The wind wrote with the hand of hope
The story of the rose on the page of the willow
The jasmine and rose formed a caravan
The turtle and nightingale joined in cadence
Whiles Spring came to salute the parterre
Whiles the rose tore her breast in adoration (?)
The recorders of the garden assembled,
The nightingale decreed the death of the crow

After the lapse of eight minutes and seven seconds of the night of Wednesday the 6th Zi-ul q'aada 980 of the lunar year (12 March

---

with a dagger because he would not perform in a singing party

The T A says that Akbar reached Aḥmadābad on the last day of Zi al-q aada, 3 April 1573

[1] These lines are a cento from Niẓāmī s *Makhzan-ı asrār* The first two lines occur in Bland s ed, p 23, line 609, the next four are at p 32, line 5?8 etc But Bland has *qissa dıl* instead of *gul* The next two are at line 595, and the next two are at line 599, but Bland has *az dar-ı-gul* instead of *bar ı gul*, and *sıp ās* instead of *satāish* The two last lines are at p 33, line 621 The 'recorders of the garden are the birds Apparently the nightingale decreed the death of the crow, or the raven on account of its croaking

1573) the great light which illuminates the world shed his rays on the mansion of Aries, and the elemental world received the glory of the spiritual kingdom One of the great acts of the justice of the Shāhinshāh, which was revealed in the beginning of this year was the infliction of capital punishment on Jujhār Khān, the Abyssinian, who was one of the great officers of Gujrat, and was distinguished for his influence When the borders of Broach were brightened by the standards of fortune, the mother of Cingiz Khān demanded justice at the sublime Court, alleging that the greedy (*zurmast*) Abyssinian had come under the guise of friendship and killed her son Though the report was widely spread, and many in the camp asserted it, and it has already[1] been mentioned, yet as many incorrect and seemingly true stories are current, there was need for caution and consideration So an order was issued that wise and impartial men should inquire fully into the case, and should report the result of their examination of witnesses, etc They investigated and found that the charge was true, and an order was issued that the destroyer of God's handiwork should undergo capital punishment So he was thrown under the feet of an elephant in the presence of high and low The old and deserted woman never imagined that so powerful a man would be punished for misdeeds, and was astonished on beholding such justice She returned thanks to the Khedive of God knowers, and the general public received enlightenment from this just sentence The black minded and presumptuous sunk their heads in the collar of obscurity

When the sacred cortege neared Ahmadābād, the inhabitants went forth to meet and welcome H M On the day of Dīn 24 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 29 Zi l q'aada, H M encamped in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadabād In ten days the affairs of the country were arranged. He made over the charge of the province to the Khān A'azam Sarkār Pattan was bestowed on the Khān Kilān Dhulqa and Dandoqah were given to Saiyid Ḥāmid[2] Bokhārī, and similarly other estates were given to others

[1] There is no direct mention of Cingiz assassination in the previous pages of the Akbarnāma There is only an allusion to his death in the account of Sharfu-d-dīn p 29, two lines from foot. There is an account of Cingiz Khan's assassination in the T A near the end of the chapter on the kings of Gujrat

[2] Blochmann 397

Though the Khān Kilān and Qutbu-d-dīn Muhammad Khān were the uncles of the Khān A'ẓam and were old, yet the far-sightedness of the Shāhinshāh put them in a subordinate position, for in the code of just sovereignty weight is given to wisdom and not to years, and reliance is placed upon abundance of loyalty, and not upon age. Far-sightedness is the pillar, not bodily bulk. Intellect is the substantive thing, not the largeness of the visible body. The foundation of appointments is talents and virtues, and the qualities of ancestors are not regarded.

CHAPTER VIII

Return of the Shāhinshāh's cortege to Agra after the conquest of Gujrat

When the Shāhinshāh's sublime genius had done with the conquest of this extensive country, and had punished the haughty and presumptuous, and had rewarded the loyal, and had arranged for the administration of the country he, after celebrating the festival of the Id,[1] proceeded on the day of Ardibihist 3 Ardibihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 10 Zi ul hajj, 13 April 1573, by way of Pattan and Jālaur towards the capital When the *standards of fortune reached Sidhpūr*[2] *he renewed his instructions to* the Khān A'azam Especially did he exhort him to be active minded and of wide capacity, and to overlook men's errors, and to accept the excuses of the faulty, and to proceed with great consideration in the disposal of disputes, and to treat impartially friends and foes On the same day he graciously received and treated with favours the officers who had fiefs in that part of the country, and then allowed them to depart Rajah 'Ali Khān too was received with princely favours and then returned to Khāndesh Mozaffar Khān received the government of the province of Mālwa and was sent there Mān Singh Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram, Murād Khān, Muhammad Quli Khān, Saiyid 'Abdullah, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl,[3] Bahādur Khān, Lashkar Khān Jalāl Khān, Bhoj[4] and a number of others were ordered to hasten to Dūngarpūr, by way of Īdar, and from there to come on to the capital The Rānā and other zamindars[5] of the neighbourhood were

---

[1] The 'Id uz-zaha which occurs on 10 Zi ul hajj

[2] The I A has Haibatpūr and says Akbar arrived there on 18 Zi l hajj The Khān A'azam left Akbar here Sidhpūr, *however, seems right* It is in Baroda. *See Bomb Gazetteer, VII*, 616 It is 64 miles north of Ahmadābād

[3] Blochmann 502, 532.

[4] Blochmann 458

[5] The reference is to the Rānā of Udaipūr The result of Mān Singh's *deputation is given later on* The zamindar of 'Idar was Narain Dās Rathor

o be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage, nd the disobedient were to be punished

When the world-conquering armies had been deputed, the Shāhinshāh proceeded stage by stage On the day that he reached Sirohi, Mādhu[1] Singh and a number of men were sent to fetch that nursling of fortune's garden, Shahzāda Sulṭān Daniel, who had been conveyed from Ajmir to Amber, in order that he might be brought back to Ajmir, and might come under the shadow of the Presence In order to do honour to Rajah Bhagwān Dās, his auspicious sister,[2] who held high rank in the imperial harem, was sent off in order that she might be present at the mourning for Bhupat, who had fallen in the battle of Sarnal

When H M reached Sirohi, a letter came from the Punjab officers announcing that Ibrāhim Husain M had gone there with evil intentions, and that he had been properly punished and made a prisoner, and that mankind had thus been rescued from the flames of his sedition The short account of this Providential help is as follows Ibrāhim Husain M, who had rebelled against the spiritual and material lord, had been defeated and become a vagabond and had joined his brothers in Īdar The Shāhinshāh's fortune had produced dissension among them, as has already been related, and he had gone off to the metropolitan province, taking with him his younger brother Mas'aūd M He had come by Jalaur and Jodhpur to Nagor. Farrukh Khān, the son of the Khan Kilān, had been appointed to the command there, and he undertook the defence of the town The Mirzā proceeded to invest it, and matters were almost past remedy when Rai Raisingh, Mirak Kolābi Muhammad Husain Shaikh and a number of others whom H M had left in Jodhpur when he went to conquer Gujrat, as well as Rai Ram, the son of Maldeo, who held Sujat as his fief, and Naqib Khān, Mir[3] Ghiaṣu d din 'Ali, and a number of men who had bound on the *dress of service and were on their way to* Gujrat joined together and marched in pursuit of the Mirzā When 35
they came near, he withdrew from the siege and went on faster On the day of Saiosh 17 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 3

[1] Son of Rajah Bhagwan Das

[2] This was Akbar's wife and the mother of Jahāngīr

[3] The text has ... son of but ... this is a mistake Mir Ghiasū d dīn was another name of Naqib K and he was the son of Abdul Latif

Ramẓān, 7th January, 1573, the loyalists arrived at Nāgor, and Farrukh Khān joined them The officers were doubtful about pursuing the Mirza, but at length, on the urgency of Rai Rai Singh, they became all of one accord and set off next day in pursuit At the end of the day, near a village called Kahntonī,[1] and which is a dependancy of Nāgor, they came up with Ibrāhīm Husain M As it was night they were obliged to draw up their forces and halt Rai Rai Singh held the centre with his followers. Rai Rām held the right wing, and Mirak Khān Kolābi, Muhammad Husain Shaikh, Farrukh Khān, Naqīb Khān, I'tibār Khān, 'Alī Qūlāq, Muḥammad Husain Jālabān, and Mir Quṭbu d din held the left wing It happened that the tanks in that neighbourhood were in the possession of the enemy. When a watch of the night had passed the men grew thirsty, and a party of the Moghuls rescued one of the tanks The Mirzā divided his force into three bands, and made an attack upon the imperialists They began by engaging the advance guard of Rai Rām, and they had gained an advantage when Rai Rām came in person and drove them off. Ibrāhim Husain M detached a body of his own men and sent them against the Moghul officers Gallant men advanced from the latter force and engaged in battle The Mirzā became aware of the defeat of his own men, attacked in person, and Mīrak Khān Kolābi distinguished himself But the force was nearly wavering when Rai Rai Singh came to its assistance Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M could not withstand this onset and turned and fled Most of the imperialists escaped injury, but Naqib Khān was wounded by an arrow He however recovered The victorious officers had regard to its being night and did not quit the field That night a great misfortune befel the Mīrzā His horse fell from the stroke of an arrow and he had to run some way on foot Then one of his servants came up, and he got upon his horse, and fled with a few men If the officers had exerted themselves next day, he would have fallen into their hands But they were satisfied with their victory and all went off to their fiefs. The wretch went on towards Delhi Raja Bihāri Mal, who was in the capital, sent Khangār[2] and a body of troops to Delhi, and all the

[1] Also called Kahtolī and Katholī

[2] Blochmann 419 mentions a Khangār who was zamīndār of Great Kachh, but the Khangār here meant was the nephew of Rajah Bhagwān See Elliot V 364

jāgirdārs who were not in this force assembled at Delhi. The inauspicious one (Ibrāhīm) hastened off to Sambal[1] when he heard of 3
the arrival of those troops, and there made some preparations. Ḥusain Khān,[2] who was in Patialī,[3] got together some jāgirdārs and others. Just then the news came of the taking of Surat and of the march of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's army. Ibrāhīm was obliged to go to the Panjab. The Khān Jahān and the other Panjab officials were engaged in taking Nagarkot, and Ibrāhīm thought he would find the place empty and be successful, or else turn to Gujrat by way of Sind. For these reasons he went off from Sambal to the Panjab. Wherever he went he did not fail to exercise oppression and misconduct.

Ḥusain Qulī Khān in accordance with the sacred orders sent a letter of advice to the men who were in the fort of Nagarkot, but they did not hearken to his counsels. The officers marched and besieged the place. When Rajah Jai Cand was going to court he, out of forethought, committed his son Badī Cand, who was of tender age, to the charge of Rajah Gobind Jesawal.[4] Meanwhile the Rajah (Jai Cand) returned to the fort and proceeded to defend it. The work of the siege was nearly ended when the news came of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M.'s attack on the Panjab. When the loyal officers heard of this they held a consultation. Muḥibb 'Ali Khān, M. Yūsuf Khān, Kharram Khān, Fattū and a number of others were of opinion that this affair should be settled by a peace, and that they should hasten from this hill-country to the centre of the province, and take precautionary measures before the rebel should arrive. The Khān Jahān and another party took a narrower[5] view of the situation. As they had worked hard, and the fort had been nearly reduced to extremities, they were not willing to make peace. The officers said, "The measure

---

[1] His former fief.

[2] This is Husain K. Tukriyah. The account of the siege of Nagarkot is more fully given by Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī. See *Elliot* V. 356 and Badāūni.

[3] In the Etah district.

[4] This must be the same man who is called Gōpī Cand a little lower down.

[5] The text has *nazrrā farākhtar sākhta*, "taking a wider view," but the I.O. MSS. and the sense of the passage show that a negative has been omitted and that the reading should be *nasakhta*. Because the Khān Jahān had worked hard, he could not take a wide view, and perceive that the all-important thing was to anticipate Ibrāhīm.

of the gain or loss from the taking or not taking the fort is a known quantity, but the disturbance caused by this sedition monger is a very weighty matter' The Khān Jahān said, "I will make peace on this condition, that a proceeding be drawn up, descriptive of the character of the consultation, and that each person put his seal to it, so that if this withdrawal does not please H M the officers[1] will escape responsibility" The officers delivered a writing and knocked at the door of peace The Rajah regarded this as a great deliverance and was pleased The peace was founded on four conditions 1st—The Rajah should send his daughter to the sacred harem 2nd—He should pay a suitable tribute 3rd—He should send with the officers
37 responsible persons from among his sons and other relatives, so that if the king did not approve of the peace, those men should remain until the delivery of the fort 4th—As this province had been given to Rajah Birbar as his fief a large sum of money should be assured to him The Rajah agreed to all four conditions The Khān Jahān added a fifth condition, viz, that Rajah Gōpī Cand should come and pay his respects, and he said that in order to satisfy the Rajah, some of M Yūsuf Khān's brothers would come into the fort until the Rajah returned. Or else M Yūsuf Khān and Kharram Khān would come and stay in the fort At last he sent M Yūsuf Khān's brothers and the Rajah took them with him and came into the camp He paid his respects to the Khān Jahān and took leave The victorious army addressed itself to putting down the Mirza No long time had elapsed when the Rajah returned and from spirit of loyalty said, "At this time when you are going against the foe, why should I go back to my house?" So with great joy he joined the army of fortune

The Mirzā had come plundering to the borders of Dipālpūr, when he heard the news of the approach of the loyal officers he became astonished and downcast He abandoned the thought of Lahore and went to Multan The officers left their baggage and the impedimenta of the camp and went on unencumbered to uproot the rebel When they came near the town of Talamba[2] which belongs to the

[1] By officers is here meant apparently the Khān Jahān himself or the officers who sided with him Perhaps the meaning is each will bear his own share of the blame

[2] It is Palta in text Add 26, 207 has Talamba

province of Multan, it transpired that the Mirzā had come there on the previous day and was staying there The officers set themselves to draw up their forces Husain Quli Khān, Ism'ail Quli Khān and a number of brave men held the centre Muhibb 'Ali Khān and M Yūsuf Khān were on the right wing Khurram Khān, Dost Khān Sahāri and Shāh Ghāzi Khān Tabrizi were on the left wing J'afar Khān, Fattu and other brave men formed the vanguard They marched in this order On that day Ibrāhim Husain M had gone off with a few men to hunt When Mas'aūd Husain M heard of the approach of the imperial army, he prepared for battle, and sent a man to summon the Mirza The latter hastened back with the foot of ruin, and after having made some arrangement of his troops advanced to the conflict He engaged the right wing of the imperialists, and also with the vanguard somewhat By the heavenly favour there blew a breeze of victory Husain Khān, who had hastened after the Mirzā from Sambal, behaved valiantly in this battle Mas'aud Husain M was captured, and many of the vanquished rebels were slain The officers returned thanks for this great boon and wrote to S'aid Khān, the governor of Multan, that they had happily accomplished what lay upon them, and that they were now going to their fiefs, that the abandoned wretch had come to the province with a few men, and that it would be a fitting service to seize him so that his commotion might be altogether quelled

Ibrāhim Husain M went off rapidly and in a miserable plight When he came to the district of Multan the Bilucis headed him and stopped his progress He wished to come off by fighting Some who were with him were killed He himself was wounded and took refuge in the house of a Biluci [1] When S'aid Khān heard of this he set out to search for him, and he found him in the place that he had crept into, and seized him He reported the circumstances to the court When his letter was communicated by the courtiers to H M, he returned thanks to God first for the repose granted to his subjects, and secondly for the seizure of this injurer of the State, and an order was given that he should be brought to court But he who had been

[1] Badāūnī describes the Mirzā as changing his dress and assuming the character of a calendar He took refuge in the house of a dervish who betrayed him to S'aid Khān Ibrāhim's wound was in the throat

caught by his own devices was already dead, either of his severe wound, or from fear of the Shâhinshâh's majesty, or from excessive shame Or perhaps the stewards of fate knew the extent of the Shâhinshâh's graciousness, and that if he came to court, the sovereign might pardon him, and on this account dissolved the bond between his perverse spirit and his vile body On the day of Bahman 2 Khirdâd, Divine month, corresponding to 11 Muḥarram 981 (13 May 1578), H M arrived at Ajmîr, and that seeker after the Divine favour visited the holy shrine and distributed various favours to the officials and visitors of that city The special courtiers brought the prince Sulṭan Daniel there, and after one week H M proceeded towards the capital

When the standards of fortune reached Sângânîr [1] the Shâhinshâh decided that he and a few should make a rapid march to the capital, and that the camp should proceed slowly stage by stage In the space of one day and two nights he completed that long journey and arrived at the town of Bacûna,[2] which is eight *kos* from Fathpûr Jotik Rai [3] represented that after three days there would be an auspicious time for reaching the capital So the Shâhinshâh remained in that town for three days. Shaikh Selim [4] and all the great and honourable men came to welcome him

[1] In Jaipur

[2] Or Bajûna, but I have not identified the place.

[3] The astrologer

[4] The Fathpûr Sîkrî saint after whom Jahângîr was named

CHAPTER IX.

Arrival of H.M. at the Capital.

The achievements and success of the great ones of the realm and 38
religion and of the spiritual and material rulers are bound up with a right intention and a proper behaviour, the chief point of which is the seeking after the well-pleasing of God. The differences in the grades of mankind are connected with these two great characteristics. Whoever possesses these two qualities in a higher degree, becomes more and more prosperous, and his sacred personality becomes a source of great deeds. God be praised! Those two great qualities, which are the stock of realm and religion, exist in the sacred elements of the Shāhinshāh in a quantity and quality which exceed imagination, and which few of the great men of old times have attained to. Why then speak of leaders of the present time? Hence it is that he is perpetually successful in a special manner. His success in realm and religion makes him submissive to the incomparable Deity and gracious the humble. Just as his fortune increases, so his graciousness becomes greater. At this glorious time when such a vast country had been conquered in a short time, he with a thousand supplications to God arrived at Fatḥpūr the capital on the day of Dībādīn 23 Khirdād, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 2 Safar (3 June 1573) All the grades of mankind were exalted by doing homage, and their eyes and hearts were gratified by beholding him. Shaikh Mubārak the honoured father of this distracted one of the society of being (A. F.), who spent his days in retirement and devotion, and had a wonderful association with the lord of the world, and who, though in appearance he was little acquainted with H.M., yet always kept his heart full of light by his loyalty to that unique one of the age, and held high rank with him for purity and devotion, came to welcome him and to offer his congratulations. He represented that though the general public were presenting their felicitations to the lord of the world, yet what was now being shed upon his faithful heart from the unseen world was as follows: "Let that lord[1] of the universe of blessing

[1] *Khudāwand-i a'alm-mubārakbādī.* I believe that this expression means

announce to the loyal and sincere that God, the Bestower of the World, hath on account of the abundance of our[1] right thoughts and right actions bestowed upon us[2] such a great boon and sublime blessing (viz, the holy personality of H M), in order that by his wide capacity and good administration of the outer world he may become the Primate (*Peshwa*) of the spiritual kingdom, and it is for this purpose that such glorious victories have been unveiled" The great appreciator was much pleased by this wondrous congratulation, and dismissed that holy eremite with reverence He often called the weighty announcement to mind and referred to it with his holy lips

10 Also during this happy time the great officers came to court from the provinces, and attained their desires Among them was *Husain Quli Khān, the governor of Lahore,* who came with many officers of that province to do homage He brought Mas'aūd Husain M and all the prisoners, who had fallen into his hands in the battle, wrapped up in cowhides[2] from which the horns had not been re moved, and thereby excited great joy at court The merciful Khedive pardoned their wickedness and immediately ordered that they should be set free from such a dress For correction and from kindness he ordered that each of them should be made over to some place so that the real character of each might be ascertained[3]

A F's father Mubārak Mubārak-bādī is a sort of pun on his name The message to him from the spiritual world was that he should announce to the faithful that Akbar had been so exalted by external victories in order that he might become their spiritual king also

[1] The word *mā* is omitted by B M add 27, 247 and 26, 207 I O MS 236 has *bamā* ' to us which is probably right Evidently this announcement of Mubarak s was a prelude to the famous decree given in B 186, which he drew up whereby Akbar was declared to be higher than a *Mujtahid* and to have the power of deciding religious questions It will be remembered that when Mubārak drew up this document in 987, i.e., six years after this announcement, he added the statement, B 187, that he had for several years been looking forward to such a consummation

[2] Perhaps the hides were those of the 200 cows whom Nizāmu d dīn mentions as having been slaughtered at a temple outside Nagarkot

[3] The account in the T A of these events is fuller than that in the Akbarnāma Nizamu d-dīn says that Mas aūd s eyes had been sewn up but that Akbar caused these to be opened He also released many of the prisoners, and made over others to jailors

Also at this time Kuar Mān Singh and other officers came by way of Idar and were exalted by doing homage The short account of this victorious army is that when it came to the borders of Dungarpur, the zamindar thereof behaved presumptuously and prepared for war The brave troops punished that seditious one and killed a great number, and plundered his country Darveshak, one of the officers of the victorious army, was killed From there the army went, in accordance with the orders of the King who protects the obedient and punishes the criminal, to Udaipūr which is the native country of the Rānā The Rānā came out to welcome them, and received him with respect and put on the royal khil'at He brought Mān Singh to his house as his guest, but owing to his evil nature he proceeded to make excuses[1] (about going to court), alleging that "his well wishers would not suffer him to go" He made promises about going to the sublime court, but raised objections, and gave Mān Singh leave to depart, while he himself stayed and procrastinated Also at this time Husain Qulī Khān was exalted by the title of Khān Jahān Each of the officers who had done good service was rewarded with glorious favours The throne occupier sate on the *masnad* of appreciation and distributed rewards He adorned the Sultanate with justice, and made justice glorious by grace and gifts He adorned the heavens by praise, the earth by civilization, the age by tranquillity, the palace by decoration, and man by exaltation, and exerted himself to elevate every one in his degree He shed light by suitable regulations, and joined spiritual to material sway! 40

One of the dominion increasing events of this time was that the Shāhinshāh addressed himself to the conquest of Bihar and Bengal, because the peasantry were suffering from the dominion of the evil Afghans The Khan 'Aalm, Ashraf Khān, M'uinu d din Ahmad Khān, Qāsim 'Alī Khān, Mirzā 'Alī, and a number of other officers were sent off to the eastern provinces An order was issued to Mun'im Khan Khān Khānan to the effect that "when the sublime standards

[1] See *Elliot* VI 42 He seems to have read *ghadr* treachery but the MSS have *uzr* and this seems correct Mān Singh had been told to bring the Rana to court but the latter was shy of coming there and put off the visit Erskine in his translation B M Add 26 621 read the word as *uzr* and so did the author of the Iqbālnama

were engaged in purifying and sanctifying the country of Gujarat, the faithful servant (Mun'im) had recognised the circumstances of
1 the time, and chosen the path of discretion and delay Now when by our dominion and fortune our throne has been made illustrious by our justice, it is right that on receiving this missive you proceed to conquer that country and to chasten the erring and seditious" Though the loyal officers who held fiefs in those parts were, by the favour of God, sufficient, yet as the more they were, the easier the task would be, many others were appointed, and from excellent foresight Rajah Todar Mal was sent to Mun'im Khān in order that he might impress upon him many of the rules of conquest which had been imparted to him (by Akbar) He was also to inquire into the capabilities and harmony of the officers and to report thereon to H M For if they had the energy for world conquest, there was hope that the country would soon come into the possession of the imperial servants Otherwise it would be necessary for H M to proceed there in person The Rajah went there quickly and returned and reported that there was abundance of troops and that the officers were of one accord, and had sincere intentions and lofty aspirations According ly the mind of H M was set at rest

CHAPTER X

The expedition of the Shāhinshāh for the second time to Gujarat, and his return with victory

Though in the eyes of the superficial many things are the cause of joy to the envious and those of narrow capacity, yet in fact, they are the beginnings of increased dominion and the vanguard of brilliant fortune They are at once the key of hope and peace, and the bolt upon sedition, and both the material of increased loyalty, and the leaven of destruction for the hypocritical Of this nature was the commotion which now arose in Gujarat, to quell which the world's Khedive went there in person The brief account of this instructive occurrence is that when H M the Shāhinshāh dismissed the Khān A'azam M Koka and went on to the capital, the latter, as he knew that Ikhtiyār il mulk had raised the head of sedition in Īdar in conjunction with Rai Narain, the zamindar thereof, and that the sons of Sher Khān Fulādi had joined him, in order not to delay the affairs of the State, went off straight to that province without going to Aḥmadābād Mirzā Muqim,[1] who had a fief there, left it on account of the predominance of those evil conspirators, and joined himself to him

The Khān A'aẓam was in the act of extirpating that crew when 42
the dust of Muhammad Husain[2] M 's strife rose up again The brief account of this is that Muhammad Husain M heard in the territory of Daulatābād in the Deccan of H M 's proceeding to the capital, and came to Surat and stirred up commotion Qulij Khān shut himself up and attended to the defence of the fort The Mirzā left that place and came to Broach which he took owing to the unfaithfulness of Quṭbu d din's servants From there he went to Cambay and also got possession of that place without a battle owing to the carelessness of Hasan[3] Khān (Khazānci) who came away to Ahmadabad The Khān

[1] Perhaps the Muqīm Naqshbandī of Blochmann 433

[2] Blochmann 463

[3] Niẓāmu-d dīn has Hasan Khān Kurkarāq and says he was the shiq dār Elliot V 360 has Karkarāh by

A'ẓam sent Saiyid Hāmīd, Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Shaikh Muḥammad of Monghyr and a number of others to assist Qutbu-d dīn Khān. Just then Ikhtiyār al mulk and the body of men who were in the defiles of the hill country acquired strength[1] and came forward The Khān A'azam took protection in a strong place and stayed there The rebels could not venture to attack him They considered, "How long will he stay there? What advantage will he reap from it? Our course is to attack Ahmadabad If the Khān A'azam come out of that stronghold we shall fight him and perhaps we shall succeed If he does not come out we shall get possession of Ahmadabad" With this evil intention they marched out At the end of the day the Khān A'aẓam, when he heard of the march of the enemy, proceeded rapidly towards Ahmadabad As the day was near its close the enemy could not oppose him, and Khān A'azam without halting during the night entered the city at dawn On the same night Muhammad Ḥusain M., passed close by after his defeat at Cambay and some baggage was captured by him As he was in a miserable plight, he passed along at a distance from the Khān A'azam's army, and joined Ikhtiyār al mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fulādi The account of this mysterious boon is that Qutbu d-din Khān, Saiyid Hāmid Bokhāri, Naurang Khān and a number of the servants of the Khān A'azam came to Cambay That wretch, though he had few men, exceeded his powers of resistance, but was utterly defeated Saiyid Bahau d din displayed great bravery and offered up his life The officers regarded his defeat as a great boon and did not address themselves to pursuing him If they had exerted themselves a little, the scoundrel would have been caught

In fine, when he had joined that inauspicious crew, he was very earnest that they should hasten to Ahmadabad The Gujratis made long speeches and debated the matter for three days This was owing to the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and the Khān A'azam employed this respite in strengthening the ways of ingress and egress

---

mistake for Karkaraq The word is Turkish and means wardrobe or keeper of wardrobe See B 87 n 2 and 616 *Kurk* means fur, and the word is properly *Kurkiarāq*

[1] I adopt the reading of Add 26 207 which has *bālish yāfta* The text has *istamalat yāfta* and there is the variant *malish yāfta*

The Cambay officers also arrived, and after some more days those ill fated and presumptuous men arrived in the neighbourhood of Ahmadabad Though the army was such that if they had given battle, the imperial servants would have been victorious, yet as the Khân A'azam had not confidence in his own men or in those of Qutbu-d-din 43
Khân, he did not engage At the time of bidding him adieu the far-sighted Khedive had advised him that if by heaven's decree the seditious should gather together, and there should be a hot disturbance, he should be very cautious about giving battle He observed this fortune-increasing advice One day Fazil Khân (son of the Khan Kilan) came out near the Khânpur gate, and sought for a combatant, when a body of the enemy fell upon him, and as soon as they attacked his men, they fled, and Fazil Khân was severely wounded When he came inside of the city he expired Sultan Khwâja[1] got separated from his horse and fell into the ditch They fastened a basket and pulled him by a rope But as by heaven's arrangement they were all agreed that they could not with their troops give battle, the Khan A'azam sent a report to the Sublime Threshold along with Sultan Khwaja, in which he described the state of affairs and asked for assistance, moral and physical, from the Shahinshah When the Khwâja arrived at court and the facts of the rising of the dust of commotion were shown to H M, inasmuch as that mine of manliness and ocean of kindness was exceedingly fond of M Koka, his world conquering genius determined that he would make an expedition in person and go post towards that country As from shortness of time there was not an opportunity for the men's making arrangements for this great enterprise, he opened the door of the treasury and poured abundant money into the laps of his servants in presents and in assistance And the sacred harem was set off along with many of the faithful officers, such as Shuja'at Khan, Raja Bhagwant Das Saiyid Mahmud Barha, and Rai Ram Singh He also exclaimed with his holy tongue, "Though in observance of appearances I am arranging for the despatch of men, yet it has flashed on my interior that no one will arrive before me" The Khân Jahan and Said Khân and many of the Panjab officers were dismissed in order that they might arrange for the defence of that province But he took from among them as his own

[1] Blochmann 423 He was son of Khwaja Khawand Dost

companions M Yūsuf[1] Khān and Makhṣūṣ[2] Khān, and an order was issued that Moẓaffar Khān should take the Malwa officers, and proceed rapidly to Gujrat, and that Kuar Mānsingh should collect the fief holders of Kachhıwarah, and hasten to come (to Akbar) Rajah Bıhārı Mal, Rajah Todar Mal, Shaıkh Ibrāhīm, Hakım al-mulk, Shaıkh Ahmad and many of the loyal were left ın charge of the princes and of the capital

44 When his holy mind was at rest about the arrangements, he on the day of Ābān 10 Shahrıyur Dıvıne month, corresponding to Sunday 24 Rabı' al ākhır, 23 August 1573, mounted on a swift and softly going she-camel[3]

Verse

"A camel[4] swifter than an arrow"

and taking the reins of victory in his hand, and with the help of the strong cable of reliance upon God proceeded on the long journey to Gujrat The loyal officers, and his special intimates accompanied him—some on swift she camels, and some on fiery hoofed horses. When a watch of the night had passed, he for the relief of the loyal halted in the town of Toda[5] In the morning he again started under the guidance of an auspicious star, and early in the morning of Monday reached the stage of Hans Maḥal and there halted for a while From there he hastened on still faster, and after a watch of the night had passed he reached M nızzābād[6] On that day many of the followers had not the strength of body to keep up with him He also felt some heaviness in his limbs but in spite of that, after midnight he got upon a chariot and proceeded on rapidly

[1] Blochmann 346

[2] Blochmann 388

[3] *Jamaza* According to A F Akbar's name for a female camel but the word is Arabic. See Blochmann 143

[4] *Kamangardanī* a camel but literally a bow necked one The hemistich puns on the double meaning

[5] Toda Bhīm 70 m W by S Agra (Elliot V 362n) and consequently under 50 from Fatḥpūr Sıkrī It is in Jaıpūr It was Badayūnı's birth place See J II 181 and 183

[6] Marked Mozabad in map to Bayley's Gujrat 30 m S W Jaıpūr (Elliot) Nizāmu d dīn calls the place Mozābād or Morābād

Verse

The chariot goes swift as a cloud,
Like as Patience departs from lovers,
From the rapid going outside and inside
The echo reaches the southern[1] sky (?)

An order was given that if from being overpowered by sleep he should order them to drive slowly they were to regard such an order as unheard and go on as fast as before The servants obeyed this order and drove on At last at breakfast time on Tuesday they reached the bounteous spot of Ajmir[2] H M visited the glorious shrine and paid reverence to his God He sought aid from the holy spirit of the Khwāja and distributed gifts to the attendants on the shrine Thereafter he alighted at the palace which he had erected in that city and took repose there At the close of that day he mounted on horseback[3] and went on rapidly, and on the morning of Wednesday he was joined[4] in the district of Mirtha[5] by Shah Quli Khān Muhram, Saiyid Mahmud Khān Bārha, Muhammad Quli Khān Toqbāi, who belonged to the advance army but had halted He halted for a while and then moved on A watch of the day had passed when the town of Jitāran was illuminated by the Shāhinshah's advent, and a watch of the day remained when he again went on At the end of the day his joyous spirit was inclined to hunt Just then a black buck showed itself, and H M said, ' If a swift *cita* catch this deer it will be 45

[1] *Burang i gardun* Burang means the part of the sky where the S polestar is visible But perhaps زنگ here means rust or darkness and the meaning is that the colour of the sky was changed or that the wheels were covered with dust *Rang* has also the meaning of a bell and the phrase may mean the bell i.e the vault of the sky

[2] Ajmir is 228 miles west of Agra or about 200 from Fathpūr whence Akbar started The T A. says he left at breakfast time

[3] Elliot makes Nizāmu d dīn say that the night of Akbar s departure from Ajmir was bright moonlight but this could not be the case near the end of the lunar month and what Nizāmu d dīn says is that Akbar travelled all night *like the moon qamrwār*

[4] The meaning is that he joined them there The advance-army was still in front but these men had halted See *Elliot* V 36

[5] Merta of I G in Jodhpūr

a sign that Muhammad Ḥusain M will come into our hands" With this idea he loosed the *cita*, and the deer was caught and the prey of joy came into the net At midnight Sojat (in Jodhpur) was reached, and he rested till the dawn of Thursday When it became light he got upon the saddle, and at the time of mounting it was told him that the holy harem and the advance army were in the town of Pali (Jodhpūr) He ordered that his attendants should pursue their journey while he with a few of his special intimates proceeded to Pali When he had gone a little way he learned that the report was false He turned back from there and resumed his proper course At the end of the day when the attendants had halted in the vicinity of the town of Bhagwanpur, and were much distressed at being excluded from service and the delay in the arrival of the loyal standards, the Khedive of the world appeared and shed his light upon them They were all cheered and there were general rejoicings H M wished to go on to Gujrat by way of Sirohi *as that was somewhat the shorter* route, but his well wishers *begged that he would go by Jalaur* Their motive was *that there were many evil characters on the former* and that H M *had few men with him Perhaps their commotion* might hinder his advance H M *did not accept this advice, as his foot was firmly fixed in reliance upon God, and his heart linked to secret favours* The scout S̲h̲uguna was ordered to conduct the cortège *by the route* of Sirohi The well meaning ones when they saw that the following of their suggestion was hopeless, intrigued with S̲h̲uguna and arranged that he should give out the road as leading to Sirohi, but should really go to Jālaur With this intent they set out in the beginning of the night The guide made a mistake and they came into a forest full of mud The loyalists were somewhat distressed and many of the retinue got separated Apparently this was a punishment for their opposition At the end of the night they came to a village, and learnt that it was one of the dependencies of Jalaur, and that they were on their way to Jalaur H M grew angry and halted there for a time In the morning of Friday he pushed on A tiger appeared on the left hand, and Saif K̲h̲ān Koka and Mirzada 'Ali K̲h̲an prepared to hunt it H M said, "Friends, swear by the dust of the holy feet that you will not go after this, seeing that we have another object in view It is no gain to our work that we should knowingly and intentionally undertake

such an affair as this Perchance some injury might ensue Moreover the experienced men of India have settled that it is a good omen if a tiger or such like appear on the left, and they do not kill it" By these kind words he restrained those tiger-hearts from tiger hunting and went on When they had gone on a little way, they learned that the army of fortune which had been previously despatched had gone by this road Shahbāz Khān was ordered to bring on the retinue slowly, while H M went ahead with a few followers

When the standards of fortune reached the district of Jālaur there arose a sound of drums, and it appeared that this came from the advance army Two watches of the day had passed when they reached Jalaur The great officers were exalted by making the prostration An order was given that the commanders of the camp should take each one of H M's companions to their quarters and show them hospitality He himself entered for a while the *harem* Then he came out and gave an opportunity for *kornish* (salutation). He ordered the horse dealers who had come with the camp to be produced with their stables They received suitable prices, and swift-coursers were distributed to many persons An order was given that Shāhbaz Khān and Kamal Khān of Jalaur should accompany the camp and that the other officers should proceed along with H M When half of the night had passed, he mounted a swift horse and went on rapidly till midday on Saturday After that he halted in Pattanwal[1] He saw the moon[2] of Jamada al awwal in that pleasant spot and enjoyed himself for a while and then went on And so rapidly did he proceed that till the end of Sunday he did not repose (*lit*, saw repose in unrepose) On the eve of Monday he reached the town of Disa which is twenty kos from Pattan Shah 'Ali Langa,[3] who governed there on the behalf of the Khan Kilan, from misunderstanding thought it was a foreign army and shut the fort gate When he learned the truth, he became fortunate by doing homage The opinion of all the officers was that H M should hasten to Pattan, and

[1] Not identified

[2] *Māh i jumāda-al-awalī* The 1st day of the month is meant It was 29 August 1573

[3] This was a son of the Bakhshū Langa who helped Humāyūn in flight from Sher Shāh

stay there one day so that the brave men who had fallen behind might come up H M's opinion was that there was no necessity to go to Pattan, or even to inform the Khān Kilān and others who were
7 there Possibly they might on account of the length of their service put obstacles in the way of the rapid movement of the imperial retinue, and the report of its arrival might reach the enemy, and he might in consequence retire Many encouraging words fell from his lips By the efforts and importunities of the intimate courtiers it was determined that H M should leave Pattan on one side and go on towards Gujrat, (i e, apparently Ahmadabad the capital), while one of the swift goers should go and bring the Pattan army Khwāja Ghiāsu d-din 'Alī Āsaf Khān was sent off for this purpose The world's lord went on with the army of fortune at midnight At breakfast time on Monday he reached the territory of *Bālisāna*[1] which is five *kos* from Pattan Just then the Khān Kilan with his army and Wazīr Khān, Shāh Fakhru d din, Taiyib Khan, Khangār[2] and other officers were exalted by doing homage They had been appointed out of foresight before the commotion had occurred, and as the road was dangerous they had out of precaution halted in Pattan

At this stage the conquering troops were arranged in order Mīrzā Khān, Shujā'at Khān, Saiyid Mahmud Khān Bārha, Sādiq Khān, and a number of heroes were in the centre, which is the station of the special *qūr*,[3] the right wing was held by the Khān Kilān and other brave men, Wazīr Khān and a number of courageous men of note were appointed to the left wing, Muhammad Quli Khān Toqbāi, Tarkhān Diwāna, and others were in the vanguard The far-seeing mind of the Shāhinshāh arranged that he himself and a band of devoted loyalists should form the reserve There were

---

[1] The text has Māhyāna but the variant Bālisāna is supported by Nizāmu d-dīn There is a Bālisāna mentioned in the I G as in the Kad subdivision of Baroda. The Bom G speaks of a Balāsinor I think, however, that the proper reading is Maisāna the Mesāna of I G which is 43 miles N. Ahmadābād It is, however more than 5 *kos* from Pattan Blochmann 486 says it is 18 *kos* S.E Pattan *Erskine and also some* MSS have Palitāna but if this is correct it cannot be the well known Palitāna

[2] Rajah Bhagwān Dās nephew

[3] Blochmann 110 n

out one hundred horsemen in attendance on him, each of whom is a match for thousands

Verse.

The lance of each was a flame which melted cuirasses
The sword of each a borer which pierced rocks
At once the bow of Rustum, and the arrow of Ārash [1]
All were deer for swiftness, and tiger-hunters
All were perfect in their services
All were alert in their obediences.

At the end of Monday H M set out from the town of Bālisāna qu Mesāna ?) Shuguna, who was the special scout, was ordered to o quickly to Ahmadabad, to inform the garrison of the coming of he victorious troops, and to bid them prepare for battle When the roops came near, the Ahmadabad army was to come out and join hem.

H M. rode on all night, and when part of the day had elapsed he arrived at the village of Cotāna which is a dependency of Karī.[2] There it was learnt that a number of the enemy under the command of Rāolīyā,[3] a servant of Sher Khān Fulādi, had strengthened the fort,[4] and were prepared for battle Apparently the wretches 4 thought that the Khān Kilān had sent a body of troops from Pattan against Kari They therefore came out and drew up in battle array. At the same moment H M. gave the order to a body of troops belonging *to the victorious army* to advance and rouse *those insolent* wretches from their neglectful sleep In a moment they killed a large number of them, and the others fled inside the fort. They were preparing to take the fort when the standards of fortune arrived and halted in the city bazaar H.M. summoned the experienced officers and asked what was the proper thing now that the enemy had entered the fort A party who were overcome by rashness, and were

[1] Ārash was a famous archer in the service of Minūcihr See Burhān Qāti s v

[2] Or Kadī

[3] Elliot calls him Roliyā Add 26, 207 has *auliyā mulāzim*, *i e* servants, and 27, 247 has *maqarībān mulāzim* Erskine has Rao Liai The I O MS. vary between *Rāo Lāyā* and *auliyā*

[4] The text has *qila girī*, 'the defending of the fort.' But Add 26, 207 has *qil ā kari* 'the fort of Karī' and this is also how Erskine read the passage Add 26, 621, and is probably correct.

inconsiderate represented that the proper thing to do was to advance after having taken the fort. That unique pearl of wisdom and experience said that there would be no advantage in taking this petty fort, and that all their efforts should be devoted to getting hold of the rebels of Gujrat. If they paid attention to the taking of this fort, the task might be drawn out to some days In this event the enemy would hear of the arrival of H M and withdraw themselves and it was clear that the fort would be taken without difficulty by the imperial troops which were approaching Just then a bullet struck one of the soldiers who was standing near H M., and the man lost his courage and displayed cowardice When the matter was inquired into it was found that the bullet had passed through his clothes and been spent (*sard shuda bud*) It was the neighbourhood of the holy personality that made it innocuous

Verse

On the fateful day the spear rends the coat of mail
But does not pierce the tunic of the undoomed

At last they all agreed to what H M had said They left the fort and went on When they had gone two *kos* H M ordered a halt in order to refresh the troops Next night M Yūsuf K͟hān, Qāsim K͟hān and a number of the officers who were coming up in the rear, arrived with torches The garrison of the fort believed them to be the special army of H M and came out of the fort and went off without a battle So the idea of H M was confirmed At dawn on Wednesday the army marched on in the order that had been arranged.

When H M arrived within three *kos* of Ahmadabad Āsaf K͟hān was sent off quickly to that metropolis to tell that by the Divine aid the shadow of justice was being cast upon the inhabitants, and that it was fitting that the officers should with thankful hearts and loyal service join the august retinue The names of the officers who in this rapid march accompanied H M are as follows —

List

1 M K͟hān, heir of Bairām K͟hān
2 Saif K͟hān Koka

3 Zain Khān Koka
4 Ḥusain Khwāja 'Abdullah Khān
5 Jagannāth
6 Rai Sāl
7 Jaimal
8 Jagmal Patwār
9 Khwāja Ghiāsu d dīn 'Alī Āsaf Khān
10 Rajah Bir Bar
11 Rajah Dip Cand
12 Mir Ghiasu-d din 'Ali Naqib Khān
13 Muhammad [1] Zaman
14 Bahādur Khān
15 Mān Singh Darbāri
16 Saiyid Khwaja
17 Shaikh Abdu r rahim
18 Ram Das Kachwaha
19 Ram Cand
20 Bahadur Khan qurdar
21 Sānwal Dās
22 Jadūn Kaith Darbari
23 Sarkh Badakhshi
24 Dawar Bahala
25 Har Das
26 Tara Cand Khwas
27 La l Kalanwat [2]

When the standards of fortune came near the enemy H M turned his attention towards putting on and bestowing cuirasses One of the instructive occurrences was that Jaimal, the son of Rupsi, came into the Presence wearing a heavy cuirass (*bagtar*) That gracious one felt for

[1] Brother of Muḥammad Yusuf Blochmann 533

[2] Erskine in his MS translation justly remarks on the number of Hindus in this list No 25 Har Das appears in some MSS as Patr Das Blochmann 469 No 27 is also called Miyan La l Blochmann 612 and n 4 He was a musician and perhaps some of the other Hindus mentioned were civilians Sānwal or Sanwlah is perhaps the painter of that name See B 108 In the Victoria and Albert Museum S Kensington there is in the Clarke MS a picture of the battle of Sarnāl by him Tāra Cānd may also be the painter mentioned in B 108

him and ordered that a cuirass should be given him from his private store, and presented his cuirass to Karn, the grandson of Māldeo, who was without one When Jaimal showed himself to Rūpsi the latter asked him about the cuirass,—as he had confidence in it,—and when he learned what had happened, he, out of the enmity which he had with the Māldeo family, and on account of the goodness of the cuirass, and from his want of spirit, sent a person to demand the cuirass. The messenger from his want of sense forgot discretion and delivered the *message* *The lord of horizons from his width of capacity did not* regard his shameful conduct and said, "We gave in exchange for it one of our own special cuirasses Your remark is not courteous" Rūpsi in his folly took off his cuirass and made his body bare That mountain of calmness and moderation who might have ordered the chastisement of that infatuated one, understood what to do and took off his own armour (saying), "Since our servants have resolved on going into this battle which will test men's mettle, without armour, it would not agree with valour that we should go armed" When Rajah Bhagwan Das heard of Rupsi's[1] misconduct, he gave him salutary advice and poured vinegar into the cup of his intoxicated head He bitterly *reproached him and brought him to repentance* and apologies He flung forward the head of shame and hastened to the Presence Rajah Bhagwān represented that Rūpsi had been eating
50 *bang* (bhāng) and begged for mercy The gracious Khedive accepted his petition and overlooked the fault From there he moved forward in proper order On this march he mounted the horse Nūr Baiẓā (white light), Rajah Bhagwan Dās congratulated him on the victory of Gujrat and said, "Three signs of success have appeared, each one of which is in the opinion of the experienced men of India an omen of victory *First*—At such time as this[2] you have mounted your

[1] Rūpsī was Bhagwān's paternal uncle Blochmann 427

[2] Apparently the moment of mounting was an auspicious one. It will be observed that Akbar did not at once mount He mounted on the way, *presumably* because the moment was auspicious Add. 27 247 has *boz baiẓā*, a roan horse (?) Erskine translates the account of the first omen as "the general riding on such a horse," and it is more natural to suppose that Bhagwān was referring to something special about the horse, especially as A. F has just given the *name of the animal* *But two B M* MSS and the text have *auqāt* times It looks as if Erskine had read *auṣāf*

horse. *Second.*—A favourable wind is blowing from behind the victorious army. *Third.*—A great number of crows and kites are keeping us company." His representation was approved of, and many of those present had their hearts rejoiced.

qualities, and some such reading is preferable to *auqāt*. If Bhagwān was referring to the time of mounting the horse one does not see why the plural *auqāt* was used instead of the singular *waqt*. However, the I.O. MSS. have *auqāt*.

CHAPTER XI

The Arrival of the Shāhinshāh at Ahmadābād, the Uplifting of the Banners of Conquest, and the Victory over Mohammad Husain M

Though[1] the final issue of actions and the solution of difficulties throw flashes of light on the mysterious purposes of God, yet the acute and active minded—who by the blessing of God and the efforts of their own genius have struck out a way into the hidden chamber of destiny, and who have thus attained to some acquaintance with the secrets of Existence—are well aware that the success of religious and temporal ends and the unveiling of the virgins of desires, spiritual or physical, depend upon right intention, just thinking and suitable action Especially is this so with regard to the designs of high born rulers Fortune raises many walls of hindrance in front of their purposes, but whenever the auspicious and felicitous look upon the multiplicity of their affairs as material for increasing their prudence and appreciate the lofty dignity of Kingship, and understand the various grades of humanity and make use of them and so become adorners of the world, and when they regard the beautifying of external conditions as the ordering of the spiritual world, and do not, like the superficial, consider secular work as opposed to and exclusive of the spiritual world, but recognise that the well ordering of outward matters is the choicest form of worshipping the Creator of the world, assuredly will the Managers of the eternal world grant in the most complete manner the accomplishment of whatever they shall undertake Glorious deeds, such as human strength is insufficient for, and which the world's comprehension cannot grasp, will be effected in the briefest space of time Nay, even things which such princes have not wished for, and which have not found the way to their illustrious

[1] *Nearly the whole of this exordium* is omitted in the Lucknow edition Chapter XI begins there at p 51 1 3 of the Bib Ind edition The mean*ing of the first sentence seems to be* that though things are generally ruled by destiny yet much depends upon forethought and wisdom

minds, will be clothed by the Originators of the world of production in the most splendid robes of being! At the present day these lofty qualities, the stuff of vast success, exist in the holy personality of the Shahinshah to a degree which needs not the encomia of adorners of sentences, and which is greater than human reason can conceive Hence it is that the increase in the God-given dominion of this sublime lord, and the accomplishment (*lit*, the face showing) of the designs of him whom God hath magnified are beyond the petty scope of human intellect Though I know that the ill conditioned and short-sighted regard these prolegomena of praise as the panegyrics of con- 51
ventional encomiasts yet, as in this book of fortune I have the noble and hard to be attained title of a pure heart, the evil glance of those purblind eyes makes no stain on the temple-verge of my soul He who is far seeing and a friend of inquiry and a foe of hypocrisy will perceive, if he properly consider the record of the Shahinshah, achievements which is inscribed on the rolls of the Age, that what this spectator of the congeries of existence is writing down is a drop from the ocean and a mote from the desert! Especially is this so in regard to this marvellous campaign which is fitted to embellish the masterpieces of great princes!

To make a long story short, the world's lord being possessed of a right intention, an upright mind, supreme confidence in God, and a lofty courage, and also because by giving even a slight attention to the matter, 300 or 400 first rate troopers could be collected in a short space of time, accomplished in nine[1] days such a long journey—which caravans take two or three months to effect—accompanied by a few followers, and having encountered more than 20,000 rebels, he gained a victory over them on the day of Bahram 20 Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 5 Jamada al awwal (2 September, 1573) *The account of this wondrous affair briefly is that* when the royal standards came near the enemy, and there was no sign of the army of Gujrat, some of those who had the right of audience sug-

[1] Akbar's feat considered merely as one of rapid travelling was not equal to Colonel Townley's ride from Belgrade to Constantinople when he traversed 820 miles in 5 days 11 hours having the whole time to contend with the wind rain and mud, and having into the bargain two bad falls Grant Duff's Notes from a Diary for 1889 p 8 But of course Akbar had to bring his troops along with him

CHAPTER XI

The Arrival of the Shāhinshāh at Ahmadābād, the Uplifting of the Banners of Conquest, and the Victory over Mohammad Ḥusain M

Though[1] the final issue of actions and the solution of difficulties throw flashes of light on the mysterious purposes of God, yet the acute and active-minded—who by the blessing of God and the efforts of their own genius have struck out a way into the hidden chamber of destiny, and who have thus attained to some acquaintance with the secrets of Existence—are well aware that the success of religious and temporal ends and the *unveiling of the virgins of desires*, spiritual or physical, depend upon right intention, just thinking and suitable action Especially is this so with regard to the designs of high-born rulers Fortune raises many walls of hindrance in front of their purposes, but whenever the auspicious and felicitous look upon the multiplicity of their affairs as material for increasing their prudence and appreciate the lofty dignity of Kingship, and understand the various grades of humanity and make use of them and so become adorners of the world, and when they regard the beautifying of external conditions as the ordering of the spiritual world, and do not, like the superficial, consider secular work as opposed to and exclusive *of the spiritual world, but recognise that the well ordering of outward* matters is the choicest form of worshipping the Creator of the world, assuredly will the Managers of the eternal world grant in the most complete manner the accomplishment of whatever they shall undertake *Glorious deeds, such as human strength is insufficient for, and* which the world's comprehension cannot grasp, will be effected in the briefest space of time Nay, even things which such princes have not wished for, and which have not found the way to their illustrious

[1] Nearly the whole of this exordium is omitted in the Lucknow edition Chapter XI *begins there at* p 51 1 3 of the Bib Ind edition The meaning of the first sentence seems to be that though things are generally *ruled by destiny yet* much depends upon forethought and wisdom.

minds, will be clothed by the Originators of the world of production in the most splendid robes of being! At the present day these lofty qualities, the stuff of vast success, exist in the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh to a degree which needs not the encomia of adorners of sentences, and which is greater than human reason can conceive. Hence it is that the increase in the God given dominion of this sublime lord, and the accomplishment (*lit.*, the face showing) of the designs of him whom God hath magnified are beyond the petty scope of human intellect. Though I know that the ill conditioned and short-sighted regard these prolegomena of praise as the panegyrics of con 51
ventional encomiasts yet, as in this book of fortune I have the noble and hard to be attained title of a pure heart, the evil glance of those purblind eyes makes no stain on the temple verge of my soul. He who is far seeing and a friend of inquiry and a foe of hypocrisy will perceive, if he properly consider the record of the Shāhinshāh's achievements which is inscribed on the rolls of the Age, that what this spectator of the congeries of existence is writing down is a drop from the ocean and a mote from the desert! Especially is this so in regard to this marvellous campaign which is fitted to embellish the masterpieces of great princes!

To make a long story short, the world's lord being possessed of a right intention, an upright mind, supreme confidence in God and a lofty courage, and also because by giving even a slight attention to the matter, 300 or 400 first rate troopers could be collected in a short space of time, accomplished in nine[1] days such a long journey—which caravans take two or three months to effect—accompanied by a few followers, and having encountered more than 20 000 rebels he gained a victory over them on the day of Bahram 20 Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 5 Jamāda-al awwal (2 September, 1573). The account of this wondrous affair briefly is that when the royal standards came near the enemy, and there was no sign of the army of Gujrat, some of those who had the right of audience sug

[1] Akbar's feat considered merely as one of rapid travelling was not equal to Colonel Townley's ride from Belgrade to Constantinople when he traversed 820 miles in 5 days 11 hours having the whole time to contend with the wind, rain and mud, and having into the bargain two bad falls. Grant Duff's Notes from a Diary for 1889 p 8. But of course Akbar had to bring his troops along with him.

gested that a night-attack should be made H M did not approve of this suggestion as it savoured of deception

Verse

A night attack is the trade of cowards
It is disdained by heroes

He relied upon the Divine aid and proceeded to battle Orders were given for sounding the kettle drums and for blowing the trumpets

Verse

A noise came from the flute of war
The drums made a noise in the world

The rebels had been confident in their numbers and had pressed on the siege They were expecting the coming of Sher Khan Fulādı When the sublime cavalcade came near the Sabarmatı the order was given that the troops should be drawn up in order and should cross the river The officers were expecting the army of Gujrat and hesitated to advance At this time about three hundred horse, who had come from Sarkēc, showed themselves, and H M ordered the special musketeers such as Salbahan, Qadır ʻAlı, Ranjıt and others of the seldom missing splitters of hairs to fire at them The latter fled to
2 their entrenchments The noise of trumpets and drums resounded Some of the enemy thought it was Sher Khan Fulādī who was coming, while others were certain that it was Khān Kalān coming from Pattan to help the Khān Aʻazım Muhammad Husain M was astonished at the uproar and went out in person to get intelligence Subhan Qulı Turk and some of the loyal heroes had come a little in advance of the troops to the riverbank and were inquiring into the position of the enemy The Mirzā raised his voice and asked who the troops were Subhān Qulī Turk, with the idea of inspiring dread into the enemy and of causing division among them, replied, "O ignorant one, behold H M the Shāhinshāh in person with a large army, why do you stand still, and why do you ask, be quick and lead away this doomed force" Though the Mirzā's heart was moved by the royal majesty, which is a ray of Divine glory, yet as the garment of his fate had been woven in black, he rejoined, "O brother, are you frightening me, and are you speaking from your own know-

ledge? If the fact be really so, show me a sign of the royal elephants, and of the great army. What speech is this that you have uttered? The truth is that our couriers left the king in Fathpur fourteen days ago" Subhān Quli replied, "The king has made this long march in nine days and has arrived with his devoted followers." When the ill-fated one heard this and became convinced of its truth he hastened to his own camp, and proceeded to arrange forces When H M learnt that the enemy was ignorant of his arrival, he, in his abundant manliness and generosity in war, halted for some time until the swift scouts announced that the enemy were putting on their cuirasses and drawing up in line Thereupon the order was given for crossing the river Though the energetic exerted themselves to bring up the Khan Kalan they were not successful and represented that the enemy were numerous, and that it was advisable to remain on this side of the river till the army of Gujrat arrived H M said, "In all enterprises and especially in this expedition all my reliance is on the Divine aid If I had looked to ordinary means I ought not to have come this long journey so unattended Now that the enemy are stationary and preparing for battle, what propriety is there in standing still in expectancy" As superficiality and the consideration of ways and means influenced those heroes, they delayed the crossing of the river and restrained the Shahinshah by stratagem When that royal cavalier of the battlefield which tests men perceived the disposition of those timid ones who did not consider primary causes, 53
the ocean of his terrible majesty boiled over By the inspiration of his fortune he separated himself from the companionship of those surface viewers, and relying on the Divine help plunged into that swollen river along with his special followers who always kept by him.

Verse

Once more he entered upon vengeance
He urged on his swift steed
The sparks from the horses' hoofs lighted up the soil
He came to the river and the fishes' eyes were burnt
Death became the partner of his spear
The mouth of the crocodile of evil was opened

The putting his horse to the river, and the finding bottom occurred at the same time, and this caused joy to the exoteric, and also

was a foretaste of the delight of conquest At this time he called for his helmet which he had taken off and made over to the Rajah Dib Cand[1] to hold in his hand and bring along with him The Rajah produced it, but in the hurry of the advance he had let the nosepiece[2] of the helmet fall into the road H M said, "It is a good omen for our front (*peshgah*)[3] has been made clear" He then announced to them that there would be victory Just then one of the active heroes produced before H M the head of a rebel That too was an omen of victory The king moved on with his faithful followers and when the great officers saw this they dropped the thread of calculation and began to cross the river

The Mirza from his ill fatedness came out to fight with his benefactor and the king of the age He appointed Wali Khan, the son of Jajhar Khan Habshi—whom the justice of the Shāhinshāh had capitally punished in the first expedition to Gujrat—the leader of his right wing, and assigned to him a number of Abyssinians and Gujrātis Muhammad Khān, the son of Sher Khan Fulādi, with a large body of Afghans was stationed on the left wing Shah Mirzā and many Badakhshis and men of Transoxiana whose brains and bones had been nourished[4] by faithlessness to their salt, were taken to the battlefield by the Mirzā in person With an evil striving he addressed himself to his own undoing and engaged the spiritual and temporal lord H M had come to a high ground one *kos* from the river and was considering the signs of victory when Āsaf Khān came and did homage, and reported that M Koka was not aware of the near approach of the standards of fortune, and that when the news of the Shahinshah's arrival reached him he thought it was a pleasantry of Mir Abu Turab and the other loyalists of the country After many assurances he had been convinced of the fact, and now the army of Gujrat was drawn up and was in the point of coming out He had not finished his story and the royal troops had not come up

---

[1] B 175 cf Jahangir's Memoirs (Price) p 54

[2] *Peshbini lit* nose front The word is not given in the dictionary but I presume it means something that hung down in front and protected the nose etc Such a piece is depicted in B Plate XIII No 43 Jahangir (Tūzak J 19) calls it *pesh rui*

[3] Akbar puns on the words *pesh bini* and *peshgah*

[4] *Apparently the meaning is simply that they were inbred traitors*

when the enemy appeared from among the trees H M in reliance upon God proceeded to advance

Verse

The Shahinshāh eager for battle, on his steed
Like a fire raised high by the wind
There was a cuirass on his Cyrus breast,
A fountain-head put in motion by the ocean
The eager heroes were immersed in their coats of mail
Hidden like fire in iron
Golden standards gleamed on every side
They were lamps showing the road of death to the night of [sedition
Lions were careering rein upon rein
There were heart piercing lances upon lances
The brave brandished their swords and cleft the ranks
They stirred up the earth to the centre (*lit*, navel)

Muḥammad Quli Khan Toqbai, Tai khan Diwana and others of the alert heroes who were the marksmen of the centre and were stationed in the van, hastened forward and after a short contest turned back That rock of firmness (Akbar) addressed Rajah Bhagwan Das and said through him to all the troops that the enemy appear to be numerous, yet the favour of God towards this suppliant in the Divine Court is greater than man can conceive It behoves our comrades to hold fast to the cable of the Divine favour, and not give place to perplexity or alarm Let them be of one heart, one face, and one way, and, avoiding distraction, and dispersion, assail the doomed body of troops which carries red standards, for it appears that Muhammad Husain M has made red standards the mark of his special force None of our brave men must be immoderate in his valour When we shall have disposed of the ringleaders in audacity, we shall easily get rid of the rest He used many wise and encouraging words, and associated with each one of his troops an army from the Divine hosts

Verse

Out of wisdon he constructed a loom[1]
With knowledge for brocade, and speech for beauty

[1] Kārgah A factory or workshop

The warp he made[1] of soul, and the woof of eloquence,
The dye he took from thought, and the broidery from sense.

In his presumptuousness Muhammad Ḥusain M. separated from his army and came forward with a band of doomed wretches. Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Ḥusain Khān represented to H.M. that now was the time to attack in order that the presumptuous one should receive his punishment. He who knew the niceties of the banquet and the battlefield said, "Steadfast and far seeing wisdom is ever the exhorter and guardian of mankind, and now on this day this priceless jewel must be tested. As yet the space (*lit.*, the round of the ladder) (between the forces) is considerable Ostensibly, we are a very small body, God forbid that by attacking from a distance our men should get dispersed The work would not be done properly, nor their valour properly exhibited, and also we would be abandoning caution." Also, as corporeal illustrations serve to instruct the superficial, he said, "If we close our hands and go to work with the clenched fist it is better than if we undertake a thing with the open hand." After uttering those wise words he advanced rapidly but in a stately and scientific manner. The spectators learnt thereby the degrees of wisdom, and also understood the stages of courage, and with one accord each heart was a thousand. Sincerity was exalted, and practical wisdom was enlightened. Knowledge of God was also increased, and innate disposition was displayed At length the royal forces[2] also drew near, but their order and arrangement did not remain as before Many of the faint-hearted who belonged to the right wing turned their reins when the fighting became a little hot. Just then, when the enemy had become near, and that tiger hunting hero resolved to attack, Hapâ[3] Cāran also cried out, "'Tis time to

---

[1] The Lucknow ed reads *Karū*, a spider's web, instead of *Karad*

[2] Apparently this refers to the main body of Akbar's army as distinguished from his personal following

[3] Evidently this is a man's name and has been so treated by the editors in the Index, p 63 The Cārans were a tribe in Gujrat and resembled the Bhats One of their duties was to raise the paean at the time of battle, and no doubt this is what *Hāpā* did on this occasion See J. II. 249 for an account of the Cārans In Jahāngīr's Memoirs (Price), p 50, Shāh Qulī Maḥram and Ḥusain K. Turkaman are said to have remarked that the time for charging had arrived

attack." To say and to do were the same thing. The world's lord and his war-loving, devoted followers drew their swords and charged. The cries of Allah Akbar and of Yā Mūīn [1] arose and pervaded time and space (*zamān-u-zamīn*).

Verse

The sword-points were like clouds dripping blood
The brightness of the swords overcame the heart [2] of the cloud
The commotion fluttered the mind of Time
The ear of the sphere split with the uproar.

The majesty of the Divine halo which had seized the field of battle, did not suffer that there should be great contest One or two swords-blows were exchanged, and then the men on the S͟hāhins͟hāh's right hand drove off the rebels Muhammad Husain M. drove off the men on the king's left Thinking the day was his, he halted after going some way and could see no trace of his own forces For just then, the warriors of the right and left wings and some of the centre arrived and fought bravely.

One of the Divine helps, which are always in close attendance on the everlasting dominion, and at this time were especially con- 56
spicuous, was that *Kahak bānhā* [3] (rockets), which are a kind of fire-

[1] Badayūnī tells us that this was Akbar's battle cry on that day It means, "Lo, the Helper," but I believe that Akbar used it in a double sense and with a special reference to his patron saint M'uīnu d dīn of Ajmere It probably explains the "Ajmīrī, Ajmīrī of Saif Koka mentioned a little lower down.

[2] I owe the interpretation of this line to Maulvī 'Abdul Haq Abīd, who informs me that the meaning is that the cloud lost heart, on seeing the brightness of the swords It is a hyperbolical way of saying that the flashes of the swords overcame the darkness of the clouds.

[3] I think this word must be the Arabic *Kahaka* roaring, and the meaning must be the "roaring, or screaming (whizzing) rockets" There is the variant *Katak* which means a short stick, cf Badayūnī, text I 418 l 4 and Ranking's translation and note, p 537 Meninski gives *Kehkehet* as meaning a roaring lion. Very possibly, however, *Kahak* merely means little from Kah and the affix K. I doubt now if Badayūnī's word applies In the Tūzak Jahangīrī (Ahmed's ed.), p 19, the rockets are called Kaukabāī كوكباى (stars) The Memoirs (Price) 55 give an exaggerated account of the incident.

work, were being discharged against the imperial army, though by the guardianship of the stewards of fate no harm ensued, and that one of them fell among the thorn bushes and made such a noise that one of the enemy's most notable elephants got alarmed, and by his confusion produced a great rout among the foe This was a help to the combatants of fortune When H M had gone some way he drew rein in order to take stock of events A strange state of matters displayed itself The army of the centre had not yet arrived, and the other troops had driven off the reserve of the enemy H M was standing alone on the battlefield, and engaged in combat Except Tārā Cand and A'alam Khān, no other of his personal retinue was in attendance Apparently the world adorning God had impressed upon all the case of their own safety and had loosed the thread of the understanding of far seeing loyalists Otherwise it would have been fitting that so many loyal heroes should have guarded the holy personality, and have regarded their comradeship with H M as the most glorious form of Divine worship, and as the most urgent of the affairs of royalty! During this time of solitude—No, how shall I say solitude when the (mystic) armies were careering on his right and left?—it appeared that Muḥammad Husain M was engaged in fighting Mān Singh[1] Darbārī displayed valour in the presence of the Shāhinshāh and became victorious Rāghū Das Kachwāha, who had no armour, gave his life in H M's presence and Muḥammad Wafa, who among the loyal *celhas*[2] (disciples) was a man of few words and many deeds, and one who did not sell his services, also displayed courage in the presence of the lord of the earth, and fell wounded from his horse Karn, the grandson of Māl Deo, also distinguished himself in his presence

Verse

The warriors waged such war
That hand[3] and collar hung together
Blood and sweat were commingled
They[4] inflamed the wounds with their teeth

[1] Not Mān Singh Kuar See Blochmann 506

[2] B 253

[3] A phrase for great exertion

[4] I presume the meaning is that they were so furious that they even fought with their teeth and aggravated the wounds thereby

Though on this day all the royal servants did great deeds, yet these few (whom I have mentioned) though they did not know that H M was observing them, especially distinguished themselves

In the midst of the contest one wretch attacked H M and struck his horse's head with his sword The horse reared, but H M laid hold of the neck with his left hand and pushed him down With 57
the spear in his right hand he so struck the wretch that the weapon pierced his armour and sunk into his body H M was trying to extract the spear when its head broke off and the adversary fled Another wretch then came up and aimed a blow with his sword at H M's thigh The real guardian (God) prevented any harm, and the villain fled before the Divine halo He had gone a little way when another villain came and aimed his lance at H M The *cela* Gūjar disposed of him by wounding him with his spear The Khedive of the world adorned the battlefield by his courage, and in the midst of such a crowd of villains, displayed valour which exceeded the master pieces of ancient times

Verse

The dragon-slaying hero with mace and arrow
The lion-throwing horseman[1] and seizer of the brave
Wielder of the head-strewing dagger
Scatterer of the blood of the stiff necked
Whiles he poured out blood, and whiles raised dust
Whiles he wounded elephants and whiles he killed men.

During this time the royal centre arrived with a thousand painful feelings because Surkh Badakhshī had wickedly and foolishly come before it wounded and brought bad news about H M When the glance of the lion hearted sovereign fell upon this force he, from abundant foresight and a martial spirit, went towards it and cried out, "Brave men, come up quickly and dispose of these wretches" Shujā'at K and some others of the fortunate ones recognised the voice of that spiritual and temporal leader and galloped with a loose rein in order to put down the villains They entirely drove off Muhammad Husain M and all who were in that field of dishonour Before this some of the distinguished men of the centre, such as Saiyid Mahmud Khān Barha, Rai[1] Raisingh, and Farhat Khan had left the centre and

---

[1] Blochmann 389

given proof of valour Owing to the genius and fortune of the Shāhinshāh the breezes of victory[1] blew and the azure anemones blossomed A great victory appeared—such as might be a proem to world-conquering victories H M returned thanks to God and turning his reins slowly proceeded towards Ahmadābād He inquired about the combatants, and also investigated the cause of the delay in coming of M Koka and the army of Gujrat L'al Kalāwant[2] represented that Saif Khān Kokaltāsh[3] had devoted his life and gone to the other world That mine of grace and fountain of appreciation was saddened by this catastrophe, but calmed himself and inquired minutely into the circumstances At last it appeared that Saif K had fought like Rustum in the first onset and had discomfited his adversary Two conspicuous wounds adorned his countenance Saying "*Ajmīri, Ajmīri*"[4] he was searching for the stirrup of the Shāhinshāh (i.e., was looking for Akbar) Husain K said "When I met him I congratulated him on his victory and on his wounds (*lit*, on the redness of his face) and then we separated" It appeared that when Muhammad Husain M with some of his vagabonds was contending on the battlefield, the Koka (Saif K) came up to him and after displaying great courage departed to the holy land (i e, died) From the time that he had failed to be present at the battle of Sarnāl he in his loyalty and devotion *was continually calling for death* On that day

[1] Apparently A F plays on the words *fīrūzī* which means both victorious and the blue colour of the turquoise *Buhrūs* is a blue crystal I do not know what flower is meant by shaqāīqbahrūsī but conjecture that it may mean a blue anemone or a tulip

[2] Blochman 612 and note 4.

[3] Blochmann 350

[4] I think that the meaning of this passage is explained by Badayūnī Lowe 170 where we are told that Akbar s battle cry on that day was Yā M'uīn, i e, O Helper But Akbar s patron saint was Muīnu-d din Cistī of Ajmere, and it was no doubt with reference to him that Akbar raised this cry which is also mentioned in A F s account of the battle The Ajmīrī Ajmīrī of Saif K Koka then I regard as Saif s or A F s rendering of the phrase Yā M uīn The M aāṣir II 374 gives the phrase without comment and the Lucknow editor also passes it over It will be seen that Badayūnī twice speaks here of the battle-cry Yā Muīn, pp 170 and 171 He also says that Saif K. plunged into the whirlpool of fight and was killed just as this cry was being raised Cf the account in the Tūzuk (S Ahmad s ed) p 20 and also that in the Memoirs (Price) 57 The Tūzuk, p 19 says the battle cries were Allah Akbar and Yā Muīn

the same wine effervesced in his faithful brain and made him throw himself singly against a host and so make the last journey. This nursling of wisdom regarded his life as coming from H.M and was firm footed in his fidelity His parents also regarded H M as the cause of the Divine gift (of a son)

The brief account of this instructive event is that his honoured mother always gave birth to daughters His father was annoyed and used to make a disturbance At the time when she was pregnant with this loyal servant, the father broke out and said, "If this time too a daughter comes, I shall never cohabit with you again" That chaste one went to H M Miriam makāni and described the reproach (that her husband had made), and asked permission to cause an abortion so that she might be saved from such censures On the way (back) she encountered the Shāhinshah, and when he heard what had happened, he, though very young, said, "If you wish to retain our affection, you will not touch this matter God will bestow upon you a son (*farzand*) of a happy star' Though that chaste lady had obtained the permission of H M Miriam makani, she regarded the direction of the nursling of fortune as a mystic message, and abstained from her intention What had proceeded from the lips of the Knower of mysteries came to pass

At the time when that prince of the people of insight was in grief for the catastrophe, Zain K Koka, younger brother of the departed, had done valiantly and laid low two of the enemy, and had picked up Subhān Quli Turk, who had been left on the battlefield He was coming to kiss the feet (of Akbar) when he heard the news of his honoured brother's wounds Distracted by affection he was going to assist him, when he found that there was another state of things (*viz*, that Saif was dead) *He remained for a while sunk in* grief and then was comforted by the loyal graciousness By the royal order Abdu r-Raḥmān,[1] the son of Muyid Beg was appointed to take charge of him in his distressed condition

At this time when H M was distressed at the losing so faithful 56 a follower and at the delay in the arrival of M Koka, news bearers as a comfort to his ever vernal soul brought the good tidings that Muḥammad Husain M had been captured by the imperial servants

[1] Blochmann 465

He said "Were I to consider far seeing prudence, I'd shed the blood of such an ingrate, and so get satisfaction for the catastrophe of the Koka" But how could he do so when innate kindness and gentleness made him hesitate to loose the bond between his spirit and his body! Just then they brought that ingrate and nescient of the Truth into the presence He had a wound in the face When he had been wounded and had fled before the majestic light of the Shahinshah, and the onset of the heroes of the centre, his horse's feet came against thornbushes and fell Gada 'Ali, one of the royal champions, came up to him and said Come, I'll take you out of this battlefield" He consented, and Gada Ali put him in front of himself on his horse and was taking him towards the presence One of the servants of the Khān Kilān joined him as he was mounting him on his horse When they brought him to the presence, both claimed the reward Those standing by H M asked him what was the fact, and that ill fated one, now that he had awoke from his dream of negligence, spoke the truth, viz, "The salt of the king of realm and religion captured me" When that lord of gentleness saw the wretch in that condition the ocean of his graciousness effervesced, and he gave an order that his hands which were tied behind his back should be released and fastened in front, and he made him over to Mān Singh Darbarī Just then Shah Madad, who was the Mirza's Koka, and a partner with him in disloyalty, was brought into the presence H M pierced him with a spear which he had in his hand, and he at once descended to the depths of annihilation It was stated in H M's court that Bhupat, the brother of Rajah Bhagwān Dās, had in the glorious battle of Sarnal drunk the cup of death from this man's hand

One of the wonderful kindnesses of the Shahinshah which showed itself at this time was that while he was standing and returning thanks to God, a disturbance and noise arose On inquiry it appeared that Muhammad Husain M was asking water from Mān Singh Darbārī Farhat Khan *cela* hearing this struck him on the head with his hands, and cried out—What warrant is there for giving water to such
60 a disloyalist and rebel? That fountain of grace and gentleness reproved Farhat Khan when he heard of this, and called for his special supply of water and had it given to Muhammad[1] Husain The

[1] Much of this rhapsody is omitted in the Lucknow edition

lightning of benevolence shone forth comprehensiveness had its market day Appreciation had its adornment The standard of forgiveness and grace to sinners was heightened The sublime jewel of his disposition became phosphorescent The unique gem of liberality became glorious The coin of humanity was tested Redress was given on the field of battle Deeds like this astonish the superficial who are confined in the bonds of what is ordinary, but the far-sighted who worship spiritualities and who have some acquaintance with H M 's noble qualities are not surprised at them Rather they regard them as part of his natural disposition

When by the Divine aid such wondrous things had come to pass and M Koka and the Gujrat army had not arrived, and most of the day had been spent, H M advanced from where he had halted Muhammad Ḥusain M was made over to Rai Rai Singh in order that he might put him on an elephant and convey him to the city At this time, when many gallant men had retired and were resting after their labours and dangers, and about a hundred men were in attendance on H M , suddenly a large force came in view, consisting of more than 5 000 men Men were considering and conjecturing who they were Many thought they were M Koka and the army of Gujrat, and some thought it was Shah M , who had fled at the beginning of the fight and gone towards Mahmudabad After a time H M ascertained it was the rebel Ikhtiyar ul mulk who was coming Agitation sate on the brows of most of the retinue, some because they were anxious for the Shâhinshah because he had few attendants, and others because they were timid The rank breaking sovereign, like a raging tiger who in the exuberance of his youth essays his force and fierceness, displayed wondrous exultation and before disposing of the foe addressed himself to encouraging his companions

Verse

A single person acting along with him
Needed not to fear a hundred thousand
When the pure God gave his (Akbar's) fortune
What fear of the enemy's soldiers remained?

He made ready for battle and mounted a world-traversing steed 61
and uttered lofty and inspiriting words He gave orders for the

beating of drums and the blowing of trumpets[1] The drummer was so alarmed that he could neither hear the sacred order, nor address himself to his work till he was brought to his senses by the menace of a spear, and began to beat his drum Shuja at Khan, Raja Bhagwant Das, and some other brave men advanced a little way and proceeded to discharge arrows H M said "Be not hasty, and await mystic victories for soon they will bring his head" During this tumult he, at the instance of Raja Bhagwant Das and Rai Rai Singh ordered that Muhammad Husain M, the foundation of the sedition, should be put to death When Almighty God wills the *dispatching of anyone to annihilation, what good will the kindness* and grace of the Shahinshāh do him? But it behoves the Unique One of creation—for whose designs the Divine goodness is surety—to be a fountain of grace, and a mine of kindness

That force which showed such pomp, became more and more confused as it approached Ikhtiyār-al mulk separated from it and proceeded with a few others to withdraw himself rapidly from the whirlpool of destruction to the shore of safety *He struck upon the* thorns and was thrown from his saddle to the ground Sohrab Turkman, who was one of the royal cavaliers, had made him his mark from a distance, and was following him At this stumble he came up to him and lightened his shoulders of the burden of his head On this occasion he was much agitated and died in an unmanly manner

The detailed account of this wretch is that he engaged with a large force in besieging Ahmadabād, and was a stumbling block in the path of M Koka, Qutbu d din Khān, and others When he heard of M Muhammad Husain's capture and of the victory of H M he became confused and fled What eyes of vision have the inwardly blind, and *where have they the wisdom of heart to see the end* of their design or to understand their own good That ill fated one passed with 200 men on H M's right, while his large army and array of elephants went on the left of H M and threw the dust of defeat on their own heads By the Divine aid a glorious victory displayed itself in the mirror of desire A work of many thousands of years was accomplished in nine days, for most of the first day of

---

[1] *Karanā* Blochmann 51

leaving the capital was spent in bidding adieu to the servants of fortune's threshold, and the day of the victory, in the beginning of which H M halted, cannot be taken into account On the field of battle there were counted 1,200 of the enemy as killed, and the wounded who died in the fields and meadows, and near the battle-field, were reckoned at 500 A similar number may be reckoned as that of those who were wounded and escaped half dead Time with the tongue of action (*zaban i hal*) came rejoicing and uttered this strain of joy —

Verse

By your Fortune, your enemies were, one by one
Cast by Time into enduring loss
Man killed one and heaven's avenging dagger
Cut the throat [1] of one and reft another of house and home

It would seem that this verse was a representation of what 6
happened to those wicked and rebellious brothers Ibrahim Ḥusain M died in the custody of S aīd K͟hān Muhammad Husain M became food for the blood consuming sword at the banquet of the S͟hāhin s͟hāh's wrath S͟hāh Mirza threw the dust of disgrace on his head and became a desert-wandering vagabond About one hundred of the victorious heroes of the royal army drank the *sherbet* of martyrdom The chief of those devoted ones was Saif K͟hān Koka Sohrāb, the cousin of Sādiq K͟hān, Raghu Das, and Timar 'Ali Jalair made over the coins of their lives to Death's treasurer

When H M 's heart was set at rest by the instructive catastrophe of Ik͟htiyār-al mulk he proceeded onwards A little of the day remained when another army was seen in battle array The brave men advanced, and had nearly fought when S͟haik͟h Muhammad G͟haznavi went ahead and learnt that it was M Koki! The imperial servants rejoiced and H M the S͟hāhins͟hāh expressed his pleasure at the arrival of the Mīrza He embraced him in the manner that affectionate fathers embrace their loving sons Qut̤bu d din K͟hān and the other Gujrāt officers were exalted by doing homage, they asked how they could express their thanks for the saving of their lives Just then Sohrāb brought the head of the bewildered

[1] Ibrāhīm Husain died of a wound in the throat

one (Ikhtiyar al mulk) and was applauded by the imperial servants H M prostrated himself in devotion to God, and what had passed from his lips had become fulfilled As a lesson to the generality, an order was issued that a tower should be made of the heads of the rebels At the end of the day H M reached Ahmadābād, and the palaces of the Sultans of Gujrāt were glorified by his advent Bulletins of victory were sent to various countries, and couriers carried the news to mortals To Mozaffar Khān and the officers of the province of
63 Mālwa, and to Rāja Mān Singh, there were sent rescripts to the effect that as a complete victory had been gained, and H M had decided upon returning, they should do homage in the capital H M engaged in those delightful palaces in promoting the loyal servants, and in acts of liberality He gave great gifts to everyone High and low experienced his favour M Koka represented that some learned men and lofty recluses had plotted with the rebels As in H M.'s judgment they were found not to be implicated, they were treated with royal favours Among them was S Wajihu d din[1] who was famed for his knowledge of the rational and traditionary sciences, and who occupied himself with the rules of contentment, seclusion, and spiritual improvement The Mīrza represented that property of the rebels had been found in his house and H M asked the Shaikh "What connection had you with such matters?" The Maulvi replied "Acquaintanceship and delicacy made me give them one of my houses" As his honesty was evident, he was shielded from the evils of the time Similarly, the sons of Mīr Ghias ud din Qadiri were brought in, as properties of Ikhtiyar-al mulk were in their house They also were preserved by the far seeingness and kindness of the Khedive of the world At this same time Shaikh Mozaffar, a relative of Shaikh 'Abdu n nabi and who was the Sadr of Gujrat, was produced Before this he had been bastinadoed by the Mirza on account of greed and of his trying to take bribes When he came before H M he experienced the shade of his benevolence and remained in safety So also were many of the wounded

[1] B 415 458 and 538 Badayūnī III 43 has a long account of this saint and calls him Miyān Wajihu d dīn Ahmadabādī He says he was a follower of Muhammad Ghaus and died in 998 (1590) Jahāngīr describes a visit he paid to his shrine Tūzuk 211

rebels brought before H M, and obtained safety from his kindness After that he went to the houses of I'timād Khān Gujrātī and occupied himself in the work of administration The oppressed obtained relief by his justice, and the ruined world flourished anew

During the time that he was occupying the abode of I'timad Khān, Shuja'at [1] Khān from constitutional folly advanced his foot beyond the mark of moderation and did foolishly He used improper language with regard to Mun'im Khān. He did not regard the respect due to the sublime assembly, and transgressed the rules of the *torah* (etiquette or code) of the eternal monarchy Whoever is not respectful to his superior and especially to the royal commander-in-chief is verbally censured by the sovereign, and this to noble minds is more severe than strokes with the glittering sword. 64
Accordingly he was fittingly rebuked and made over to Qāsim 'Alī Khān in order that he might be taken before the Khān-Khānān and be punished or forgiven by him as he thought proper This treatment was not for himself only, but intended to be a lesson to all the foolish ones of the court. At the same time Quṭbu d-dīn Khān, Naurang Khān and a body of troops were sent to the province of Broach, as Shāh M had fled to that quarter, in order that they might seize him and inflict suitable punishment on him Rajah Bhagwānt Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram, Lashkar Khan and a number of other servants were dispatched in order that they might, by way of Idar, go to the territory of the Rană (Pertāb of Udaipūr) and put down the factious ones of that country, and chastise properly every one who was disobedient As before, the government of Pattan was given to the Khān Kilān Danduqa and Dūlqa and some other states were given in jagir to Wazir Khān and he was sent to that country.

---

[1] Blochmann 371

CHAPTER XII

Return of the World-Conquering Standards to the Capital.

When the administrative mind of the Shāhinshāh had disposed of the affairs of Gujrāt in the space of eleven days he proceeded towards the capital on the *roz i roz*, the 31st Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 16 Jumāda-alawal (18 September 1573) On that day he halted at Mahmudābād [1] Next day he encamped at the town of Dulqa In this pleasant place he stayed one day Here he conferred honours on M Koka and after giving him sage instructions permitted him to depart He also exalted Khwaja Ghiāsu d din 'Ali [2] of Qazwin, Bakhshi, who was distinguished for good services and for eloquence and had done excellent work in this campaign, by the title of Āsaf Khān and left him as Bakhshi of the province of Gujrāt, in order that he might act under H M Koka and assist in the work of administration All the arrangements for Gujrat were made at this station, and on the day of Ardibihisht 3 Mihr, Divine month, he proceeded rapidly towards the capital In two marches he reached the town of Kari and from there arrived in two marches at Sathpūr [3]

There he heard that the army which had been dispatched by way of Īdar under the command of Rajah Bhagwānt Das had reached the town of Badhnagar,[4] and that Rawalia, the ghulam of Sher Khan
5 Fulādi who had strengthened Kari at the time when H M marched to Gujrāt, was now as formerly breathing the breath of defiance (in Badhnagar) Next day H M halted where he was, in order to see if he (Bhagwant Das) needed his assistance When it appeared that the fort had been taken and that Rawalia, who had put on a jogi's dress had been caught, H M proceeded on rapidly, and when he reached Sirohi he left Sādiq Khan there with some loyal followers in order that they might keep the peace there and repress the seditious

1 Jarrett II 241 and 253

2 Blochmann 433

3 qu Satalpūr Jarrett 254 A variant gives Sitpūr and this is supported by the Iqbālnāma

4 The Badnagar of Jarrett II 254. It is Badnagar in Iqbālnāma It lies west of Īdar and Dūngarpūr and is marked Burnuggar in Bayley's map of Gujrat See also p 437 of text

On the day of Sarosh 17 Mihr, Divine month, 27th September 1578, he alighted at Ajmir and visited the shrine of Khwāja M'uīnu d-din Those connected with the shrine, and others who were needy benefited by H M 's bounty At the end of the next day an order was given that the main camp should proceed slowly, stage by stage, while he himself should hasten on like the wind He travelled the rest of that day, the whole night and to the end of the next day, and arrived near Bakar[1] There Rajah Todar Mal who had been hastily summoned from the capital, had the bliss of doing homage Then he was sent away in order that he might make the settlement of Gujrāt, etc He was instructed to make a just settlement without regard to the covetous demands of men, and to send the statement to court so that the clerks might act according to it with reference to the soldiers and subjects

In short, he halted for a little in the beginning of the evening at the village of Newata,[2] where is the house of the Ram Das Kacwāha,[3] who performed the duties of service towards him After midnight he again set out on his swift horse and arrived in the evening at Hans Mahal He did not halt there, but went on that night and the next day On the Sunday he rested in the *pargana* of Toda When a watch of the day remained he left it and after midnight reached Basāwar There the Khwāja Jahān and Shihābu-d din Ahmad Khan, who had come from the capital to welcome him, did homage They accompanied him on his onward journey and at dawn the town of Bajuna was reached. There he rested for a while There an order was given that the victorious heroes who were in the retinue should take their spears or lances in their hands and so proceed to the capital After 66
1½ watches of the day of Bād the 22nd Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 8 Jumāda 1 akhira (5 October 1573) he marched to the capital On that day a great number of the officers and nobles hastened out to welcome him, and the country was full of high and low H M reached Fathpur when a watch of the day remained Fresh water came into the canals, and the world became a flowing garden! Their highnesses the Begams and the princes and the

[1] The Bhakar of the Ain Jarrett II 267 It is on the borders of Ajmir Perhaps the Bīakoī of Jarrett 273

[2] The Lucknow ed has Hūrta Perhaps the place is Lūnī or Būnlī See Blochmann 398 n 1 and A. N text III 326 line 9 If so it is in Ranthanbhūr

[3] Blochmann 483

secluded ladies were gladdened by seeing H M Largesses were bestowed The eyes of those who longed were filled with light, and the hearts of those who waited were filled with eternal joy By the Divine aid the march to this distant country (Gujrāt), its conquest and pacification and return were accomplished in forty three days

Where is the brilliant writer who could fittingly describe the wonders of this instructive expedition? When the eye witnesses were filled with amazement, how can hearers thereof describe it? The justice-distributing Khedive at such a time of success, and the display of such wondrous deeds, one of a thousand of which would have led many mighty men of yore into negligence and corporeal pleasures, behaved contrary to the disposition of his age and of mortals and became yet more discreet and more an adorner of the *divan* of justice and addressed himself to spiritual improvement He enlightened the world by lofty principles and wise actions The great men and the officers of the State came from various parts of the kingdom and did homage, and attained their desires One month had not elapsed when Rajah Bhagwānt Das came to court with the army which H M had sent by the way of Īdar He had done good service and his reputation was increased He brought Umrā, the son and heir of the Rānā,[1] to do homage and also Rawaliyā, who had fallen into his hands at the taking of Badhnagar, and he (Bhagwant) was encompassed with royal favours

The brief account of the campaign of this victorious army is that it in a short space of time took the strong fort of Badhnagar and then proceeded towards Īdar The Zamindar thereof, Narain Dās Rāthor[2] recognised the arrival of the imperial officers as a great honour and went forward to welcome them He presented suitable gifts, and when the victorious army reached Gogānda[3] which was the Ranā's residence Ranā Kikā expressed shame and repentance for his past conduct and prolonged deficiency in service, and by way

1 The Lucknow ed has the son of the Zamindar and Blochmann 333 calls him Amr and represents him as the son of the Zamindar or Ranā of Īdar, but it seems that he really was the son of Rānā Kīkā See Jarret II 269 where he is described as Pertāb s successor

2 A F speaks of him as such an austere Hindu that he only ate the grains of corn voided by a cow Jarrett II 241

3 Text Galkanda See Blochmann 418 and note

of submission came and visited Rajah Bhagwānt Das He also took him to his house and treated him with respect and hospitality He sent along with him his son and heir, and represented that by his ill fortune a feeling of desolation (*tawahhushī*) had taken possession of him, and that now he presented his petition through the Rajah and was sending his son as a mark of obedience When his desolate (or savage) heart should become soothed by the lapse of time, he too would come and do homage in person After a little time Rajah Todar Mal also arrived from Gujrat and did homage He made over to the imperial archives a corrected settlement (jama' manaqqah) of those territories The Rana visited him also on his way and displayed flattery and submissiveness

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Mozaffar Khan and his being promoted to the lofty office of *vakīl* Though such an adorner of the throne of realm and religion requires not a *vakīl*, nor a Vizier, for his far seeing capacity is responsible for all the duties of sovereignty yet H M either in order to veil himself, or from humility before God, or in order to increase the dignity of loyal servants, from time to time makes over the duties of sovereignty to a courtier Accordingly on this occasion he determined that the office of *vakīl* should again be entrusted to Mozaffar Khan From Gujrat an order was issued that Mozaffar Khan should be turned back from wherever he might be and should come and present himself when the victorious standards reached the capital Mozaffar Khan took with him Khaldin Khan Mirak Khan Kolabi, Shah Quli Maimandi, Khwāja Shamsu d din and others of the Malwa army and proceeded towards Gujrat Near Ujjain he joined Rajah Man Singh who was proceeding from Kacwāra to Gujrat Khwaja Shamsu d din Khawafi [1] says that two Seoras (Jain ascetics) ascertained by means of astrology and stated that the army would shortly return Mozaffar Khān *in order* to test them had kept them in a kind of arrest At the town of Dhūb,[2] which

[1] Blochmann 445 Apparently this passage means that Shamsu d din had written a history of the campaign or of Mozaffar K s transactions A F quotes him again when describing the mutiny in Bengal and the circumstances of Mozaffar s defeat

[2] It seems probable *that Dhūb* or Dhūp is a mistake for Dohad, the well known place on the boundary between Mālwa and Gujrat, and which is supposed to derive its name from that circumstance In that case the spelling should be Dohadd *It is*

CHAPTER XIII

Second Expedition of H M's Army to Bengal and Bihar, and the Punishment of the Evil and Seditious

The totality of the firmly-based energy of the sovereign of our auspicious age is directed towards enabling the inhabitants, both great and small, of every country, to worship God in accordance with their capacities, and to make harmony between their outward and their inward condition, and to arrange that they do not extend the foot of propriety beyond their carpet, nor indulge in self-worship and self-exaltation Rather may they rise somewhat higher than this stage and become disciplined, so that while not deserving the appellation of ignorant they may also not merit the description of being idle and foolish! In the case of every country to which the lord of the earth has led his armies, and of every tribe which has felt the shade of his world conquering troops, his sole purpose has been to improve the condition of that country or to educate that tribe Accordingly, during the time when Sulaimān Kararānī[1] governed Bengal and Bihar, as he always remembered his position, and paid the respect of obedience, H M regarded such outward submission as if it was real obedience (lit bought it at the price of real obedience), and so that tribe (the Afghans) sustained no injury from the victorious troops of the Shāhinshāh And though he (Sulaimān) was on account of his secret wickedness liable to punishment in the ante-chamber of chastisement, yet as in the eyes of the wise man of the age (Akbar) external regularity is subsidiary to internal order and beauty, his outer garment
70 of (submission) was a means of saving the tribe When he died, and the time came of ill-fated and intoxicated young men, who neglected to preserve outward appearances, and especially when the government of that country fell to Dāūd, the younger son of Sulaimān, the scarf of hypocrisy was rent, and he stretched his foot beyond

[1] The above silly tirade is not in the Lucknow edition which begins with the word Sulaimān

his condition and became an element of disturbance in the country Some account of this has already been given The Shâhinshâh's genius applied itself to the disciplining of that tribe and to the improvement of the condition of the subjects Though he (Dāūd) had been worthy of punishment before this time, yet in accordance with the canon of mighty sovereignty that great matters should be preferred to ordinary ones, this task, which was of an ordinary nature, remained behind the veil of postponement Now that the mind of the world's Khedive was free of the rebels of Gujrāt, he turned his face towards the amendment of the eastern provinces, and the overthrow of the stiff necked and presumptuous ones of those terri- As soon as he reached the capital he sent off Lashkar Khan Bakhshī and Parmanand, a relation of Todar Mal, who had ge of the fleet, i e, the war-boats containing the artillery the men attached thereto, along with the fleet, and an urgent order was issued to the great officers and to holders of fiefs in that country that they should act harmoniously together and not deviate from the instructions of Mun'im Khan the Khān-Khānān

One of the remarkable things in our lord's good fortune is that his opponents accomplish a work which the imperial servants could not effect by a hundred strivings Accordingly, a new proof of this was given by Dāūd's putting to death Lūdī Khān He was far-reaching in stratagems, and had a vigorous mind for plans, and was the rational spirit of the eastern provinces, and was helpful in promoting the cause of the Afghans By help of the daily increasing fortune of the Shâhinshâh he became opposed to Daud, who had been raised up by him And it has already been described how Daūd's killing his own cousin, the son of Taj Khān, upset Lūdī's mind, and how Mun'im Khān escaped from his great danger As he (Lūdī) had not effected a genuine relationship with eternal dominion (i e, with Akbar), and in appearance he had quarrelled with his benefactor, all that wisdom [1] of his became a hindrance to him, and the loyal

[1] Ān hama 'aql 'aqīla shud. The Ghiāsu lughat gives a rope or a tether as one of the meanings of 'aqīla 'Aqīla also means a secluded, or bashful woman, and perhaps the meaning is that Lūdī's reason be[came] secluded, that is, disappeared fr[om] sight

.43

Afghans turned away from him Dāūd *by the efforts of Qatlū*, Gūjar, Shams Khān Mūsāzai, Ism'ail Silāḥdār and others, strengthened Garhī, and opened his hands to distribute the treasure of Sulaiman. Those who were of little sense and of a fly-like disposition gathered around him, and Lūdī who presumed upon his own craft and experience and his foolish and vaunting acquaintances, became helpless and took shelter in the fort of Rhotās Dāūd appointed a force against him and it arrived near Rhotās As
71 Ludi was helpless he turned to the sublime court, and asked help from Mun'im Khān The Khān-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān Tongrī Quli Khan, Barī Tāwācī-bāshī[1] and Maulānā Maḥmūd Akhūnd with a force to assist him with sword and counsel He also moved forward himself as possibly Lūdi would come and see him, and the affairs of Bengal and Bihār would be easily disposed of

This state of affairs came to H M 's knowledge at the time he was at the capital, and he with the tongue of fulfilment gave out the good news of victory and conquest H M gave some of his sublime attention to the facilitating of the conquest of that country Though a numerous army had been nominated for this service, yet it is not every one who has such a nature that he performs his service equally well whether he is kept in sight or not In order to stir up the feeble and those of a mercantile nature who reckon service without pay, and exertion without wages as their loss, and want prompt recompense, Rajah Todar Mal was appointed, who was distinguished for trustworthiness, reliability and favour with the Court He was to see that the men came forward, and have them mustered[2] so that the above-mentioned two classes of men might regard him as an observer, and not indulge in sloth or cantankerousness, as is their nature, and might regard the absent (i e, Akbar) as present and perform their duties after the manner of loyal servants

Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānan had reached the bank of the Tirmohinī,[3] which is the junction of the rivers Ganges, Jumna

---

[1] The Iqbālnāma has Yār Ḥusain Tawācībāshī

[2] *dīdan-i-khān-i-lashkar*

[3] Tirmohinī Sarū is another name for the Gogrā The Tirmohinī is near Chaprā Though called a Tirmohinī (three mouths), it seems to be really only the junction of the Gogrā and Ganges The Jumna had already joined the Ganges at

and Saru, when Rajah Todar Mal arrived, and energetically set to work. In a short time a large army was collected The command of it was distributed as follows The centre was under the Khan Khanān, Majnun Khan, Baba Khān and others had charge of the right wing Muhammad Qulī Khan Barlas, Qiya Khān, Ashraf Khān and others were in charge of the left wing The Khan 'Ālam, Mirza 'Ali and others were with the vanguard When the Rajah had mustered[1] the army, Lashkar Khan and many of the Khan-Khanan's servants crossed the river Nizam who had a large force of Afghans, for there was a newly-constructed fort in front of the royal army, took to flight At the same time letters came from Tengri Quli and the force that had gone forward with him, to the effect that Ludi had dismissed them and reconciled himself with Daud, and was now ready for battle and had with him a numerous army Though this news was a little perplexing to the superficial the eternal fortune (of Akbar) rejoiced at it and regarded it as a means of conquest Accordingly the mystery of this singular arrangement (*manṣuba*) was afterwards revealed

In fine the wiles of Daud who was under the tuition of Qatlu and Gujar, led Ludi out of the road He sent a message (to Ludi) saying, ' You are in the place of Sulaimān if on account of 72
love to this family you have become angry with me and gone off you have done your duty, and I am not displeased with you In every undertaking I seek assistance from you At this time, when the sublime armies have come against me, do you also from the excellent good will which you have always shown, gird up the loins of energy for battle, I make over to you the army, the treasure and the park of artillery" After much talk a form of peace was, by the efforts of Gujar established between Daud and Ludi Daud soothed him and sent him in advance After some days Ludi in his ill fortune came face to face with the victorious army, built a fort, and engaged in war There were constantly fightings on the bank of the Sone, and the imperial servants were invariably successful The brave men crossed the river and engaged in battle One day a body of troops was sent across the river under the command

---

Allahabad It was at this Tirmohinī that Khwānd Amir finished in

Bābar's Camp his Habību s-siyar

[1] Shān i-lashkar dīd

of L'al Khān and sent against Jarāndakot[1] He acted with energy, and fourteen of the enemy's boats fell into his hands Many of the rebels were killed, and L'al Khan's son gave up this unstable life in the service of his lord, and gained eternal fame Just then the Afghans fell into confusion and there was a report that Ludi Khan was killed

The facts of this are that when Ludi had been reassured and was carrying on the war with energy, Daud followed him up and arrived at the house of Jalal Khan Gidhauriya (?)[2] He sent a messenger to invite Ludi Kalu, and Phul, who was Ludi's vakil, to come and see him, as he had various things to say Lūdi went with all confidence, and Phul with him, but Kalu did not go, saying that the invitation had not a good odour At first Daud treated Ludi with respect After that he retired Qatlū and others came and were about to arrest him Ludi's servant who had his (Ludi's) sword when he saw that there was going to be treachery, aimed a blow at Qatlu, and was himself cut to pieces Ludi was arrested, and a disturbance arose among the Afghans All the officers agreed that he should be put to death Daud asked him what he ought to do He replied "Do not injure me in my dignity and honour, now that at the instigation of short-sighted men I have fallen into this evil, the proper thing for me is that I obtain repose in the privy chamber of annihilation" The wretches in their folly struck a blow at their own power by putting him and Phul to death It was one of the notes of God given fortune that Ludī should have been thus removed by the efforts of foes, when it would have been difficult to have got rid of him by a thousand plannings Well wishers conveyed
3 Ism'ail Ludi's son, and who was very young, to the Khan Khanan The latter now crossed the Sone From excessive caution, and owing to the plague of foolish prattlers, an easy task was made difficult The killing of Ludi had produced such a dissension among the enemy that if the imperial commanders had shown energy and resolution the work would have been finished quickly and easily But as the disposal of this affair was reserved for a special time and

---

[1] Perhaps the Chanend or Cher anend of Jarrett II 156, or is it the Kot in Sarkar Rohtas of p. 157?

[2] The T A seems to have Jalāl K Krorī

for the advent of H M., there occurred caution and delay instead of alacrity The whole army put on their cuirasses and mounted their steeds, and Rajah Todar Mal, Lashkar Khan and 'Itimad Khan the eunuch went forward and selected a site for a camp The ground was made over to the men and in a short time a strong fort and a deep moat were constructed After this fashion they followed the path of vigilance and caution up to the neighbourhood of Patna

Owing to the daily increasing fortune of the Shahinshah, Daud with such an army and equipment went off in a cowardly fashion and shut himself up in the fort of Patna With his own foot he imprisoned himself in the furnace of destruction[1] The imperial army arranged the batteries and invested the town An account of the Divine assistances, and the details of the daily increasing fortune of H M were written and sent to Court These communications led to new thanksgiving The Shahinshah of horizons rejoiced mankind in Agra by princely favours and instructed them in Divine worship and in usages He displayed wonders in the way of liberality and forgivenesses, and he also laboured strenuously for outward civilisation and spiritual advancement Contrary to the practice of most princes of the age he paid his thanks to God by the tongue of deeds He put foreign lands (*wilayat*) in the same position as the Sultanate, and made the sitter in the dust and the sitter on the throne of equal consequence (*hamsang*)

One of the glorious characteristics of the Shāhinshāh, which was displayed at this time, was that when it was brought to his hearing that Saif[1] Khān Kokaltash, who had attained the eternal world while displaying good service and loyalty, and also Shaikh Muhammad Bokhari, who in the first expedition to Gujrat had suffered noble martyrdom, had left large debts Gifts from the Shāhinshah's kindness lightened the obligations of those loyalists by paying all their heavy debts, and the distressful hearts of the creditors were comforted Lofty words and sublime laws were continually issuing from that fountain of vision, and mine of eloquence If examples thereof were recorded by a true pen, the simple minded would undoubtedly accuse encomiasts of exaggeration Though the holy soul of the Shāhinshāh be not defiled by the ordinary sciences and acquired

[1] Cf Elliot V 370

rom

74 knowledge, yet as his sacred mind has received absolute light without any human intermediary or local associations, holy words come intuitively from that reservoir of abundance Accordingly a few of those inspired utterances will be written in the conclusion of this noble volume

Among[1] them was that at this time on a Friday he was present in the Jama' Masjid of Fathpūr and was watching the crowd of ostensible worshippers Maulanā 'Abdu-r-Rahman the preacher, who had recently come from Māwara-n nahar (Transoxiana), was discoursing In the course of his address he spoke of the infidelity of the parents of the Prophet and spoke of them as being in danger of hell H M said "Methinks this statement is not true, for when there has been intercession for so many offenders by this means (the Prophet), how can the father and mother be excluded, and be consigned to everlasting infidelity?" The assembly applauded and paid him the homage of devotion

One of the occurrences was the festival for the circumcision of the glorious princes Inasmuch as the keeping alive of old customs is a strong pillar of administration and the following in the steps of predecessors is an essential point in the management of the external world, and especially as the wearers of scarves and turbans regard Use and Wont as related to the Divine laws, and most of all because rulers search for opportunities for feasts, and make them an occasion for liberality and forgiveness, H M determined upon celebrating the circumcision of the princes Able and labour loving men were nominated to arrange this delightful reunion The gates of liberality were opened, the materials of rejoicing were prepared, and there was a brilliant market of gifts He gave a lofty foundation to his genius, and the veil over his disposition was removed The intoxication which is the ornament of wisdom took possession of the solitaries who were lovers of melody By exquisite musical cadences the calamity of melancholy departed from the disturbed brains of the partakers of the feast of love The stomachs of the desires of those who looked for substance were filled Those who had long yearned were successful Joy left the private banqueting-hall and came to the public hall of audience

1 This passage does not occur in the Lucknow edition nor does Akbar's remark appear in the sayings at the end of the Āīn

Verse

Sagacious, liberal and gentle
An angel in the form of a man
He spreads wide the carpet in the courtyard
Happiness is obtained in proportion as he smiles

On the day of Āzar 9 Ābān, Divine month corresponding to Thursday, 25 Jumada-al akhir (22 October 1573), those three holy dispositioned ones underwent the rite of circumcision, and became nurslings adorning the garden of Hope

Quatrain [1]

Was the petal of the red rose scattered by the wind
Or did the rosebud draw the veil from her face ?
Nay, nay, when the fruit of the tree of desire formed, 75
The expanded blossom dropped from the branch

The world became pleasant to small and great Such an occasion for expansion of the heart revealed itself to the spiritual and temporal ruler who continually used without occasion to cast treasures into the bosom of the poor and needy The acute can imagine what sumptuous liberality was displayed! The garland weaver of the age (Akbar) in appearance gives adornment to the creature, inwardly, he keeps close to the incomparable Divinity and his heart is embellished by the obliteration of the marks of existence

Verse

Good God! From his unequalled genius
Wisdom was part of his nature
I do not comprehend one drop of his abundance,
I do not see even one particle of his light

One of the benefit conferring and auspicious acts was his having himself weighed against precious things Mankind were made happy by gifts and forgivenesses

---

[1] The allusion seems to be to the drops of blood caused by the circumcision.

Verse

He's a Shah whose heart holds the mighty talisman
Heaven's nine [1] treasures come short of his weight
His sublimity is such that he cannot be weighed
Unless, perhaps, they put two worlds in the other scale

---

[1] The nine heavens Akbar was weighed twice a year, B 266 This was the great or solar weighment which usually took place on the first of Ābān

CHAPTER XIV

The sending of Prince Sultan Selim to school

The wise[1] sovereign kept his children under his own care and did not appoint any guardian to them, and was continually educating them in the most excellent manner of which there are few instances in ancient times Their holy minds have been enlightened daily by the sciences At this time, though that light of the garden of fortune (Selim) was constantly acquiring various outward and inward excellences in the society of H M and in the Shāhinshāh's entourage, and from time to time the clarified heart of this nosegay of the springtide of dominion was acquiring degrees of light by the blessing of H M's holy spirit and of his exalted attentions, though he learnt the rules of justice and of the cherishing of subjects and the principles of settling disputes—in which the friend and the stranger must be viewed with the same impartiality, though he acquired the secrets of the spirit and came to know the wondrous clarifications of the heart, nor was there need that that nursling of fortune should be delivered over to school and become a pupil, yet it is an old custom that far-seeing great ones should commit their capable children to the instruction of teachers adorned with outward and inward knowledge so that by seeing and hearing from them, and by their walk and conversation, their qualities may be developed, and also that by the companionship and conversation of such teachers the lessons that they have learned in the holy Presence (of their fathers) may become fixed in their minds even when such Presence is apparently absent Another reason 76
is that by means of this service the capable men of the age may emerge from the defile of limited means and that their employment may be a means of conferring abundance and general comfort on them Also there is hereby provided a mode of intercession for the afflicted and the criminal For in this sublime court just as the control of mortals is based upon disciplining and chastising the rebellious and

---

[1] This insipid and turgid declamation is considerably shortened in the Lucknow edition

Verse

He's a Shah whose heart holds the mighty talisman,
Heaven's nine[1] treasures come short of his weight
His sublimity is such that he cannot be weighed
Unless, perhaps, they put two worlds in the other scale

---

[1] The nine heavens Akbar was weighed twice a year, B 266 This was *the great or solar weighment which usually took place on the first of Ābān.*

CHAPTER XIV

The sending of Prince Sultan Selīm to school

The wise[1] sovereign kept his children under his own care and did not appoint any guardian to them, and was continually educating them in the most excellent manner of which there are few instances in ancient times Their holy minds have been enlightened daily by the sciences *At this time, though that light of the garden of fortune* (Selim) was constantly acquiring various outward and inward excellences in the society of H M and in the Shahinshāh's entourage, and from time to time the clarified heart of this nosegay of the spring-tide of dominion was acquiring degrees of light by the blessing of H M's holy *spirit and of his exalted attentions, though he learnt the* rules of justice and of the cherishing of subjects and the principles of settling disputes—in which the friend and the stranger must be viewed with the same impartiality, though he acquired the secrets of the spirit and came to know the wondrous clarifications of the heart, nor was there need that that nursling of fortune should be delivered over to school and become a pupil, yet it is an old custom that far-seeing great ones should commit their capable children to the instruction of teachers adorned with outward and inward knowledge so that by seeing and hearing from them, and by their walk and conversation, their qualities may be developed, and also that by the companionship and conversation of such teachers the lessons that they have learned in the holy Presence (of their fathers) may become fixed in their minds even when such Presence is apparently absent Another reason 76
is that by means of this service the capable men of the age may emerge from the defile of limited means and that their employment may be a means of conferring abundance and general comfort on them Also there is hereby provided a mode of intercession for the afflicted and the criminal For in this sublime court just as the control of mortals is based upon disciplining and chastising the rebellious and

[1] This insipid and turgid declamation is considerably shortened in the Lucknow edition

froward, so also is the administration adorned by forgiveness and overlooking of offences The administrators of the world have small leisure for forgiveness when they are under the influence of wrath Hence it is that far-seeing rulers continually seek out a number of honest servants and give them authority to take the reins of power into their hand at times when wrath is in the ascendant, and enable them to save the guilty by means of making representations For if the person be not guilty, such interceders perform a religious duty and save their master from issuing an unjust order And if he be really guilty, yet as the foundation of man is trespass, forgetful ness,[1] and fault, there are many guilty whose offences have been washed by the waters of forgiveness, for the majesty[2] of man is very great, and at the time of the ebullience of wrath there is little leisure for consideration or investigation It is an indispensable canon of rule that every master should in proportion to his position seek out for himself some servant or other person and have him by him who may have such a position and trust that he can show courage at such critical moments, and can convey words of truth The king of realm and religion for these purposes, and for others which the wise and far sighted see and know, resolved that the light of the lamp of glory and the jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate Prince Sultan Selim, who was a pupil in the Divine school, should be made over to one of the upright minded and be subject to his instruction Maulana Mir[3] Kalan Haravi, who was distinguished for his knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences, was exalted by this grand appointment On the day of Khird d 6 Āzar, Divine month corresponding to Wed nesday, 22 Rajab[4] (18 November 1573), there was a great feast, and the holy spirit of that pupil of the eye of sovereignty, in whom by the perfumes of the Divine aids had been implanted the preparations for lofty knowledge began outward instruction This shining lamp of the portico of the Caliphate was increased in brilliancy by the oil of instruction The commencement of this great design was with the holy name of God, whereby the gates of Divine bounty were opened

---

1 Alluding to the story of Adam s forgetfulness

2 Meaning that life is very sacred and should not be lightly taken away

3 Blochmann 540

4 The Iqbalnāma remarks that the prince was then four years four months and four days old

After that he began with the letters of the alphabet,[1] which are the foundation of learning and the centre of things visible, and so was guided to the highness of wisdom The holy ones of spirituality, and the loyal servants of the Court uttered congratulations, and a hum of prayer went up from high and low

One of the joyful occurrences of this glorious year was the auspi- 77
cious arrival of the secluded lady of the Court of Chastity, the noble dame Hājī Begam After she had returned from the holy places (Mecca and Medina) she had, in spite of the ties of love between her and H M, chosen Delhi as her place of abode She had taken up her residence in the neighbourhood of the tomb of H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī and devoted herself to works of charity At this time, when the victories of Gujrāt occurred, and there were great feasts, she came on the day of Marisfand 29 Dai, Divine month, to offer her congratulations H M went out to welcome her She was the daughter of the maternal[2] uncle of the mother of H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī Alāman M was their child H M Jinnat Āshiyānī had a great respect and regard for her I have heard the Shahinshah say "The kindness and affection which she showed to me, and my

[1] *haruf i abjad* Letters of the *abjad* i e letters having a numerical value but used here to mean the ordinary alphabet

[2] دختر طغای والده Taghāī means maternal uncle and so the meaning here and at II 243 seems to be that Hājī B was the daughter of the uncle (maternal) of Humāyun But possibly *wālida* is redundant, and the meaning is that she was the daughter of Humāyūn's maternal uncle, in other words that she was Humāyūn's first cousin This is how Blochmann has understood the relationship (465) He has *taghāī zāda i wālida-i-Jinnat āshiyānī* which however I think should still mean daughter of Humāyūn's mother's uncle Hājī B was the lady who was taken prisoner at Causa and who was released and sent back to Humāyūn by Sher Shah She showed her love for Akbar and her observance of court etiquette by swallowing some of the medicine herself before administering it to Akbar Miriām makāni was uneasy but from respect to Humāyūn was afraid to say anything to the elder wife Presumably Humāyūn was away campaigning Hājī B was the daughter of Yādgār Taghāī Babar 388 She went to Mecca in the beginning of 972 (1564) and returned in 975 A N text II 243 and 329 If A F is correct and I have understood him properly Hājī B was the cousin of Maham Begam, the wife of Bābar i e she was the daughter of her maternal uncle Yādgār Taghāī Humāyūn then was her cousin once removed

love for her are beyond expression Every one who did not know the real facts thought that she was my own mother In my sixth year I was distracted by tooth ache She said she had a medicine which she had tested, and went off to get it H M Miriam makani being a world of vigilance and caution was in an agony lest she should give me the medicine, and yet she did not venture to say anything out of respect to H M Jinnat Ashiyani So she tried to take me away to her own house, but I would not leave my attendance on the lady (Hâji Begam) Just then she brought the medicine, and as she knew what the state of feeling was, she, in her love to me swallowed some of it without there being any order to that effect, and then rubbed the medicine on my teeth The minds of the superficial were set at rest, and also my pain was soothed "

One of the occurrences was that Saiyid Mahmud Khan and o[ther] Saiyids of Bârha, and Saiyid Muhammad of Amroha and a large bo[dy] of brave men, were sent to the territories of Madhukar, who was turbulent and disobedient The Saiyids behaved courageously and brought the country into order The tu[rbule]nt men therein had their power lessened Shortly afterwards Mahmud Khân died

Also during this year Mîr Muhsin[2] Rizavî of Mashhad, who had been sent on an embassy to the Deccan at the time of the first expedition to Gujrât, brought presents from the ruler of the Deccan, and representations full of submission The brief account of this is that when Muhammad Husain M[irza] and a number of wretches had fled
8 to the Deccan, H M considered it necessary to send an able man to the ruler of the Deccan to give him good advice and guide him to the path of obedience so that he should send the rebels to Court, or drive them away from his borders The above mentioned Mir was chosen for this duty, and though Nizâm ul mulk, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, had not the grace to arrest those wretches and to surrender them yet he did this much that was good, that he did not give them a place in his territories He also sent proper presents along with trustworthy servants and displayed loyalty The Mir reported to H M the restlessness of the men of the Deccan and their instability They had been greatly affected by the deeds of the imperial

[1] Rajah Madhûkar Bundelâ, of Undcah
[2] He was a poet Badayûnî III

army and the recent victories, and they had conveyed their goods to the defiles of the mountains and were on the watch But in accordance with the Shahinshah's principle of preferring urgent matters to ordinary ones, the conquest of the Deccan was delayed, and all his energies were devoted to the taking of the eastern provinces and the chastisement of the rebels there And as he was in expectation that this work would be brought to a conclusion by the army, which under the command of Mun'im Khan was engaged in the siege of the fort of Patna, as has already been mentioned, he delayed action and kept himself on the alert so that if it became necessary he would go there in person

One of the occurrences was that H M mounted his horse and adorned the festival of the 'Īd of the Ramẓan While in that great assemblage he heard that the cupola of purity Khwaja 'Abdu sh-shahid,[1] the grandson of the Defender of guidance Nasiru d-din Khwāja 'Abdullah, who is known as Khwaja Ahrar, was present As the righteousness and seeking after God of this Khwaja was conjectured by some, and was known to others, the Khedive of the world in this worship of God paid attention to him, and having regard to the holy man he took him out of the lower ranks (of spectators) and gave him a place near himself God be praised! H M in spite of all his wealth, material and spiritual, is ever unresting in his love of God, and is ever active in endeavouring to compass His Will The majesty of spiritual sovereignty never withholds him from this quest, how then can external glory do so? If one who by sublime fortune has become familiar with the grades of existence and Divinity and is the ruler of those two great worlds displays such wondrous works in his holy personality, what marvel is it?

[1] Blochmann 539 He was the son by the second marriage, of Khwāja Khwājakā, the eldest son of Khwaja Aḥrār See Khazina Aṣfiyā I 597

CHAPTER XV.

H. M.'s VISIT TO AJMIR

The sovereign, from his abundant capacity and prudence, and
79 reverence, etc., attaches himself in all his undertakings, whether they be of a general or a special nature, to the sublime court of monotheism, and he reckons as part of this duty the paying of respect to those associated with the families of worshippers of the Creator. Although those who comprehend the secrets of the visible world, or rather the well disposed but superficial observers of this world, have come to feel assured that the daily-increasing outward majesty and the augmenting spiritual supremacy, and the real and apparent conquest of countries, and the aggregation of exquisite corporeal and mental qualities are the products of the unequalled personality of this unique one of the court of creation, yet he from his perfect happy fortune, knowledge of God, and singleness of heart, casts no glance upon himself and recognises all such things as coming from the court of eternity. Accordingly, whenever an enterprise comes before him, he in the first place *renews his devotions at God's threshold*, and regards this as a dressing-up of the face of fortune. At this time it occurred to his inspired mind that the conquest of Behar and Bengal would not be accomplished by the contingent sent there, and that it would be necessary for the holy standards to go there. Accordingly *he proceeded to pay his devotions, and to circumambulate the shrines*. On the day of Ormuzd, the beginning of Isfandarmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 16 Shawwāl (8 Feb. 1574), he proceeded to Ajmir. The first stage was in the environs of Dabar,[1] and he remained four days in that pleasant place. The various grades of mankind obtained inward and outward joy. Khwāja 'Abdu-sh-shahīd formed part of the royal cortège and here took leave to go to the city. On the day that the royal standards halted at Toda, M. Koka arrived in his affection post-haste from Gujrat, and H. M. exalted him by going a few steps to welcome him. He encompassed him with royal

[1] Cf. text 145. It was 4 kos from Fathpur.

favours On the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandarmaz, Divine month, he halted at a distance of seven kos from Ajmir Next day, as was his custom he proceeded on foot to the glorious shrine At the end of the day he arrived at the lofty edifice and paid his pilgrimage to it. The needy and those others attached to the shrine were enabled by the Shāhinshāh's bounty to remove the limit of abundance (i e, they received unlimited largesse) After paying his devotions he took up his quarters in the delightsome palace, which by this time had been nearly completed He directed his attention to 80
putting down the wicked and seditious and to the cherishing the loyal and obedient Rai Rām Das,[1] who was distinguished for administrative ability and moderation, was appointed to the Diwāni of the sublime Sarkar An order was issued that the officials should as before be Rajah Todar Mal's men, so that neither should the affairs of the Diwāni suffer by the Rajah's absence, nor the writing of dismissal be applied to him, and that the confidence of service rendered might be maintained

[1] Blochmann 483 Blochmann says Rām Dās was made Todar Mal s Naib in the 17th year Appárently this should be the 18th year and it would seem that he was appointed Diwān though Todar Mal s clerks were kept on

CHAPTER XVI

Beginning of the 19th year from the accession, viz, the year Mihr of the second cycle

At this season when the spiritual spring was in its glory, the sound of the New Year's footsteps made the external world accord with the internal The inner world too was exalted above angelic purity and received the holiness of Divinity

Verse

In that sacred expanse was opened
The cell of the bud by the key of the breeze
The rose flung her cap from her head
She placed the hundred-ply [1] *cloak on her breast*
The nightingales shrilled the praises of God
They turned their rosaries and parted their lips for the beauteous utterance
The rose threw perfume to the world's brain
The branch [2] threw his head-dress on the rose's tablecloth.

On the day of Thursday, after the passing of one hour and forty one minutes of the 17th Zi-l-q'ada 981 of the lunar year (11 March 1574), the spiritual and physical light-increaser (the sun) cast his ray on the Sign of Aries The dejected terrestrials and the holy celestials received fresh decoration, and the nineteenth year of the second cycle began with joy and splendour The unique jewel of the Caliphate made a great feast at the shrine of M'uinu-d dīn, and there was a grand assembly All day and night that ocean-

[1] Alluding to the hundred-petalled rose

[2] *Shākh* A branch, also civet and the civet-cat B 79 But I do not understand the line. Probably *shākh* here means branch and not civet, and perhaps the iẓāfat should be between *gul* and 'imāma, and not between *naṭ'a* and *gul* The meaning then might be, "The branch flung on the carpet, i e, the ground, the head dress of the rose, i e, it scattered the petals on the ground

hearted one distributed treasures of red and white money in trays to skirt upon skirt of those present, and the general public obtained abundance The hearts of the wishful were tranquillized

At the time when H M was at Ajmer it was brought to his notice that Candar Sen the son of Rajah Māldeo, from folly and an evil star had left the path of obedience and was in rebellion He had strengthened the fort of Siwānah,[1] which is the strongest fort 81
in the province of Ajmer, and he looked upon it as a place of refuge in time of his adversity H M 's heart, when he heard of this, felt for the subjects of that country, and he appointed Shah Qulī Khān Mahram, Rai Rai Singh, Shimal Khan, Kisu Dās, son of Jaimal of Mīrtha, Jagat Rai, son of Dharm Cand, and a number of brave men to chastise the presumptuous one In accordance with his disposition he gave them wise instructions and said "Our threshold is an illustrious spot of grace and forgiveness, should the lamp of wisdom light up the dark soul of that wanderer in the desert of ignorance, and he feel ashamed of what he has done you will make him hopeful of royal favours" The envoys proceeded towards the city of Sojat Kala,[2] the grandson of Rai Māldeo, was holding out there, but on the approach of the imperial troops fled to Sirbari,[3] which is in the defiles of the mountains The officers pursued him and burnt the fort, and he fled from there to the mountain of Koramba[4] (?) The brave troops made no difference between hill and plain (*dasht*) and followed him When Kala saw that he was likely to be taken, he placed his hand in the skirt of supplication and by means of right-thinking men joined the victorious army He brought along with him Kesū Dās his brother, Mohes Das and Prithi Rāj Rathor in order that they might enter into service He himself obtained leave to remain behind in order that he might readjust his broken fortunes

When this work had been advanced by celestial help and Candar Sen's security was disturbed, the officers proceeded towards

---

1 Blochmann 399 n 1 Jarrett II 276

2 Blochmann 399 and 476

3 Variant Siryāni Perhaps it is the Sarwār of J II 273

4 The Iqbālnāma seems to have *Koh-Korina* which is also a variant Perhaps the last word is merely a jingle or it may be connected with kaur, ground full of hollows

Siwānah[1] Rāwal Sukhraj, one of the followers of the rebel, was holding that place At this time some of the servants of Rai Rai Singh *proceeded, under the command of Gopal Dās, to attack his* country (of Candarsen) Candai Sen sent Sūja and Debī Das with some brave men to assist Rāwal, and when the army was returning after plundering some of the villages, Rāwal came with a body of troops to attack it A battle took place, and the brave men on both sides distinguished themselves Sujā, Debi Das and Man, the brother of Rawal, were killed in that engagement, and by God's
12 *help the standards of victory were upreared. Rai Rai Singh on* hearing of the engagement proceeded to the field of battle, but the Shāhinshah's fortune had prevailed before he arrived When Rāwal had been thus defeated he turned back from his roadless way and sent his son to the victorious army The victorious troops proceeded from there to the conquest of Siwanah Candar Sen[2] did not think it advisable to remain himself in the fort, and made it over to Patāi Rathor and Patāī Baqqāl *The imperial servants addressed themselves* to the siege When the mind of the Shāhinshāh was at ease about the affairs of this province he proceeded towards the capital on the day of Amurdād 7 Farwardin, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 23 Zī l-q'ada (17 March 1574)

On the day of Rām 21 Farwardin, Divine month, he reached Fathpūr, and unfolded the standards of the cherishing of subjects, *the checking of oppressors*, and the befriending of the oppressed, in the face of mankind

About this time, which was the beginning of the rainy season, reports came from Mun'im Khan from the eastern provinces to the effect that the siege of Patna was being protracted Though the

[1] There is the variant Mathra and the Iqbālnāma has Mahwa or Mahatwa query The Mahēwah of J II 276

It seems evident that Siwāna is wrong, for the troops marched there after the battle described below

[2] The Rajputana Gazetteer II 232 calls Candar Sen the second son of Maldeo, and says he was killed at the storm of Siwāna but this fact is not stated in the A N The authority for the statement is evidently Tod's Rajasthan He seems to put the death of Candar Sen into 1584 Māldeo's eldest son was Udai Singh commonly called the "fat Rajah, B. 429 His sister was the Jodbai who was married to Jahangir and was mother of Shāh Jahān

combatants on both sides continued to give proof of courage, and victory was on the part of the imperial servants yet as the river was on one side of the fort, abundant provisions reached the besieged The fort too was well equipped, and the troops, the park of artillery, the treasure, and the abundance of elephants gave confidence to the enemy The approach of the rainy and tempestuous season disturbed and distressed the imperial army If H M came in person, the knot of difficulty would be easily untied In the report many things were said which might act as inducements for H M 's expedition Among them was the martyrdom of Kakar 'Ali Khan [1] and his son They had one day attacked the enemy and done brave deeds and killed a number of the foe and then themselves gloriously drunk the last cup There was also the great deed of the Khan 'Alam who had at dawn fetched a circuit and attacked at the Panjpahari and had come to the market gate (*darwāza nakhkhas*) [2] and made a bold attack and had captured great elephants and much plunder, and then returned He had been a cause of admiration to critical spectators There was also mention made of the coming in of Hasan Khān [3] Batani and of the plan of attacking the dam of the Pun pun, which was suggested by him

The account of this is that Hasan Khan Batani was one of the heroes of the age By his good fortune he became separated from the enemy, and joined the victorious army Mun'im Khān encom- 83
passed him with royal favours

He continually encouraged the imperial servants and suggested measures for resisting the foe Among them was his statement that two things were imperative in order that by the aid of God the knot of difficulty might be unloosed First, the dam on the river Pun pun must be broken down, so that at this season the waters, which had been brought there and were daily increasing, might flow into the Ganges Otherwise the waters would come towards the fort and make the position of the besiegers difficult Secondly, Ḥājipūr must be freed from the possession of the enemy as most of the provisions for the fort came from there Mun'im Khān ordered the Khān 'Ālam to take Hājipur, but he replied that he had been appointed from the

---

1 Blochmann 408 2 The gate where slaves and cattle are sold
3 Blochmann 476 Patanī in text

Court to the vanguard of the army. On account of this contention, the project was postponed Majnūn Khān and a number of brave men were appointed to break the dam They went off by night and executed this service in an excellent manner Owing to the Shāhinshāh's good fortune, Sulaimān [1] and Bābā Mankalī who were among the great officers of the enemy and who were guarding the dam were on that night sleeping the sleep of negligence Being ashamed of their behaviour they became wanderers in the desert of ruin and went off to Ghorāghāt

As the siege was protracted and as H M was already inclined to turn his rein towards the conquest of the eastern provinces, the receipt of Mun'im Khān's reports confirmed his purpose The royal retinue therefore moved from Fathpūr to Agra, and preparations were made for the expedition Arrangements were made for having large boats, and *it was decided that H M the Shāhinshāh, together* with the princes and a few of the ladies, and the cream of the courtiers, should proceed by boat, while the main army and the great camp should travel by land As absences from musters [2] exceeded the attendances, able and zealous *sazāwals* were appointed to cause the presence of the troops The Shāhinshāh directed his attention in Agra towards the arrangements for this expedition and considered the improvement of the world as Divine worship

At this time the writer of this glorious record, Abul Fazl, the son of Mubārak was, in accordance with a sublime indication and mysterious message, exalted by prostrating himself at the holy Court of the Shāhinshāh By the Divine assistance there was a beginning
84 of the cure of his self-worshipping pride The brief account of this matter is as follows After [3] coming from the hidden chamber of the womb to the crowded inn of existence he (i e A F) in his fifth year attained to conventional discretion Under the educating eye of his spiritual and physical father he in his fifteenth year became acquainted with the rational and the traditional sciences (*fanūn i*

---

[1] Blochmann 370 and 476

[2] Shān Cf p 71 of text, line 11 Shān should be *sān* See Vullers II 195a and Irvine A of M p 182

[3] Cf Jarrett III 443 It is interesting to compare A F s account given by the Rev Imādu d dīn a convert to Christianity in his autobiography English translation London Church Missionary House 1885 Part of this is given by Garcin de Tassy in his History of Hindustani

hikmi-u-a'lum i naqli) Though these opened the gate of knowledge and gave him the entry to wisdom's antechamber, yet by his ill fortune he became egotistic and self conceited The foot [1] of his energy rested for a while in admiration of his own excellences, and the throng of students around him augmented his presumption Their indiscriminate agitation and lack of judgment put into his head the thought of asceticism and retirement Though during the day his cell was made bright by teaching science, yet at night he would take the path of the fields and approach the enthusiasts of the "Way of Search" He would implore inspiration from those treasure holding paupers I was kept [2] in the defiles of astonished perturbation by the contrary views of the superficially learned, and by the vogue of imitative formalists I had neither power to be silent nor strength to cry out Though the exhortations of my honoured father kept me from the desert of madness, yet no helpful remedy reached the troubled spot of my soul Whiles my heart was drawn towards the sages of the country of Cathay (khitta i Khata), whiles it felt inclined towards the ascetics of Mount Lebanon (the Druses) [3] (?) Sometimes a desire for conversation with the Lamas [4] of Thibet broke my peace,[5] and sometimes a sympathy with the *padres* of Portugal pulled at my skirt Sometimes a conference with the *mubids* of Persia, and sometimes a knowledge of the secrets of the Zendavesta robbed me of

[1] The meaning is that his success lessened the spirit of self improvement as he halted in contemplation of his own abilities and acquirements

[2] Here A F changes to the first person

[3] Blochmann in his translation of this passage biography of Abul Fazl p xii, has the hermits of Lebanon The words in text are *mi rtazan-i Lubnan*, and perhaps the reference is to the Nosairis or followers of Ali Cf mention of Nosairis in III 271

[4] The text has *jogiyān* but there is the variant Lābhāī which is a corruption of Lāmahā

[5] A F begins his account of him self in the third person and then glides into the first The best comment on the passage is to be found in the third book of his letters under the head of *Khutbu i kajkal buzurg* i e 'Discourses about the great beggar s bowl p 265 of Newal Kishor s lith ed where he gives a similar account of himself There (p 266) he says that contrary to the experience of most men he came to the years of discretion at five and understood all the ordinary sciences by the time he was fifteen He then spent ten years more in discussions and conferences This only increased his self conceit But his soul turned away from the delight of teaching and the applause of his pupils and he thought of

repose, for my soul was alienated from the society both of the sobered[1] *and the (spiritually) drunken of my own land* Though the foodlessness of search was broken by the emporium (*miṣr-i-jam'a*) of outward and inward perfections, by which is meant my advantageous attendance on my honoured father, yet as that unique product of creation's workshop lived under the veil[2] of seclusion there was no remedy for my distress Owing to my own ignorance I thought that my outward[3] position was incompatible with the final state (*'uqbā*), and was much disturbed in consequence, and sought to be remote from the society around me At last fortune favoured me, and mention was made in the holy assemblage (*Akbar's religious meetings*) of the acquirements of this one (himself) who was bewildered in life's society My honoured brother,[4] my well wishing friends, my loving relatives, and my disciples were unanimous in saying, "You should obtain the boon of serving the spiritual and temporal Khedive" I was not inclined to do this, and my atrabilious apprehensions of the social state disturbed my soul, which was inclined to solitude For I had not opened a farseeing eye, and my genius was bent upon breaking the bonds of restraint After the fashion of the ignorant and superficial I looked upon external circumstances as destructive of inwardness, and limitation as opposed to absoluteness At length my father[5] withdrew the veil and guided me to truth He made clear to me the

---

pursuing a life of religious seclusion He then goes on to describe his seven births somewhat as he does at p 115 of A N III (text) A F was born in the beginning of 958 A H or 14 January 1551 and he was introduced to Akbar for the second time in the 19th year (982) when he was in his 25th year His first introduction occurred a few months previously

[1] Arbāb-i ṣaḥū u iṣḥāb i sakr The masters of sobriety and the lords of drunkenness meaning the rationalists and the enthusiasts i e the Ṣūfīs Cf Dārā Shikoh's account in the Safīna-al auliya of the famous mystic Ḥusain b Manṣūr Ḥallāj where he calls him a Ṣaḥib i sakr

[2] *Referring to his father's retirement from the world*

[3] I think the reference is to A F's position and not to that of his father

[4] *Baradaran garami* I think that this is a honorific plural and that the reference is only to Faizī and Blochmann p xii seems to have so taken it But A F had other brothers than Faizī though they were younger than himself and they may be referred to here Or the reference may be to brothers and cousins (brethren)

[5] *Khi lāi* ... *jāzī* The visit ... i e his father Mubarak

wondrous working of the authors of destiny, and withdrew from my head the hood of self conceit By delightful discourses in private interviews and in judicious assemblies, he impressed upon me the spiritual perfections of the sitter on the throne of fortune (Akbar) By sage expositions he made it clear that 'The piety and knowledge 85
of God possessed by this divinely born jewel are imperfectly known by any one At this day he is the leader of the caravans both of Society and of Seclusion, the meeting of the oceans of Realm and Religion, the dawn of the lights of form and substance The multiplicity of external associations does not withhold him from essential unity Outwardly bound, he is inwardly free From him comes the solution of spiritual and temporal matters' Of necessity I preferred the pleasing of him (his father) to my own desires and as my heart's treasury, rich in spiritualities, was empty of the world s goods, I wrote a commentary on the verse of the Throne [1] as an offering to the sublime court, and I presented the writing as an excuse for my being empty handed The Shāhinshāh received it graciously He cast special glances on me, and by the wealth of service which is indeed the elixir of worth, he calmed my troubled mind Love for that holy personality took possession of my heart At this time the expedition to the eastern provinces engaged his mind My disposition did not permit me, the sitter in the dust, to seek association with the great ones of the court, and those who were attached to the threshold of honour had not, when engrossed by the affairs of the Sultanate, leisure to take notice of unknown and humble persons I was debarred from entering the service Though my old notions still lurked in my soul, yet the spiritual tie between me and that great one of realm and religion continued to bind me, and when the lord of the earth returned, after conquering the eastern provinces, to the capital of Fathpur, he remembered me, the anchorite I had the good fortune to kiss the threshold, and this bewildered one came to find his face on the path A short account of this will be given in the account [2] of the events of that period

---

[1] Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qorān (B xii note) Badayūnī B 168 says that people reported that this commentary was really written by Mubarak

[2] See text p 114 where A F s second interview and his presentation

repose, for my soul was alienated from the society both of the sobered[1] and the (spiritually) drunken of my own land. Though the foodlessness of search was broken by the emporium (*miṣr-i-jāmʿa*) of outward and inward perfections, by which is meant my advantageous attendance on my honoured father, yet as that unique product of creation's workshop lived under the veil[2] of seclusion, there was no remedy for my distress. Owing to my own ignorance I thought that my outward[3] position was incompatible with the final state (*ʿuqbā*), and was much disturbed in consequence, and sought to be remote from the society around me. At last fortune favoured me, and mention was made in the holy assemblage (Akbar's religious meetings) of the acquirements of this one (himself) who was bewildered in life's society. My honoured brother,[4] my well-wishing friends, my loving relatives, and my disciples were unanimous in saying, "You should obtain the boon of serving the spiritual and temporal Khedive." I was not inclined to do this, and my atrabilious apprehensions of the social state disturbed my soul, which was inclined to solitude. For I had not opened a farseeing eye, and my genius was bent upon breaking the bonds of restraint. After the fashion of the ignorant and superficial I looked upon external circumstances as destructive of inwardness, and limitation as opposed to absoluteness. At length my father[5] withdrew the veil and guided me to truth. He made clear to me the

---

pursuing a life of religious seclusion. He then goes on to describe his seven births somewhat as he does at p. 115 of A. N. III (text). A. F. was born in the beginning of 958 A. H. or 14 January 1551, and he was introduced to Akbar for the second time in the 19th year (982) when he was in his 25th year. His first introduction occurred a few months previously.

[1] Arbāb-i ṣaḥū u iṣaḥab-i sakr. The masters of sobriety, and the lords of drunkenness, meaning the rationalists and the enthusiasts, i.e. the Ṣūfis. Cf. Dārā Shikoh's account in the Safīna-al auliya of the famous mystic Ḥusain b. Manṣūr Ḥallāj, where he calls him a Ṣaḥib-i sakr.

[2] *Referring to his father's retirement from the world.*

[3] I think the reference is to A. F.'s position, and not to that of his father.

[4] *Barādarān garāmī*. I think that this is a honorific plural and that the reference is only to Faizī, and Blochmann, p. xii, seems to have so taken it. But A. F. had other brothers than Faizī though they were younger than himself, and they may be referred to here. Or the reference may be to brothers and cousins (brethren).

[5] *Khudāī majāzī*. The visible God, i.e. his father Mubarak.

wondrous working of the authors of destiny, and withdrew from my head the hood of self conceit By delightful discourses in private interviews and in judicious assemblies, he impressed upon me the spiritual perfections of the sitter on the throne of fortune (Akbar) By sage expositions he made it clear that "The piety and knowledge 85
of God possessed by this divinely born jewel are imperfectly known by any one At this day he is the leader of the caravans both of Society and of Seclusion, the meeting of the oceans of Realm and Religion, the dawn of the lights of form and substance The multiplicity of external associations does not withhold him from essential unity Outwardly bound, he is inwardly free From him comes the solution of spiritual and temporal matters" Of necessity I preferred the pleasing of him (his father) to my own desires and as my heart's treasury, rich in spiritualities, was empty of the world's goods, I wrote a commentary on the verse of the Throne[1] as an offering to the sublime court, and I presented the writing as an excuse for my being empty-handed The Shāhinshāh received it graciously. He cast special glances on me, and by the wealth of service which is indeed the elixir of worth, he calmed my troubled mind Love for that holy personality took possession of my heart At this time the expedition to the eastern provinces engaged his mind My disposition did not permit me, the sitter in the dust, to seek association with the great ones of the court, and those who were attached to the threshold of honour had not, when engrossed by the affairs of the Sultanate, leisure to take notice of unknown and humble persons I was debarred from entering the service Though my old notions still lurked in my soul, yet the spiritual tie between me and that great one of realm and religion continued to bind me, and when the lord of the earth returned, after conquering the eastern provinces, to the capital of Fatehpur, he remembered me, the anchorite I had the good fortune to kiss the threshold, and this bewildered one came to find [illegible] A short account of this will be given in the account of the events of that period

---

[1] Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qorān (B xii note) Badayūnī B 168 says that people reported that this com- [illegible]

One of the occurrences was that Shujā'at Khan came from the Khān-Khānan and did homage It has already been mentioned that he had been sent in charge of Qāsim 'Ali Khān to the Khān-Khānān in order that he might punish him The Khān Khānān returned thanks for this great favour He treated Shujā'at with affection and respect and solicited his pardon As it is the Shāhinshāh's nature to forgive, he granted the request and sent for Shujā'at On the day of Amurdād 7 Khurdād, Divine month, he produced nine choice elephants from among the spoils which Khān 'Ālam had taken from the enemy Among them was Gaj Ratn which was a magnificent elephant and was entered among the special elephants In a short time the arrangements for the expedition were made by the personal attention of H M Such wonderfully fashioned boats were made under his directions as to be beyond the powers of description There were various delightful quarters and decks, and there were gardens such as clever craftsmen could not make on land, on the boats The bows,[1] too, of every one of those waterhouses were made in the shape of animals, so as to astonish spectators The clerks who were employed arranged large boats for every office which is required for administrative purposes, and all the courtiers had boats suitable to their degree There were wonderful instances of architecture, and various canopies and extra ordinary decorations, etc , so that if this writer should proceed to describe them he would be thought to be exaggerating

One of the occurrences was that H M the Shahinshah appointed Muzaffar Khan to the charge of the great camp in order to educate him and to bring him out of his seclusion But he in his folly used improper language in regard to his acceptance of this great office and so again fell out of favour The duty was therefore made over to M Yusuf[2] Khān Rizavi

---

of a second treatise viz that on the chapter of victory are described See also Blochmann pp xi and xii where this is noticed and where there is also a paraphrase of A F s account of his early days See also Jarrett III 443 5 for a more detailed account of A F s early studies

[1] See B 279 where however the statement is that it was the sterns of the boats that were made in the shape of animals The word in text is sir

[2] Blochmann 346 Firishta mentions that he married a daughter of M Askarī

CHAPTER XVII

Expedition of the Shahinshāh by Water to the Eastern Provinces

The[1] canon of majestic sovereignty and the principles for just rulers, who have charge of spiritual and temporal affairs, require that just as contentment with their position is fitting for good subjects so that they should not be distracted by trying to grasp what they cannot get, and should not extend the foot of desire beyond their condition, so should justice-loving rulers not be satisfied with the countries of which they are in possession, but should set their hearts upon conquering other countries and regard this as a choice form of Divine worship. This is a very important point and one which the
37 far sighted should keep before their vision The wise and judicious who understand the spirit of the age have said that if this civilised world, which has been split up owing to the inattention of great souls were under one able and just ruler of extensive capacity, the dust of dissension would assuredly be laid and mortals find repose Hence it is that the Adorner of fortune's parterre in our age is continually engaged in the conquest of other countries

When the arrangements for the expedition had taken shape, Shihābu-d din Ahmad Khān who was the Vakil of the Diwān-Khālsa, and had full control of that department, was left in Agra At the same time Taiyib Khān was set aside, and Rai Bhagwān Dās was made Mustaufī[2] of the whole of the imperial dominions and Rai Purukhotam[3] received a robe of honour and was made Bakhshī On *the day of Dibāzar 8 Tir, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday* 29 Safar (15 June 1574), H M embarked in company with the august princes and the veiled ladies

---

1 A F's defence of Akbar's restlessness and continual encroachment on the territories of others is interesting, but not convincing

2 Blochmann VI, where the Mustaufī is said to be the deputy Diwan Evidently this was not Rajah Bhagwān Dās Kachhwaha.

3 Blochmann 180 and 528.

The merits of this elephant are beyond description. Together with rank-breaking might, and strength to cast down mountains he was perfectly sedate and quiet He showed discretion even when in the height of being *mast* He did nothing immoderate without the hint of his driver The other elephant was called Saman and was a fit companion for the other He was in another boat along with two females The spectacle was an astonishing one The numerous boats of various kinds, the hoisting of sky-high masts, the tumult of the waves of the river, the force of the wind, the rush of the clouds and the rain, the roar of the thunder, and the flashing of the
3 lightning produced a strange appearance On the day of Mihr 16 Tīr, Divine month, when the fleet halted at Etawah there was a storm in the Jumna, and many of the river houses were sunk by the waves On the day of Rām a halt was made at Kālpi, on the day of Anirān, the 30th Tīr, Divine month, in the village of Cakur a wicked brahman,[1] who from excessive lust had intercourse with his own daughter, was capitally punished On the day of Shab H M halted at Ilahābās (Allahabad) On the day of Ormuz, the 1st Amrdād, Divine month, when he left that pleasant station, the river was very boisterous There blew a hurricane and eleven boats were sunk The orchestra too was damaged, but was saved by the Divine help As H M wished that the baggage (*aghrūq*)[2] and the large camp should stay at Jaunpur, Muhasan Khān who had charge of that city in accordance with orders arranged equipages for a journey by land, but H M did not approve of the sacred pavilions being sent on from where he was Near Ilahabas, Qāsim 'Ali Khān came from the Khān-Khānān and had the bliss of doing homage He brought reports of the success of the army On this day H M the Shāhinshāh remembered Husain Khān and inquired why he was not in attendance during this auspicious expedition *It was represented to him that atrabiliousness* (*sauda*) had overcome him, and that he was spending his days in attacking subject people and in plundering the peasantry H M was displeased on hearing this report, but as the grand expedition was going on, he did not send anyone to chastise him. On the day of Bahman 2 Amardād, Divine month, he set up his standards in Benares On

[1] The case is more fully described in the T A

[2] It seems especially to mean the tents of the women

this day, too, the river was boisterous Especially this was the case near the fort of Cunār, so that the naval authorities were alarmed A large number of persons left the boats and came on by the dry land H M put his trust in God and went on by boat with the same open brow and cheerful heart and he sent on Sher Beg Tawacı bāshı in a swift skiff to the Khān Khānān to give him the news of his near approach He remained three days in that pleasant city (Benares) and on the day of Khirdād cast anchor at the village of Godı which is a dependency of Saıyıdpur and where the river Godı[1] joins the Ganges On that day the great camp arrived in the vicinity of the royal standards and M Yūsuf Khan and several officers paid their respects

Though the Shāhinshāh was according to his custom always in appearance engrossed in the great matters of the state yet by virtue of the principle of seclusion in the midst of society he ever kept up communion with the incomparable Deity, and never for a moment abandoned spiritual contemplation In order to strengthen this connection and seclusion (*parda arai*), sweet, heart-entrancing minstrels 89
whispered in the precincts of his quarters strains of detachment and of increase in ecstacy On many occasions of his presence Mır Sharif[2] the brother of Naqib K read with a beautiful[3] voice about spiritual love, and H M emerged many a time from behind the veil and showed tender-heartedness (*riqqat mifarmudand*) and had wetted eyelashes O God! this sea of wisdom and ocean of enlightenment would left fall drops of sorrow on account of the blasts of the strong gales of ignorance and of the deviations of men! Or perhaps it was to teach softness of heart and humility to stony hearted worldlings that this rosewater of tears was poured forth Or from the rush of

---

[1] Kadī in text It is the Gumtī See Jarrett II. 171 172 Saıyıdpūr is the Saidpūr of I G xxı, 384 and is in the Ghāzīpūr district

[2] He was a son of Abdul Latīf of Qasbīn, and he and his brethren were on this expedition. He was afterwards accidentally killed by his brother Naqīb while playing polo A N., iii, 173 Badāyūnī mentions his fine voice (ii, 230).

[3] Kitāb-i Ishqīya. There is the variant 'Ishīqa, which is supported by the Iqbālnāma. Probably it was some special book having this title D' Herbelot mentions two Kitāb 'Ishqī one being attributed to Aristotle Possibly the work meant is the *dīwān* of Ishqī K See Badāyūnī iii, 277

spiritual things he felt cramped in the gilded parlours of externality and so expressed his sorrow Or from his wide capacity and the shorelessness of the ocean of Divine excellence he regarded his spiritual treasures as of small amount, and while possessing a mine of wisdom let trickle forth the regret of non attainment!

Verse [1]

I call for a pilot in Noah's ark
I call for an acquaintance in a kinsman's house
I m not Jacob, none of mine is in the well
Yet I'm wondering whom I should call (to help)

Before H M had left the capital, reports used to come from the Khān Khanān and the other great officers to the effect that it would be well if H M 's army came as far as Jaunpur, and that Dāud would inevitably become a wanderer in the wilderness of ruin The holy lips, which are interpreters of the Divine secrets remarked thereon that such language was not good and that the game would not be captured till the *huma* of his majesty had spread his shadow over the province, and the falcon of his might spread his wings in the atmosphere of that land But his genius—from a regard to the education of his servants—was willing that the victory should be obtained by them So by his order the boats were taken up the river Godi in order that they might stay for some time at Jaunpur, and that what the officers had requested, and what the court had replied, might be impressed upon all high and low Accordingly, on the day of Mirdad 7 Amardād, Divine month the standards of fortune halted in the village of Bahnāj which is a dependency of the *pargana* of Karakat On the day of Dibazar when they were stationed at the village of Yaḥyāpur [3], one of the dependencies of Jaunpūr, reports came from the officers to the effect that the difficult knot would be easily untied if H M would speedily cast his shadow over them

[1] The verse describes one who is discontented or sorrowful in the midst of abundance

[2] J ii 164 It is in Sarkār Jaunpur

[3] Badayuni 179 says it is at the junction of the Ganges and the Gumtī

On the day of Āzar the princes and the ladies were sent to Jaunpūr by the river Godi Hakīm ul mulk, S. Aḥmad, Ikhlāṣ K. and others were left in charge of them and H M proceeded to Patna

Good God! The Shāhinshāh of the age from consummate well-wishing desired to magnify the work of the loyal, and the incomparable Deity willed that all great affairs and noble deeds should be accomplished by that mine of greatness, so that both his grandeur might be certified to all, and also that mercenary servants might have no claim upon him! Accordingly that easy task became difficult to the army, so that they had to ask for the royal expedition H M asked for assistance from the hidden armies and addressed his mighty genius to the conquest of the countries of Bengal and Behar At this time news came of the conquest of Bhakkar (Sinde) The secret intelligences at this time increased congratulation upon congratulation First, there was the fact that the fort of Bhakkar, which world-conquerors could not have quickly taken, had been conquered by mediocre servants of the Khedive Second, it was an omen for the victories of the imperial servants who had girt up their loins for the conquest of the eastern provinces 90

Though able and zealous servants may exert themselves, yet the far seeing sage knows that, as regards the unravelling of the difficulties of the world, and the attainment of great designs, the chief results are obtained by the right intentions and proper actions of world rulers And those who study the masterpieces of ancient times know that success does not come into the bosom without preliminary (unsuccessful) efforts It is not till the second attempt that the object is obtained Hence it is that the sitter on fortune's throne (Akbar) concentrates himself upon every work that he undertakes and brings to a conclusion everything that he has glanced This is perfectly clear to every one who knows the events of the reign The taking of Bhakkar[1] is a conspicuous and new instance The history of it is as follows It has already been narrated that Muhibb 'Ali Khān, and Mujāhid Khān had at the request of Nāhid Begam received permission to go to Tatta Sultān Mahmūd had shown hostility, but they had by virtue of mystic aid and by their energy done great deeds and engaged in the siege of Bhakkar Sultan Mahmud

[1] B 421

occupied himself in defending the fort By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh a famine broke out in the fort and Sultan Maḥmūd from excess of caution, or from meanness and avarice distributed to his men grain that had been stored up for twenty or thirty years, though he had abundance of new supplies. The result was that there was a great deal of disease and swellings God's anger sent a pestilence A strange thing was when the swellings were prevalent in the country every one who boiled the bark of the *siris* tree (*acacia odoratissima*) and partook thereof recovered his health Hence the bark was bought for its weight in gold

11 When Sultan[1] Mahmud was nearing his end he petitioned the court, saying that he had always remained on the path of obedience and that it was his ill-fate that this distress had come upon him Now he was presenting the fort to Sultān Selim the noble prince But as there was a cloud between him and Muhibb 'Ali Khān he saw that if he made it over to him, he would only be rendered contemptible Battles had taken place between them and he was not safe from being molested by him He hoped that one of the servants of the court would be sent in order that he might make over the fort and district to him and might rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune H M graciously accepted this petition and sent Mir Gesū who was an old and able officer. Before he reached that country Sultan Mahmūd had died and the garrison were waiting for him When he arrived Mujāhid Khān was besieging the fort of Ganjaba Muhibb 'Ali Khān s daughter Sām'iah Begam who was the mother of Mujāhid Khān was angry on hearing of Mir Gesu's coming, and in her wickedness fitted out some ships against him and brought him into difficulties The Mir was nearly captured Khwāja Muqim of Herat, the father of Khwāja Niẓāmu d din Ahmad Bakhshi, who had gone to that country as Amin, by wise counsels prevailed upon Muhibb 'Ali Khān to abstain from misplaced strife and improper commotions When Mir Gesu came to the fort they delivered over the keys to him Thus did a large an extent of cultivated country come into possession Muhibb 'Ali Khān and Mujāhid Khān from evilness of disposition and foolish greed did not uproot their

---

1 Sultan Maḥmūd died in 980 See T Ma'ṣūmī Malet 146 This message was sent shortly before his death (1572-73).

hearts from that country At the same time it was difficult for them to remain there without the holy order Mūhibb 'Alī Khān took the course of coming to terms, and at last Mīr Gesū settled that Mujāhid Khān should go to Patna,[1] and that Muhibb 'Alī Khān with his wife and daughter should dwell in the town of Lohari. When the agreement had been carried out Mīr Gesu put a large force on board of boats and proceeded against Muhibb 'Alī Khān He could not resist, and went off to Mātila The assailants plundered the city (Lohari), and Sām iah Begam fortified her house and took to fighting and resistance For one night and a day she with supreme boldness and skill maintained her position within the four walls When she was[2] at extremity Mujāhid Khan made a forced march and defeated the troops (Mīr Gesu) For three months longer he held possession of the country on this side (the east) of the river (the Indus) At length Bhakkar was conferred upon Tarson Khān His brethren hastened to the province Mīr Gesu in his folly wished to hold the fort (of Bhakkar), but at last was guided by auspiciousness and gave up the seditious idea A country which, when held for some time by a stranger increases presumption, must have some quality in it 92
which carries the obedient and submissive to the extreme of turbulence Otherwise whence this sort of men? and whence this boasting and sedition?[3]

Now that an abridged account of the bestowal of this mystic favour (the conquest of Bhakkar) has been given, I return to the high road of my design On the day of Abān 10 Amardād, Divine month, the royal barges entered the Ganges from the river Gudī, and halted at the village of Cocakpur M Yusuf Khān here joined the cortège along with the main camp After this the army encamped opposite whatever place the royal barges anchored at Next day H M mounted the elephant Mubārak-Qadam and drove it in person?[4]

[1] Blochmann 421 and the Lucknow Edition have Tatta instead of Patna See T M'aṣūmī Malet 146 for an account of the delivery of the fort of Bhakkar

[2] The T M'aṣūmī Malet 146 speaks of Sām iah Begam s exercising great cruelty on the sick who came out of Bhakkar

[3] See for an account of Mīr Gesū s proceedings Elliot I, 241 He was a man of violent temper, and was afterwards killed by his soldiers at Mīrtha. See infra, p 414. A similar fate befel a successor of his—'Itimād Khān.

[4] Perhaps it is only meant that he led the way

About 500 elephants descended into the river in the wake of that tiger of the forest of war. The spectators were full of amazement. By the favour of God they were safe in those raging waters, but one elephant named Pāskā, which was about that time overflowingly *mast*, fell into the whirlpool of annihilation. While traversing the river and in the midst of the waves a large fish jumped up and rested in front of the Shāhinshāh. Soothsayers know that this was a sign of success, and gave thanks to God. On the day of Mah 12 Amardād Divine month, the station of Ghāzipur was reached.

From the day that H. M. set out on this expedition he left the boat every day and enjoyed himself in hunting deer with *cītas*. It was an occupation to the superficial, and those who were attached to this department had their desires gratified. The far-seeing prince ostensibly enjoyed himself in their company, but inwardly he was immersed in the rays of worship and was also cultivating his spiritual kingdom. Judicious spectators had in this way an opportunity of beholding in this assemblage of the decrees of fate (Akbar) the indications of final success and so gained courage. Among these there was this, that on one occasion of the usual daily hunt in this delightful spot a deer came in sight. H. M. ordered an eager leopard swift as the wind to be loosed. By vulpine tactics the deer escaped from his claws and went off swifter than the wind. Just then a second leopard came up and disposed of him. The far-seeing mystery-knowing prince said to his courtiers: "At the beginning of this sport we took from the behaviour of this leopard an omen about [1] Dāūd. It flashed upon our soul that he would not on this occasion, become the prisoner of the claws of the kingly wrath, but that the second time he would be caught by the exertions of the hunters of fortune (*iqbāl*)." The end was as had flashed on the mirror of his enlightened heart. Accordingly an account thereof (that is, of the success against Dāūd) will come from the tongue of the pen.

On the day of Tīr, Amardād, Divine month, the boats anchored at Dāspūr, which is on the bank of the Ganges. 'Itmād Khān, the

1 Perhaps Akbar said this not then but at some subsequent time when surrounded by his courtiers. The story is also told in the T. A. where the name of the particular kind of deer is given and Akbar is represented as mentioning the omen then and there.

Khwaja sara (eunuch) came in a swift boat from the siege, and was exalted by doing homage He gave the news of friends and foes, and represented that the enemy was very strong The adorner of fortune's assembly in order to gladden hearts lifted the veil of mystery and made announcement of victory For the sake of giving confidence to the disturbed hearts of the generality he sent for Saiyid Miraki,[1] the son of Mir 'Abdu l Karim Jafari (diviner) of Ispahān and bade him ascertain the result of the expedition and the character of the future He, in accordance with the rules of the science arranged and classified the letters and brought out this verse —

Verse

Akbar by auspicious fortune shall quickly
Take the country out of the hand of Dāud

The superficial and simple became tranquillised by this result, and the day of victory bedewed with the sweat of shame the countenances of the crafty seekers after interpretations Also at the time when H M was at the capital and engaged in preparations for the expedition, the same Mir had received orders to take an augury in order that the hearts of the superficial might be comforted, and he produced this verse —

Verse

Though there be a countless and victorious army
Yet conquest will come from the advent of the prince

On the day of Gosh 14 Amardād, Divine month, while the ships were anchored at the ferry of Causa, a report of a new victory came from the Khān Khānān The detail of this is as follows A body of Afghan vagabonds under the command of 'Isā Khān Niāzi, who was a distinguished soldier, fell upon the entrenchment of Qiyā Khān, and there was a great fight The defenders behaved with valour By the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, the staunchness of Qiyā Khān, and the arrival of Rajah Todar Mal, the enemy were repulsed. 'Isā Khān was killed by one of the slaves of Lashkar Khān, who did not know who he was On hearing this good news, which

[1] Cf Lowe 179 where Badayūnī has a good deal to say about the soothsayer whom he calls Saiyid Mirak Ispahānī

was a fitting prelude to legions of victories, there was exultation in the army. H M in his graciousness sent the original of the Khān-
94 Khānān's report to the princes in order that their longing hearts might be comforted On this day the main camp which was marching by land crossed the Karmnāsa which is an affluent of the Ganges One of the special elephants was drowned The river is regarded as unfortunate [1] by the people of India Next day the encampment was *on the banks of the Ganges which is fed by the fountains of the* bounty of God By the efforts of those in charge the whole army passed safely over On the day of Mihr, when H M was encamped at the village of Domnī, which is a dependency of Bojpur,[2] a report came from Mun'im Khān The gist of it was that H M should come by water and that the main camp should come by land It also represented that from the length of the siege and the constant rains, the army was deficient in equipments, and that if the Shāhinshāh would send help from his special armoury (*qur-i khāsa*) it would be useful The request was approved and armour and weapons of various sorts were sent On the day of Rashn 18 Amardād, Divine month, Lodipur was reached On this day too the river was boisterous One of the boats which contained the *citas* was sunk, and of the special *citas* Daulat Khān and Dilrang were drowned Also the boat of the army qāẓi,[3] of Bhagwān Dās the treasurer and Sher Beg,[4] went down in the waves On the day of Farwardin 19 Amardād, Divine month, H M halted opposite the town of Maner At this place [5] the river Sone joins the Ganges and loses its name Next day the boats remained there at anchor and an order was given that Sādiq Khān and Shahbāz Khān should cross the main camp over the Sone A large sum of money was made over to Mir Ghiāṣu-d din 'Ali Naqib Khān, and he was sent to the glorious shrine of Shaikh Yahiā [6] Maneri which is in Maner, to distribute it among those attached thereto and to ask for inspiration

The Shaikh was the son of Shaikh Israel and one of the saints of Hindustan He belonged to the Cishti order, and also to the

[1] Jarrett ii, 151, and note 1
[2] The text has Barjpūr
[3] B 288. We learn from the T A that the Army-Qāzī (judge advocate) was named Y'āqūb
[4] B 515
[5] Jarrett ii 150 and note 1 The junction is now ten miles higher up
[6] This is Shaikh Yahiā the father of Sharafu d dīn Cf Jarrett iii 370, where A F gives a short biography of Sharafu d din

Firdūsi[1] order Men put much reliance on the Shaikh They say the father was extremely desirous of having a son, and went to wait upon S Sharafu d-dīn[2] of Pānipat The saint perceived his desire, foretold the birth of a son and bade him call him after himself Though the Shaikh did not leave India, yet by the force of his genius he became saturated with the knowledge of the spiritual world and also fully understood the sins and deceptions of the carnal 95
spirit and then rested in firmness of soul His words have great weight among the Sufistic sects The Kitāb i-ma'dan al ma'āni (the book of the spiritual mine), the Ganj-i lā ikhfā (the abiding treasure) and the Sharh i ādab al muridin[3] (the exposition of the education of disciples) are among the jewels of his pen There are also three collections of spiritual and theological truths which he sent to some of his followers in the shape of epistles One contains 150 letters the second has 100 letters of advice, while the third has 25 letters The Shaikh lived in the time of Sultan Muhammad[4] Tughlaq In the beginning of his career he chose hills and deserts, and practised vigorous austerities Afterwards he came to Delhi and paid his respects to Shaikh Nizām[5] At his instigation he entered the service of Shaikh Najmu d dīn Firdusi[6]

On the day of Rām 21 Amardād, Divine month, when the victorious standards were flying at Sherpur, Rajah Todar Mal came and did homage He reported on the state of the army He asked for orders about the coming of Mun'im Khān as an *istiqbal* (coming to welcome), and as to how far he should come The order was that as the siege was *going* on, he should not come further than two *kos*, and that the other officers should remain at their posts in the entrenchments On the same night the Rajah was encompassed with favours and received his dismissal At this time 'Arab, the son of

[1] The eighth of the orders of India Jarrett iii 354 and 356.

[2] Jarrett iii 368

[3] A F refers to this work in the beginning of the third volume of his Inshā and it would appear that he edited the letters. Sharafu d dīn s writings were a favourite with Akbar B 48 103, and Khazina A. 1 291

[4] The text has Sultan Mahmūd, but this is obviously incorrect if Mahmūd Ghaznavī is meant I therefore adopt the variant Sharafu d dīn died in 781 or 2 A H., 1379-80, and M Tughlaq I died in 1351

[5] i.e., Nizāmu d dīn Auliyā Jarrett iii 365

[6] Jarrett iii. 356

Hāshim Khān, who had entered into service, and who as deputy[1] for his father brought reports about the events of the eastern districts, was honoured by receiving the title of Niyābat Khān

---

1 Niyābat Apparently this viceregency procured him his title

CHAPTER XVIII

The arrival of the holy cortege of the Shahinshah at the environs of Patna, and his addressing himself to the taking of the city

The world conqueror chose the river route, in this season full of turbulence, and with constant rain and tempest With a tranquil heart he halted at the desired place on the day of Bād 22, Amardad, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 15 Rabi us sani, 3 August, 1574 At a distance of two *kos* from this station the Khān Khānan paid his respects, accompanied by boats containing various kinds of fireworks, and gunners and cannoneers He was distinguished by favours, and in accordance with H M 's signal those in charge of the pyrotechnics fired the guns The noise, the smoke, and the concussion shook the earth, and the neighbourhood for several *parasangs* became dark as the fortunes (*lit* day of the enemies of dominion 96
The horrific noise wound its way into the brains of the darkened foe, and their gall bladders became as water Their liverless souls were upset, and there was a loud sound of the tocsin of victory Trumpets conveyed to men the news of victory In an auspicious moment H M turned his face to the shore and mounted the steed of fortune He alighted at the quarters of the Khān Khānān, where lofty platforms had been erected, and there he received presents of jewels and other rarities, and also distributed them Muhammad Quli Khan Birlas, Qiya Khan, Ashraf Khan, Majnūn Khān, Khān 'Ālam, and other great officers who belonged to the army, paid their respects After them other sirdars and noted men were exalted by the bliss of prostration Each of them was distinguished by special favours

Next day H M surveyed the fort, and as he perceived that the taking of Ḥājipur would be the means of subduing it he applied his genius to this enterprise That fort is opposite Patna, and the river Ganges which is about two *kos* broad flows between the two cities with great force and turbulence Next day M 'Ali 'Alam Shāhi, Saiyid Shams Bokhāri and his sons, Rajah Gajpati and an army of

brave men were appointed, under the command of Khān 'Ālam, to mount upon the river traversing camels of boats, taking with them a suitable park of artillery, and to take that fort, which was a great support of sedition

Also on this day Dāud's ambassador attained an interview through the intervention of the Khan Khānān Before the royal standards had been reared in those parts, the Khān Khanān had sent Khāldin Khān to Daud and given him good counsels the gist of them was that the thread of affairs was still in his hand that he should consider his position, and should look well to the might of fortune, and the daily-increasing dominion of the Shāhinshāh, and so be merciful to himself He should not be the cause of the shedding the blood of so many men, and of the ruin of the property and honour of so many There was a limit to the intoxicating power of the world Why did he not come to himself, and why did he not attach himself to the saddlestraps of God given fortune? He after much meditation, from feline treachery, sent one of his officers along with Khaldin Khān, and made various supplications He represented that he did not for himself approve of the title of sovereign Lodi who had brought him into this whirlpool of notions had received the punishment of his deeds Now obedience to the Shahinshah had taken possession of his whole heart Whatever extent of territory should be *vouchsafed to him would be considered by him as a piece of good* fortune As owing to his youth and infatuation faults had been committed by him he could not agree to kiss the threshold until he had amended them by good service.

The wise sovereign understood his secret ambushes and answered as follows "We, by virtue of our being the shadow of God, receive little and give much Our forgiveness has no relish for vengeance, provided that Dāud has in this word weaving, light from the torch of truth and will rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune, so that the hand of our grace may disperse the dust of destruction from the crown of his fortune Otherwise let him do one of three things so that the lives and goods of so many thousands may not be an offering to ruin First, let some one of his party come to our camp and be a spectator, and some one from our side go to his army and be a sentinel, so that no one on either side engage in war, and let us two come into the field of battle and fight with one another

with all the arms that he knows, so that whoever by the Divine decree, and the help of heaven, shall be the conqueror shall have the kingdom If his courage be not equal to this, let him choose some one of his soldiers who is distinguished for valour and strength of arm and skill in combat We also shall send one of our strong-armed ones, whose countenance shall be decked with might against him These two combatants will contend in the arena The army of whichever of them conquers shall be victorious If in his army there be no such lion heart, then let him choose one of his host of elephants, and we too shall produce an elephant majestic as heaven Victory shall be on the side of whichever of them prevails" The gall bladder of that son of an Afghan was rent by the majestic utterance of the tiger hunter (Akbar), and his sense was destroyed As his soul was rusted he did not grasp the bliss of obedience, and and as he had no spirit he did not accept any of these just proposals!

One of the occurrences was that H M mounted an elephant and went to survey the height of the Panc pahari which is over against the fort These are five solid[1] brick domes (mounds) (?) which ancient rulers have left as a memorial, and pahari is the Hindi word for a little hill That is to say, there are five mounds (*gumbaz*) which resemble in height five hillocks The black hearted Afghans in their shameless ness and wickedness discharged cannon (at Akbar) and so worked their own eternal ruin H M the Shahinshah was in the fort of 98
the divine protection and contemplated the wonders of creation Friends and strangers recognised that he was guarded by God, and were impressed by the amount of his reliance upon Him

One of the fortunate events was the falling into possession of Hājipūr The brief account of this is as follows On the day of Arād 25 Amardād, Divine month, at breakfast time, it appeared that the ocean of battle was in agitation in the direction of Hājipur The far seeing prince went to the battery of Shābam Khān, from where Hājipur was visible, and watched the victory of the imperial servants.

[1] If A F s account is correct, the buildings were in a state of preservation at that time There are only mounds of earth and brick now Excavations have recently been made there under the superintendence of Dr Waddell

CHAPTER XIX

The capture of the fort of Patna, the flight of Dāūd, and H M.'s flying march

As the parterre-deckers of the new spring of existence had been continually, from the first break of the dawn of fortune till the present day, which is the beginning of the blooming morn of auspiciousness, rearing this fortunate nursling, and dressing the garden of his dominion, every rosebush of hope which sheltered itself under the shade of that celestial tree was ever irrigated by the streams of delight, and day by day its branches obtained the fruit of their desires On the other hand, every sour and crooked growth which was rampant, and scattered thorns in the path of the flower-gatherers in this garden where Spring always reigned, was consumed by the lightning of destruction Everyone who fastened himself to the cords of this glorious threshold obtained deliverance from the accidents of the age, and prospered day by day Every one who from want of understanding, or from infatuation, indulged in thoughts of opposition was trodden down Worldly wealth helped him not, nor did outward helpers profit him Every enterprise that the sublime genius of the Shāhinshāh engaged in was accomplished with the greatest ease, however difficult it might appear to ordinary eyes Accordingly, a few instances out of many have been shown, and will yet be shown in this noble record Verily, these doings are of Grace and not manufactured They are Fortune and not contrivance A fresh instance appertaining to the personality of the Shāhinshāh is the flight of Dāūd without a battle, and the taking of the fort of Patna

00 When the Divine glory from the crescent moon of the standards of fortune shone upon that country, the Afghans' presumption began to totter, and in their confusion they chose the path of error When the Shāhinshāh's messages, which turned to water the courage of the iron hearted, reached them, and when at about the same time the heroes conquered Hājīpūr, Dāūd, who was exhilarated by the wine of thoughtlessness, came to his senses, and began to consider

his situation No light remained in the lamp of his contrivance, and the candle of his heart gave no illumination In his ill-fatedness he left the path of auspiciousness, and at a time when he should have come shamefaced to kiss the threshold he went off to the desert of destruction On the night of Ārād 25 Amardād, Divine month, he left by the wicket gate of the fort and embarked in a swift boat and proceeded to Bengal Gūjar Khān, who was their chief swordsman, went off by the gate of the Deer park (Āhukhāna) with all the elephants and soldiers and fled by land The pride and presumption of this crew were at once blown to the winds They regarded their safety as consisting in[1] flight, and some lost their lives in the waves of the river, many perished in the intricacies of the roads, and others sank in the depths of the moat Many perished from not being able to distinguish boat from water Many were lost with their boats from making no distinction between a crowd and a small number (i e, from over crowding) Many were trodden under foot in the press The transit was closed to those behind Heads, which were homes of folly, rubbed the feet of baseness and haughty diadems (*afsarha*) were fastened to the halters (*afsar*) of camels and mules A number in fear of their lives regarded height and depth as alike and turned from the zenith of the Pleiades (*suraiya*) to the dust (*sara*) The fort-moat was filled with various classes of beings (*vis*, men and animals), and a large number of Gūjar's comrades were drowned A number rashly threw themselves into a whirlpool of evils and were destroyed On that night, which was linked with a victorious morning, there was great commotion in the fort A number of inexperienced and intellectually deficient persons thought there was going to be a night-sally, but the skilful felt certain that the Afghans were in confusion and about to run away At this same time H M called for Bāl Sundar which was conspicuous among many thousand elephants for beauty, good temper, height, swiftness, etc., and mounted him

When H M became aware that the enemy was in flight he wished to make an expedition in the self same dark night. The Khān Khānān kissed the ground with the lip of respect and petitioned, saying, that H M should set out when the standard of light should be unfurled from the Eastern quarter This would be in accord with

[1] The text has *fasād*, but I adopt the variant *farār*

the rules of prudence, and also would admit of the condition of the
1 enemy's being fully ascertained The wise prince approved of his representation, and accepted it On the morning of the day of Ishtād 26 Amardād, Divine month, the victorious standards entered the city of Patna by the Delhi gate The great officers and others offered up congratulations Abundant booty in money and goods, and especially noted elephants, came into the hands of the imperial servants Two astronomical hours of the day were spent in arranging the affairs of the city and then the Khan Khanān and many able servants were appointed to bring on slowly the main army H M himself mounted Nurbaizā (white light), which was at the head of the special horses, and went off post with an army of loyal heroes, so that if Daud had hurried off towards destruction by the way of the river, he might catch Gujar who had taken the flower of the elephants along with him When they came to the river Pun Pun, its waters were greatly agitated, but the Khedive of the world relied upon God and put his horse into the stream His devoted followers also plunged into the waves and by good fortune the sublime retinue crossed over The dust of injury did not touch the skirt of those who belonged to this select station of the field of trust in God The miraculous power of the King displayed itself, and there was the note of sanctity, for the sovereign and his whole army crossed in ease and comfort the river, while many of the swift enemy, with all their knowledge of the entries and exits, had not been able to make a passage for themselves to the shore of safety H M went on rapidly to Daryāpur which is about thirty *kos* distant He made one march of it and then drew rein As it was evening he halted on the bank of the Ganges Majnun Khan, Shahbāz Khān and other active officers were sent in pursuit of the defeated troops As the pen of fate had not decreed their capture, they did not come up with them But many of that ill fated crew went to their death in the rivulets and in the mud In that victory, which may be regarded as the broidery of great victories, 265 elephants were part of the booty If I were to detail the marvels of those mountain like animals, this noble record, which is adorned with conciseness would not contain the account On this night, and while the royal standards were placed on the bank of the Ganges, many Afghan boats full of goods were carried by the wind towards the camp, and

immense plunder came into the possession of the warriors On that fortunate day the general public of the camp market gathered from the hollow of the moat, the river Pun Pun, from a stream seven or eight *kos* from Daryāpur, and from the bank of the Ganges purses 102
of gold and articles of armour The common people of this great army gained their wishes By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh, such a well epuipped army which had been the cause of much foolish boasting on the part of Dāūd had the dust of destruction thrown on its head without a battle Their secular and spiritual reputation was destroyed Husain, the son of Ādili,[1] who from his bad fate and darkened understanding had fled and joined the enemy, was made prisoner, and at the instance of the Khān Khānān was put to death By the shining of heavenly lights and the aid of spiritual hosts such a great victoy, which even the far sighted among the exoteric regarded as difficult, was displayed It was all accomplished with ease in the time of the rains, which the enemy had regarded as their strong fortress

When the Khān Khānān arrived with the main army, a chamber was prepared, and there was a private assemblage, and a council was held The various officers submitted their opinions One set of them, whose vision did not extend beyond the surface of things, represented that until the end of the rains, Bihar, which had been newly acquired, should be cleared of the rubbish of opposition, and that H M should address himself to the conquest of Bengal at the time of the rising of Canopus A large body of those officers who were prompt and courageous and skilful represented that Bengal should be attacked without delay, and that the enemy should not be given time to recuperate themselves H M approved of this opinion and addressed himself to the conquest of Bengal Though in his heart he wished to undertake in person the loosing of this difficult knot, yet as the balance of action was held in the hand of reason he regarded the orders of King Wisdom as the orders of God, and so adopted postponement For the felicitous sages who have from their height of vision beheld the rose garden of direction have decided that no service which can be performed by officers of 103
the lower class should be entrusted to those of the middle class, nor any which can be disposed of by the latter, be entrusted to the

[1] The last Afghan king of Delhi

great officers And what the latter can do should not be entrusted to the sons and relatives And an enterprise which can be accomplished by those adorners of dominion should not be undertaken by himself, for he should conserve his own position which is one of the greatest gifts of God For the maintenance of outward conditions, which is connected with discrimination, and the preservation of dignity and majesty, is in reality the guarding of the Divine gifts, and the praising of God by action Good God! What eyes and what anxieties must belong to the far-sighted ones of actuality and to those who pay their devotions by deeds! This very conservation of dignity, and this trouble about glory are the worst qualities in the class of anchorites and ascetics, and the highest form of worship among the workers who have to do with social life [1] It was from the observance of this same lofty view that this victorious expedition was in the beginning kept under the veil of postponement, but as the officers were without genius, and as they begged for the presence of H M, he was obliged to consider them and to take the field in person Now that great victories had revealed themselves, and that the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh had again rubbed the rust off the superficial, and that the courage of the officers was increasing, that their intellects were becoming more exalted, and that they were becoming fond of work, Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān took responsibilty upon himself and asked to be entrusted with the service His prayer was granted, and he was encompassed with princely favours Many great officers, and other officials and cavaliers and an army of more than 20,000 men together with large equipments were sent with him And in order to soothe him and to assist him in his work he was given a jāgīr in Bihār Jaunpūr was included in the exchequer (*Khalṣa i sharifa*) lands Raẓavi [1] Khān obtained the viziership of it, and Rajah Todar Mal, who was capable and trustworthy, was presented with a standard and drum He too was the recipient of boundless favours and went with the army So also were all the servants, who were nominated to this army, given high offices and jāgīrs and lofty rank Valuable instructions too were given to them, which might be honest companions to them in times of success and prosperity, and prevent

---

[1] B 438 A F says later that his misconduct was one of the causes of the Bengal Mutiny He was Sellma Begam's Atka (Bayāzīd 91a)

them from becoming in the end intoxicated thereby, or from breaking the thread of the perception of their duty Thus, as their outward rank was enhanced, so did he increase their spiritual condition

On the day of Ormazd 1 Shahriyur, Divine month, the Khān- 104
Khanān was sent off to Bengal, and H M returned to Jaunpūr where were the fortunate sons, and the chaste ladies The chief officers who were sent to conquer Bengal were as follows —

LIST [1]

1 Muhammad Quli Khan Barlās
2 Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl
3 Qiyā Khān
4 Ashraf Khān
5 Khān Ālam
6 Shaham Khan
7 Bāqi Khān
8 Rajah Todar Mal
9 Lashkar Khān
10 Bābā Khān
11 Haidar Khān
12 Mirzā Quli Khān
13 Lāl Khan
14 Payinda Muhammad Khan
15 M'uīn Khān
16 Hāji Yusuf Khān
17 Naqib Khān
18 Ghazī Khān Qazwini
19 Mirzā 'Ali 'Ālamshāhi
20 Sānih 'Āqil
21 Wazir Jamil

On that day the camp was pitched at the town of Ghiāspur on the bank of the Ganges H M halted there four days Part of the

[1] The text makes 3 and 4 one man and also unites Nos 18 and 19 The Lucknow edition omits No 19 This man is probably the cousin of the Naqib Khān mentioned by Blochmann 449 and who may be the No 155 of Blochmann

time was spent in reviewing Dāud's elephants. M. Yusuf Khān was directed, as formerly, to take charge of the main camp and proceed by land. On the night of Isfandārmuz 5 Shahriyūr, Divine month, H. M. mounted an elephant and marched off. On the day of Khirdād he reached the environs of the pleasant city of Daryāpur. There he engaged in the pastime of elephant fights, using for this the elephants of Daud.

As according to the religion of sovereignty and the canons of world conquest, contentment (or moderation) in regard to the subjugation of countries is blameworthy and disapproved of, just as covetousness is in ascetics, he addressed his energies to the taking of the fort of Rohtās.[1] This fort has no equal for strength and solidity. There are several villages (*dih*) on its plateau, and there are various kinds of cultivation, and these yield sufficient provisions for the garrison. There are abundant springs of good water, and though the fort is on the top of a hill which neighbours the sky, and on the sides of which well water is found at a great depth, yet inside the fort sweet water pours out on a little digging. Haibat Khān Kararāni and his son Bahādur Khān had strengthened the fort, and then gone to sleep in insouciance. Farhat Khān was nominated for this enterprise and Mozaffar Khān, who on the day when the Bengal officers went off had in a shamefaced manner joined the main camp and had not had the bliss of doing homage, was appointed to accompany him. His pride and vanity were cured in this way. Hāji Khan Sistani, Fath Khān Maidāni, Khudādād Barlās, Khwāja Shamsu-d-din Khwāfi, Bāqi Khān Kulābi and other warlike men were appointed to assist him. This army was sent off after it had received salutary counsels.

15 When H. M. was relieved of this business he on the day of Mirdād 7 Shahriyur, Divine month, left Patna and encamped in the territory of Sherpur. On that day M. Yusuf Khān who had conducted the main camp by land was made blissful by the Shahinshāh's advent. Next day the camp reached Fathpur Patna which is a distance of 21 kos. On that day the Sone which was in flood was crossed and Sadiq Khan was given leave in order that he too might join the main camp, and might take special precautions that the

[1] *Cf.* Jarrett II. 152.

common people of the camp, and the household officers and especial ly the select (*khaṣa*) elephants should cross the river in a proper place On the day of Āzar 9 Shahriyur, Divine month, H M made a forced march and at the end of the day arrived at the Causa ferry The Ganges was very broad and deep and its commotion was enough to frighten the brave Under God's protection H M passed over, and left Mīr Khān Yesāwal and a number of capable and active men to assist in ferrying across the river The cavalier of fortune went on so rapidly that many swift goers were left behind With a few fortunate companions of lightning like speed he reached Jaunpūr on the day of Ābān 10 Shahriyur, Divine month Men shouted for joy on beholding him so that their rejoicing reached the ears of the holy angels The princes paid their repects, and the veiled ladies attended and partook of joy The servants of the holy threshold and the officers of the province performed the *sijda* and contributed the brightness of two worlds The world received the glory of springtime, and mortals got fresh life H M was gracious to every one and gave his attention to the affairs of state and opened the gates of justice in the face of mankind As thoughtfulness and prudence are the pillars of dominion H M remained in that city until the imperial servants had satisfactorily cleansed Bihār of the dust of the seditious By his assistance the army which had gone towards Bengal had its wants provided for, and the conquest of that country speedily insured

One of the occurrences was that Qāsim Khān, whom they called Kāsū, Mahmud Khān and a number of evil disposed Afghans came to the borders of Bihar The Khedive of the world sent off Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān, Shāh Ghāzī Khān of Tabrīz and many brave men, and an order was given that Muḥsin Khān and other fief holders in that 10(country should assemble and should gird up their loins for the quieting of the province When the abovementioned had received the order they ascended by the ladder of good service to the upper chamber of honour, while the disaffected were cast down into the pit of ruin The dust of rebellion was entirely laid

One of the occurrences was that it was brought to the august hearing that Khān 'Ālam in reliance on the royal favour and clemency had come to court without obtaining a written permission from the Khān Khānān As the observance of orders is a necessary part

of rûle a rebuke was issued by the Shahinshah and he was ordered off A number of right thinking and adroitly-speaking persons represented that he had left his family in the camp, and that for urgent business he had come rapidly and humbly to court H M received their explanations and allowed him an interview He gained his wish and had permission to return

Among the events which conveyed advice to the superficial and which augmented the enlightenment of the esoteric were H M's *teachings about the Divine mercy The brief account of this instructive* story is that for some time there had, by heaven's decree, failed to be a bountiful rain for the crops The cultivators and the public in general were afraid of a famine and came with lamentations, and with one heart and tongue implored the Unique one of creation, who unites sanctity and inward splendour, that he would call upon the Almighty to open the doors of compassion so that by the intervention of his chosen intercession good might be bestowed upon mortals, and the knot of their difficulty loosed

Verse

Thou hast the power of fastening, O Eternal Wisdom
Loose the knot from the fortune of Thy creatures

The holy lips uttered, "Asking and praying belong to the external world The beneficent Creator knows everything and it is written upon the tablet of fate before a wish is expressed Apparently, the reason why saints have had recourse to prayer is that those who slumber in the dark night of ignorance may be awakened and enter on the path of submission which is the adornment of worship, and the material of bliss

"The divine goodness towards His servants is greater than that His mercy should depend upon our appeals to Him, or upon our calling His attention to the matter, or that we should teach Him graciousness"

Verse

Wilt thou teach God the path of mercy?

Just while this Divine wisdom was trickling from that reservoir
07 of the pearls of truth, the clouds of mercy appeared and there was

abundant and continuous rain for a week. The sown fields and the meadows became verdant and full of moisture. The thirsty-hearted were satiated, and the weak-souled gained conviction and certitude. They came to know the sublime rank of the Shāhinshāh and increased their worship and devotion.

One of the occurrences of this time was the censure passed upon *Sādiq Khān*. *The brief account of this is that M. Yūsuf Khān and* Sādiq Khān who had charge of the great camp, came on the day of Ābān 10 Mihr, Divine month, and it transpired that the special elephant Lāl Khān had been drowned at the Causa ferry. Ṣādiq Khān who had not used great care and intense exertion in crossing the elephants, fell out of the royal favour, and his fief was confiscated. He was not allowed to perform the *kornish* and was dismissed to Tatta, and an order was passed that until he produced a choice elephant which might compare with that incomparable one he would not be exalted by the performance of the *kornish*.

CHAPTER XX

Departure of the Shāhinshāh's Cortège for the Capital, and the Arrival on the way of the News of the Victory of Bengal

When the world-adorning mind of the Shāhinshāh had disposed of the affairs of this country, and had resolved upon proceeding to Fathpūr the capital, he on the day of Māh 12 Mihr, Divine month (about 22nd September, 1574), moved from Jaunpūr at an auspicious hour. He encamped at the village of Khānpūr,[1] and he remained there in spite of his having scented victory, in order that he might quiet the minds of many of his servants who, on account of their superficiality, were in an anxious condition, and were wondering how the eastern officers were faring. Suddenly there arrived the good news of the victory of the Bengal army. Everybody recovered confidence, and the insight of the world's lord was impressed upon their hearts. The brief account is as follows. When the army went off to conquer Bengal, the first town to be taken was Surajgarh. Afghans could not withstand the victorious troops and fled without a battle. After that Monghyr was taken. Rajah[2] Sangrām the zamīndār of Kharakpūr, and Pūran Mal the rajah of Gidhor[3] and many landholders of that part of the country bound themselves to the saddlestraps of eternal dominion. The Khān Khānān ably conveyed in such a rainy season a large army by land and water, and acted with prudence as well as success. As the
18 genius of the Shāhinshāh was guiding the troops, they were victorious wherever they came, Bhāgalpūr, Colgong (Khalganw) which was a *rendezvous of the Afghans, came into possession without a battle*.

When the army reached the village of Gūna[4] it became known that Ism'āil Khān Silahdār, whom Dāūd in his folly had styled Khān-

---

[1] Jarrett II 163.

[2] Blochmann 446 and n. 1.

[3] *Blochmann 479 n. 3 and Jarrett* II 154.

[4] Kozrah of Jarrett II 155? Or is it the Gūnasagar mentioned by Buchanan *in his MS account of Teliagharī?* It is kūnc or konch in text.

Khānān, had strengthened that fort and was there with a large force What increased the difficulty was that the country from the army's halting place to Gadhi was under water This would impede the encamping of the army Let it not be concealed that Gadhi is the gate of Bengal On one side is a sky-ascending mountain which is difficult to be surmounted on foot, and so there is no question of its being practicable for cavalry From the side of this mountain several rivers join the Ganges and are torrential Among them is a strong fort which was founded by the rulers of the country A general council was held at this stage and the wise and experienced deliberated on what remedy should be chosen All agreed that the problem demanded solution at this stage The landholders of the country represented that there was a secret path through the territory of the Teli Rajah[1] Although laden animals could not pass by that ravine (gariwa) yet light horsemen could do so with ease The proper course would be for the main army to set itself to take Gadhī and to proceed thither by the high road (shāhrah) while some bold warriors should go by the path

Certainly the enemy would by this means come to waver and would take to flight Accordingly Majnūn Khān Qaqshāl with a force

[1] Tiblī in text and there is the variant nīlī but clearly the word is Telī being the name of the Rajah or his caste who held Gadhī before the conquest by the Muhammadans See Jarrett II 116 and n 1 and the Buchanan MS I O vol for Bhagalpur, p 230 An extract from Buchanan's account of Teliaghhrī was given by me in the National Magazine (Calcutta) for January, 1894, p 2 The Rajah belonged to the oilman caste Buchanan says i e in his account of thāna Faiz ullaganj in the Bhagalpur volume that he saw the ruins of a fort called Dharhara The local tradition was that it belonged to a Khetauri Rajah called Gaurmardan who had a very clever daughter named Bidya Bilās She resolved not to marry any one who was not more learned than herself At last a mendicant answered her questions and married her But not long afterwards he and all the other inhabitants were killed by Kālī except one oilman to whom the goddess gave the property Buchanan also mentions a deep tank in the neighbourhood known as Gūnā sāgar See also I G article Teliyagarhī The Siyaru l mutākharīn has a note by the translator about Garhī which tells how the fort was turned by the Mahrattas in 1740 Mīr Jamla had done the same thing in the previous century, and now we learn from A F that the pass was circumvented in the 16th century

of heroes was sent by the path, and Qiyā Khān with a number of noted warriors was sent towards Gadhi The other leaders were about to march when the prestige of the Shāhinshāh discomfited the foe First a body of troops from the army of the Khān-Khānān made some commotion and inspired the enemy with fear, and when Qiyā Khān arrived at the place with a well-equipped force the thread of their plans was at once broken, and they fled in confusion Thus, a place such that it could hardly have been gained by fighting came, by the Divine aid, easily into possession Next morning after that day which was the emergence of the lights of fortune, the Khān Khānan came and returned thanks to God Majnūn Khān traversed the ravine and arrived the same day The zamindars had acted with proper loyalty, and if the Afghans had esconced themselves in the fort they would have been dislodged by this force But by God's favour a difficult task became easy without its assistance On receiving the news of this victory H M ordered thanksgivings to God, and threw wide the halls of joy.

One of the occurrences was that at this station Ghāzi[1] Khān Badakhshi, who had in Kabul donned the pilgrim's dress, came out and did obeisance He ascended from the (*girewa*) ravine of exoteric knowledge and came to the rose-bower of Truth, and had a scent of the flowers of fragrance By the blessing of the holy attentions of the Shāhinshāh, and the felicity of becoming disciples of that Khedive of enlightenment, many emerged from the defiles of the path of Divine worship and attained to the upper chamber of verity Firuza[2] Khāṣ Khēl, who was a special favourite of M Hakim, and a number of others came from that country and rubbed the face of ashamedness on the threshold of fortune with the idea of entering the holy service Every one of them was so fortunate as to receive proofs of the *Shāhinshāh's graciousness above their merit From thence H M* proceeded on towards the capital He passed from stage to stage, occupied in appearance with the service of administering justice, and the enjoyment of hunting, while in reality he was perpending the Divine mysteries, and imparting to society the gifts of seclusion On the day of Dibādin 23 Mihr, Divine month, when he was encamped

---

[1] Blochmann 440 He introduced the *sijda*

[2] Blochmann 526

at Iskandarpur,[1] which is near Mānikpur, a petition came from the Khan Khanan Its purport was that Dāud had chosen the road of ruin and that the victorious army had arrived at Tanda the capital The account of this Divine aid is that when Gadhi was taken, Dāūd could not withstand the shock of the victorious army He took to flight and trod the desert of destruction The river Ganges divides into two branches at Tanda One goes to the mart of Sātgām and ends in Orissa The other goes towards Mahmudābād Fathabad Sonargaon and Chitgaon (Chittagong) Dāud went off quickly by the Sātgām river in the hope that he might stir up strife in the borders of Orissa The Khān Khānān entered the city of Tanda, which is the centre of Bengal, on the day of Gosh 14 Mihr, Divine month, and addressed himself to the spreading of the laws of justice which had been communicated to him from the court The words of the world cherishing prince came into operation The Divine graciousness increased daily The tongue of words and the tongue of acts joined in calling for thanksgiving A rescript issued to the Khān Khānan, and he was praised for his good services H M then proceeded on from that place (Iskandarpur) under the veil of the pleasure of hunting with a heart of thanksgiving and with outward joy

One of the occurrences of this time was the death of Khwāja Jahān He, on account of illness, was in Jaunpur, and by heaven's decree a *must* elephant ran at him His foot caught in a tent rope and he fell This ruined his health, and the cup of his life became full near Lucknow[3] Fortunate was he in that the cup of his life ran over in the presence of his benefactor, and that he ended his days in good service, and fidelity, and in seeking to do his pleasure On the **110**
day of Ardi Bihisht 3 Abān Divine month, the royal standards halted on the bank of the Ganges near Qanauj When the august cortège

[1] Apparently the Sikandarpūr of Jarrett II 164 and which is in Jaunpur Sarkar

[2] Cf Jarrett II 120 where A F says that the division takes place at Qāzīhattah in Sarkar Barbakabad See l c 133

[3] Blochmann 424 The accident took place at Jaunpūr Apparently he was travelling by water from Jaunpur in company with Akbar to Lucknow when he died The Iqbal nama also says the accident was at Jaunpur

reached Patiali,[1] Husain Khan who in this campaign had become mentally afflicted and been debarred from the bliss of service, presented himself, but had not the good fortune to perform the kornish. When H. M. came to the third stage[2] from the capital he felt a desire to circumambulate the shrines of Delhi and Ajmere. In the early part of Ābān (qu. Āzar the 9th month), Divine month, he reached Delhi, and performed the duties of respect and reverence. The inhabitants of that country benefited by H. M.'s spiritual and temporal bounty.

One of the occurrences was that Husain Khān became overcome by atrabiliousness (*sauda*) and putting away the things of fortune became a qalandar. The Shāhinshāh applied the remedy of kindness, and presented him with an arrow[4] from his special quiver in order that by help of it (*'itirad*) he might get possession of his jagir which had been confiscated, and that he might apply himself to the recruiting of soldiers. I laud the genius and wise capacity which *are lavish of benefits in proportion to offences* and are bountiful towards the disobedient. From this pleasant stage (Delhi) he proceeded by way of Narnol to Ajmir. At Nārnol at the hunting rendezvous, the Khān Jahān, who had put on the pilgrim dress[5] at Lahore,

[1] In the Etah district. It was Husain K.'s home and *jāgīr*. The text has Betali but the variant Patiali which of course is a quite different place from Patiala is right.

[2] See the account in Badayūnī 187 who says that Husain K. came in the neighbourhood of Patiali and Bhongaon to do homage but that he was not admitted, and that Shahbaz K. the Mir Bakhshī was ordered to put *him outside of the rope that ran* round the audience hall. Upon this Husain resolved to become a Qalandar and gave away all his property. Akbar thereupon took pity upon him and sent him a shawl an arrow etc. but to no purpose.

[3] The text has *sirmanzil* station or place where one changes his course. But the true reading is sihmanzil 2. the third stage as shown by the Iqbalnama and also by Badayunī 187 where for 3 cosses read three stages. The Iqbalnama says Akbar left Agra on the left and went on to Delhi.

[4] Evidently the arrow was given as a symbol of authority and as an evidence of the order in his favour. Cf. Badayunī 188 where the statement that a quiver was given is a *mistranslation*. *Cf. the account in* Bayley's Gujrat 389 of Humayūn's binding his quiver round the body of the minstrel Bacu in order that he *might obtain the release of his* friends.

[5] Not to go to Mecca but to appear before Akbar.

suddenly appeared This was a pleasure to H M and he rewarded him with royal favours Also in the neighbourhood of Nārnol Khān A'ẓim M Koka came a long journey from Gujrat on the wings of affection and did homage He was exalted by glorious favours from the Shāhinshāh In the beginning of Dai, Divine month, the delightful spot of Ajmir was visited by H M, and he circumambulated the shrine Justice and liberality were dispensed, and night and day there were glorious festivals in that Martyr's plot All classes of men experienced his bounty The chief philosophers and the leading men of learning sought enlightenment from the holy words of H M, and seekers after the spiritual and temporal kingdom gained their desires May the world adorning Creator long preserve his holy frame so that he may complete the defective and exalt those who are perfect in faith!

At the time when Ajmir was blessed by the presence of H M, Rai Rai Singh came in haste from Fort Siwana and reported that Candar Sen, the son of Maldeo, was making a disturbance in Jodhpur, and that the army which had gone to take Siwana had not been able to put him down If an army of the combatants of fortune were sent against him, things would have a happy termination His representa- 111
tion was approved of, and he was treated with favour and sent back to his work Taiyib Khan Saiyid Beg Toqbāī, Subhan Quli Turk Kharram, 'Aẓmat Khan Sewa Dās and many able servants were sent against Candar Sen That ill fated one withdrew from Rāmpur to the steep mountains The victorious army knowing that the daily-increasing fortune of the world's Khedive made difficulties easy, proceeded to the hill country They were partially successful, and many of the guilty were trodden under foot The wretch (Candar) could not withstand them and became a vagabond in the desert of destruction The *ghazis* from inexperience and shortsightedness regarded his flight as the end of the task and returned to court without being summoned When H M heard of this, he, in order to give a lesson in the laws of service, degraded those astrayed ones from the position of trust

In a short time H M had disposed of the affairs of that part of the country, and on the day of Rām 21 Dai, Divine month, he distinguished the Khān A'ẓim with great favours, and sent him away to manage the affairs of Gujrat He himself proceeded towards the

capital. One of the occurrences was that for the comfort of travellers he issued an order that at every kos of the way from Agra to Ajmīr a pillar[1] (*minār*) should be set up, and be adorned with deer horns so that those who had lost their way might have a mark, and that strength might be given to the fatigued.

---

[1] Some of these pillars still exist Badāyūnī is sarcastic about the benefit of them

CHAPTER XXI

THE ARRIVAL OF H M AT THE CAPITAL (AND BUILDING OF A HOUSE OF WORSHIP)

H M had in the course of seven months done the work of many years in conquering new countries, administering the old, in favouring the sincere and serviceable, and o'erthrowing the ungrateful, in extending justice, in general benevolence, and in advancing the science of worship On the day of Ardibihisht (18 January 1575) 3 Bahman Divine month, he illuminated Fathpūr by his presence

Quatrain

What ray is it that fortune sheds upon the earth ?
What commotion is it that dominion casts into the sky ?
Is it the dust of the cortege or the breeze of success
Which sends a fragrance of peace and repose to the nostrils
of my soul ?

The degrees of sovereignty and the stages of world conquest, which are based upon increase of wisdom, and on perception, went on augmenting, and that which is apt to become in mortals, whether in former or in present times, a source of insouciance, only increased his circumspection Although Almighty God raised the pure dispositioned one to lofty heights, *viz*, to increased territory, abundance of devotees, the overthrow of enemies, the gaining possession of the wonders of the world, and the opening of the doors of knowledge, and lofty perception, yet this suppliant of Deity increased his supplications, and the thirst for inquiry augmented 112

At this[1] time when the capital (Fathpur Sikri) was illuminated by his glorious advent, H M ordered that a house of worship ('Ibādatkhāna) should be built in order to the adornment of the spiritual kingdom, and that it should have four verandahs (aiwān)

[1] The order for the building of the 'Ibādatkhāna was given in Zi lqada 982 February March, 1575

Though the Divine bounty always has an open door and searches for the fit person, and the inquirer, yet as the lord of the universe, from his general benevolence, conducts his measures according to the rules of the superficial, he chose the eve of Friday,[1] which bears on its face the colouring (*ghāza*) of the announcement of auspiciousness, for the out-pouring (*ifazat*) A general proclamation was issued that, on that night of illumination, all orders and sects of mankind—those who searched after spiritual and physical truth, and those of the common public who sought for an awakening, and the inquirers[2] of every sect—should assemble in the precincts of the holy edifice, and bring forward their spiritual experiences, and their degrees of knowledge of the truth in various and contradictory forms in the bridal chamber of manifestation

Wisdom and deeds would be tested, and the essence of manhood would be exhibited Those who were founded on truth entered the hall of acceptance, while those who were only veneered with gold went hastily to the pit of base metal There was a feast of theology and worship The vogue of creature worship[3] was reduced The dust-stained ones of the pit of contempt became adorners of dominion, and the smooth tongued, empty-headed rhetoricians lost their rank To the delightful precincts of that mansion founded upon Truth, thousands upon thousands of inquirers from the seven climes came with heartfelt respect and waited for the advent of the Shahinshah The world's lord would, with open brow, a cheerful countenance, a capacious heart and an understanding soul, pour the limpid waters of graciousness on those thirsty lipped ones of expectation's desert, and act as a refiner He put them into currency, sect by sect, and tested them company by company He got hold of every one of the miserable and dust stained ones, and made them successful in their desires,—to say nothing of the be-cloaked[4] and the be-turbaned From that general assemblage H M selected by his far-reaching eye a chosen

---

[1] Shab i jam a, which as B points out 173 n 3 means Thursday night as the Muhammadans commence the day at sunset

[2] Text *muhlājān* the necessitous" I O M S 235 had this reading but the copyist has erased it and substituted *murtazān* which seems a better reading

[3] Khalqparasti, i e authority

[4] lit, the wearers of large turbans and the hangers down of scarves The Maulvis and learned doctors are meant A F s account

band from each class, and established a feast of truth Occasionally he, in order to instruct the courtiers, sent perspicuous servants who could discriminate among men, and these reflective and keen-sighted men brought every description of person to perform the *kornish* Then that cambist and tester of worth examined them anew and invited some of them There were always four noble sections in that spiritual and temporal assemblage In the eastern chamber of worship (*'Ibādatkada*) were the great leaders and high officers who were conspicuous, in the courts[1] of society, for enlightenment In the southern compartment the keen sighted investigators, both those who gathered the light of day (i e the Illuminati) and those who chose the repose of the *night-halls of contemplation, sate in the school of* instruction In the western compartment those of lofty[2] lineage practised auspicious arts In the northern compartment were the Sūfis of clear heart who were absorbed in beatific visions A few of felicitous and wide comprehensiveness which they had attained to by the bliss of H M 's holy instructions—lighted the torch of knowledge in all four compartments Lofty points and subtle words passed from the holy lips, and physical and Divine truths trickled from that soothsayer of the court of variety, so that the leaders of the arena of manifestation, and the swift coursers on the mountains of contemplation burned[3] with shame It is of this condition that Zahir[4] sings 113

of the Ibādatkhāns may be compared with Badayūnī s, B 170 and 171 Lowe 203 and the T A Elliot V 390 Badayūnī states that the 'Ibādatkhāna was erected on the site of a cell once occupied by Shaikh 'Abdullah Niyāzī of Sarhind (for an account of whom see the Darbār Akbarī 81 and Badayūnī III 45) The original building must surely have been much larger than what is now pointed out as the 'Ibādatkhāna

[1] *Ḥyābstān-i-taalluq* meaning "*in social life*

[2] *i.e.*, the Saiyids, see Elliot V 391 I O. 235 has *Muhaiman parastān* ' worshippers of God '

[3] It is *ātish* "fire' in text but I O 235 and apparently I O 236 has *ins* and the meaning seems to be ' they associated in grief (*i.e.*, were ashamed)

[4] Zahīru-dīn Faryābī, a Persian poet, who died at Tabriz in 1201 A D See Browne s Daulat Shāh, p 109 *et seq* Some preferred him to Anwarī The variant *ab kār* is more poetical than the *afkār* of the text and it has the support of both the I O MSS The word *m araz* معرض might then be taken as *m'iraz* and the lines translated, "Before the robes of the daughters of his fancy, shame befalls the roses and the rose-garden"

Verse.

In the glorious assemblage of his thoughts
Shame befalls the rose and the rosarium

A set of wisdom-loving, judicious men were in readiness to propound questions and to record views The difficulties of the various classes of men were fittingly resolved The mirrors of the inquirers of the Age were polished The whole of that night was kept alive by discussions which approved themselves to one and all The degrees of reason and the stages of vision were tested, and all the heights and depths of intelligence were traversed, and the lamp of perception was brightened By the blessedness of the holy examination, the real was separated from the fictitious, and the uncurrency of those who were only coated with wisdom was brought to light.

Verse

The fictitious (*lit*, copper-cored) Hāfiz [1] did not pass with him
For the expert sees all the hidden faults

The various forms of ability came from the darkness of concealment to the hall of manifestation Rather they came from the abyss of non-existence and were resplendent on the height of existence If I were to record in detail the illustrious events of these glorious assemblages, and describe the attainments in learning of this school of truth, a separate volume would be required

During this spring-time of enlightenment, the writer of this noble volume presented himself a second time, and had the glory of a second birth The brief account of the instructive story is that in the beginning of this year he brightened his forehead by performing the prostration in Agra, the capital As he had the pride of common place knowledge in his head he delayed in proceeding to the eastern provinces in spite of the spirit of sincerity and loyalty which he had borrowed from his honoured father. Though he had not the equipment for a journey yet there was also in his idolatrous and conceited soul no aspiration for such an expedition Also
14 there was pride in the idol-temple of his knowledge A desire for physical retirement and for contemplating the world was seething in his soul But he did not think it proper to traverse

[1] One who knows the Qoran by heart also, a singer or musician

the world without the permission of his honoured father That mine of kindness could not bring himself to bid me adieu. At last a gracious letter came from my most excellent of brothers from the eastern provinces to the effect that the prince of the world had remembered me As his (A F's) means were insufficient, his design of entering into service was not carried out

One of the wonderful things was that at the time when the predominance of the Afghans was bruited abroad, and there were praters in the city, one night of nights when my soul had been freed from the connections of existence, and had gone to the world of dreams, a window suddenly opened into the mystic world The victory of the eastern provinces with all the circumstances which actually occurred, from the beginning of the siege to the time when Daud went to annihilation, and also the attainment, by this confused one of Creation's contingent, of the bliss of service and the degrees of favour from H M —which came to be realised—became visible before his astonished eyes And in that long night, whenever he awoke from dreams, he contrary to custom immediately fell asleep again, and what was still more strange, whenever he began again to dream he commenced where he had left off At dawn he went to his honoured father's chamber and described to him what had happened He displayed great joy, and congratulated him A desire to serve arose in his heart's core, and he wrote out the draft of a commentary on the beginning of the *Sura* (chapter) of Victory in order that he might offer it as a present to the holy assembly When the royal standards came to Ajmir and H M in the banquet of wisdom again remembered this disturbed one of the desert of existence, and when by the great kindness of the (A F's) noble brother this was revealed, the longing to kiss the threshold increased All my aspiration was that I might behold for some days the world-adorning beauty of the world's lord, and then retire to the corner of obscurity and enter into a contest with myself The sole desire of my troubled mind was that the horrid desert of hermitage might be trodden by the feet of my energy, for my heart was aweary of beholding the men of my own land, and I had no inclination for society. Thousands of thoughts careered in my mind I had not the detaching reason to enable me to dispense with plans and to make the thorn-brake

of solitude the mantle (*purnyan*) of repose, and when it chanced to me to be in that emporium, there was no gracious one to help me, and pride did not suffer me to search for an introduction (to Akbar) Nor had I a place where for a time I might burn the lamp of privacy My brother, greater in years and in wisdom than I, guided me to his own cell (*zawiy i*), and as he was one of the feeders on spiritual food I of necessity conceived a longing for the Spiritual chief (Akbar) Next day I happened to go to the chief mosque, which is one of the grand edifices of the Shāhinshāh, and suddenly, on that great assemblage, the world's lord cast the shadow of kindness (i e Akbar came into the mosque) I had the bliss of performing the prostration from afar off I had the sense to be entrusted with the thought "If the Shāhinshāh does not see you, yet you are seeing that holy light, and if I be not favoured by a glance from the Shāhinshāh I have attained vision and understanding by beholding that holy one" In this thought I was absorbed in the contemplation of Divine power, when the appreciative sovereign cast an educating glance upon me and summoned me Inasmuch as there were present to my mind the circumstances of the time and the nature of mankind, and there was added to the fact of my being a long way off from H M, I regarded my sight of him as the consummation of my wishes But at length it appeared from the glorious interest which the Shāhinshāh took in me, that my good fortune was powerful, and that the star of my destiny had emerged from its obscurity I approached him and rubbed my forehead on the sublime threshold On one occasion he accosted me in that assemblage of realm and religion, where hundreds of thousands of sects and schools were gathered together, and described my condition beyond what I myself was conscious of, to the special guests at the sacred festival Many lassoes fell on my soul's neck and drew my heart towards the slavery (*gu augans*) of the hall of dependence Though for two more years a longing, which nearly came to action, held my heart so that in the recesses of soul there rose the strain "Ho, come out from among citizens and men of the world and indulge your idiosyncrasy in the ample abode of uniqueness, and the pleasant place of singularity," yet the Shāhinshāh's graciousness was daily lifting me from the floor of

grovelling (*khasi*) to the summit of personality (*kasi*) and was elevating me, degree by degree, on the steps of education. Accordingly the key of the temple (*Bait al-maqaddas*) of Attainment fell into my hand, and Truth, spiritual and temporal, removed the veil from my eyes In the first place I emerged from the tumult of Desire, and my second birth began By my good fortune I reached the lofty chamber of discipleship to the sublime Director and so turned my face towards the border of my third birth I came from the womb of conceit to the land of supplication and became a front sitter in the reposeful hall of universal peace By the blessing of the Divine aids and from the light-shedding of the sitter on the throne of fortune I came from the thorny ground of "Peace with all" to the ever vernal rose garden of Love, and became a gatherer of the flowers of joy A fourth child was born to my mother-nature At this stage my endeavour is to obtain a lofty-chambered dwelling in this thornless garden and autumnless spring, so that by the blissful ray of the Shāhinshāh's glance and by perseverance, a fifth child may glorify my mother-nature and I be exalted to the exceeding bliss of absolute Resignation, and so the cheating commotion of Desire may sink her face in annihilation When I shall have obtained in this holy heaven a heart-pleasing abode, may I, by the guidance of the Foreseer of Creation's banquet obtain the fresh honour of a sixth birth and enter the glorious ocean and sit[1] at ease in the four-arched portico of Surrender, and abode of enlightenment, where the feet of Desire have been amputated, until at the seventh birth—which is the time of loosening the links of the elements—I may cast off from the shoulder of my nature the burden of social life, and arrive at the privy chamber, which appears as non existence, but which is full of joy In that holy shrine there will be bestowed, together with an easy mind and an open brow, leisure for denudation and permission for separation, till at the eighth birth—either in the abode of metempsychosis or in the cessation of resurrection—I shall not be within the circle of Desire [2]

---

[1] *murabba nishīn* lit sitting squarely i.e. with the legs folded under one, as in the statues of *Buddha*

[2] Cf the third book of the Insha pp 260 67 of the Nawal Kishor edition Seven births are there described

One of the occurrences was that Mu'nim K. Khān-Khānān had his fief in Bengal. When H. M. went to the eastern provinces, his estate had been allotted to him in Bihar. When the rebels of Bengal sustained defeat after defeat, and that country became an abode of peace, he sent Khwājah Shāh Manṣūr of Shīrāz to court and asked for a *jāgīr* in Bengal The Shāhinshāh's graciousness granted his request

One of the occurrences was that in the country round Agra things like spiders' webs, but several degrees thicker than they, fell upon the fields and pastures In some places they were half a *jarīb* [1] in length and breadth, and in others they were smaller than this in length and breadth Apparently, the sublime Divine Wisdom devised such a remedy for the corruption of the air, and so made a special display of His benevolence towards mankind

[1] The *jarīb* was according to Wilson originally a measure of capacity Jarrett II 61, n 2 Afterwards it came to be synonymous with a bīgha or about five eighths of an acre, *id* 62 n But the word is Arabic, and Lane gives *jirba* as a place of seed produce The word jarīb is also used in Timur's Institutes White and Davey 365 to mean a division of land

CHAPTER XXII

Introduction of the Law about Branding,[1] and the Guiding of Men to Truth and Fidelity

The adorner of the throne of sovereignty never passes a year or a month without devising good institutions or without tranquillising and decorating the world by the gleams of his far-seeing wisdom, which is the mirror of things earthly and Divine. At this time he cast far-reaching glances and established great principles for the regulation of the army and the peasantry and for the prosperity of the country; among them was the institution of Branding (*Dāgh*). It is not hid under the veil of concealment from judicious observers that man is continually dominated by cupidity and anger. The power of lust or wrath covers with dust the bright lamp of the understanding of the wise and mature, whenever there comes a little carelessness or neglect, so what can happen in the case of those who are sunk in folly? When too justice and humanity are rare, or rather are non-existent, and when the lord of horizons (Akbar or other sovereign) is behind the veil of inattention, assuredly there will be the commotion of avarice and the typhoon of faithlessness among many of the masters and servants. The commander[2] (*tabīn-bāghī*) withholds from the followers what he has received from the court, and becomes more greedy, and the follower sprinkles the dust of disloyalty on his head and acts on all occasions as if he were his own master (?).

---

[1] In spite of the heading of this chapter, no description of branding is given. There is an account of it in the 7th Ain, B. 265. It was introduced by Shahbaz K. in the 20th year. B. 326. The corresponding chapter of the Iqbālnāma is fuller than the A. N. for the author has added some particulars taken from the Ain.

[2] Text bāūn i imdād باتى امداد. But a note states that several MSS. read tābīnbāghī, and the two I. O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have this reading, and it is probably the right one. For tābīnbāghī see B. 242 and 267.

Whoever turns away from such wickedness and from the crowd of the unjust and from such improper courses and out of self respect and observance of equity takes the path of just dealing, and chooses contentment and honesty, becomes stained with the dust of suspicion Though in the beginning of this year, before the commotion in the eastern provinces, H M had applied his mind to this subject, and his officers had begun to work, yet the organisation of this great task took shape while the standards of fortune were at the capital The inquiry was made then, and the grades of offices were settled. The Shāhinshāh in order to arrange the foundations of the kingdom, and for the peace of the subjects, made the imperial territories crown-lands At the time when the sovereign was under the veil and was testing men, the imperial clerks increased immoderately the assessments on the territories, cities, towns and villages and opened the hand of embezzlement in raising and diminishing them Whoever acquired their good graces gained his ends, and whoever's heart was not in the quarter of giving became a loser Also whoever was well treated, was from his unfairness and avarice, ungrateful, and whoever was less successful was on account of his discontent and disloyalty a grumbler At the time when the beams of fortune's morning were brightening, and the throne-adorner was engaged in casting away the veil, he gave some of his attention to this subject and began by making the imperial territories crown lands The officers and other servants received money-salaries and their ranks were determined in accordance with their merit and the extent of their commands

Able and trustworthy men were appointed to survey the spacious territories of India and to determine the amount of production and to substitute payments[1] in cash so that the market of the embezzlers might fall flat The provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Gujrāt were from foresight and appreciation left as they were, Kabul, Qandahār, Ghazni, Kashmir, Tatta, the tracts of Bajaur

[1] I think this must be the meaning of the phrase *baqaid i zabt darāwarda* بقید ضبط درآوردہ

See Ain text p 296 line 6 where the phrase bazabt amad is used to express the fact that Sher Shah and his son substituted cash for payment in kind In Timur's Institutes p 364 the phrase arazī mazbūt is used and the translators render it restricted land Apparently it means lands in occupation

and Tîrâ, and Bangash, and Sorath and Orissa had not been conquered. 182 collectors (*'âmil*) were sent off to take care of the crown-lands (Khâlṣât), and as every collector was appointed over an extent of territory which yielded a kror of *tangas*,[1] they were popularly known by the name of *kroṛi*. At this time the head officers were Shahbāz Khān, Khwāja Ghiāṣud-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khan, Rai Purakhotam and Rai Rām Dās. By these measures the equipment of the army was provided for, and the country was well governed, while at the same time there was a safe-guard against trickery and embezzlement. H.M. also gave his attention to the regulation of measurements in order that cultivation might be increased. In former times measurements were made by a rope, and thus a difference arose according as the rope was wet or dry. This gave an opportunity for dishonesty. The Shahinshāh introduced poles[2] made of a reed which in Hindi is called 118 *bāns* (bamboo)—and which poles were joined by iron rings. By this device men's minds were quieted and also the cultivation increased, and the path of fraud and falsehood was closed.

One of the great institutions was that of a Record office.[3] It was at this time of smiling fortune that the idea occurred to H.M. An order was issued and it was decreed that whatever proceeded from the court should be recorded so that the officers might have a valuable assistance, and that the administrative orders might be preserved. God be praised! for that what was formed in the hidden chamber of the holy heart was carried into effect. By this excellent device the religious service suitable to the condition of society was performed! The details of these great laws are given in the concluding volume.[4]

One of the occurrences was that the cupola of chastity Qasīma[5] Bānū, the daughter of 'Arab Shāh, entered the royal harem. A

[1] Or *tankas*. Cf. Badayūnī Lowe 192 and Elliot V. 383. At B. 13 A. F. speaks of officers being appointed over a kror of *dāms*. Does this mean that *tanka* and *dām* are synonymous?

[2] Cf. Jarrett II. 62.

[3] See account of this office in Blochmann 258.

[4] The reference is to the Aīn. Blochmann 258 etc.

[5] Qima in text but there is the variant Qasīma (beautiful) which I adopt in preference to Blochmann's Qismīyah, Blochmann 618.

great feast was given, and the high officers and other pillars of the State were present at it and rejoiced

Verse

Gardens on gardens (of flowers) were scattered in joy
Caps were flung to sky upon sky

This is an important chapter, but as usual, A F is unduly concise when he ought to be explanatory The measure of making the whole of the dominions crown land seems very revolutionary The office of 'Âmil or collector is described in Jarrett II 43

There is also a reference to the krorîs in Blochmann 13 A F there states that it was the Khwajahsarâ Itimâd Khân who set Akbar upon making his reforms in the administration of the land See Blochmann's note 1, p 13 The chapter on Sayurghals, Blochmann 268, should be studied See also Elliot V 343

CHAPTER XXIII

Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān's wars in Bengal, the defeat of Dāūd, and other events

When by the Divine aid Bengal had been conquered, Dāūd went off to Sātgāon and Orissa Kālā Pahār, Sulaimān, Bābū Mankali and some other Afghans went off to Ghorāghāt Wherever they went, they raised disturbances The Khān-Khānān in concert with Rajah Todar Mal took up his quarters in Tānda which is the capital of that country, and engaged in arranging matters, political and financial Owing to the just constitutions of the Shāhinshāh the distracted condition of Bengal was cured Victorious armies were stationed in the vicinity of and on all sides of that city in order that that delightful country might be wholly purged of the weeds and rubbish of opposition Muhammad Qulī Khān Tokbāi, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Niyābat Khān, Qamar Khān, Maqbūl Khān, Tālib Beg, Nāṣir Beg and a set of brave and active men were sent towards Sātgāon under the command of Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās in order that they might give Dāud no time to make preparations and that they might seize him Majnun Khān, Bābā Khān, Jabbāri, M Beg, Khāldin and another set were sent 119
to Ghorāghāt[1] in order to put down the disturbances there Murād Khān and a chosen force of brave men were sent towards Fathābād[2] and Bagla[3] in order to make that territory an abode of peace Itimād Khān and a number of strenuous combatants were sent to Sonārganw (Sonārgāon) in order that they might stay the hands of the oppressors

When the cure of the calamities of the people of that country had been arranged for, it was announced that Junaid Kararāni—who had fled from the sublime court—had cast the dust of failure on his

[1] Blochmann 434
[2] Jarrett II 123
[3] Jarrett II 132 Baglā is Baklā and is part of the modern district of Backergunge Pargana Candradwīp belongs to it See Jarrett II 123

head and had come from Gujrat and the Deccan to Jharkhand, and was meditating a disturbance Rajah Todar Mal, Qiyā Khān, Naẓr Bahādur, Abul Qāsim Namakīn and a number of holy warriors set themselves to suppress him By heaven's help they did good service, and the enemy suffered loss and turned their faces to the desert of destruction The Qāqshāls displayed valour in the country of Ghorāghāt, and the discomfited enemy fled towards Kuc (Kuc Bihar) Sulaimān Mankali was killed, and the victors obtained much booty, and made the families of the Afghans prisoners That extensive country came into the possession of the imperial servants Junaid, who had come out from Jhārkhand, turned away before the might of the brave ghāzis and hid himself in the hills The victorious army returned and came to Bardwan

At this time Mahmud Khān, son of Sikandar Khān Muhammad Khān and some other presumptuous rebels stirred up strife in the town of Selimpur The Rajah sent a suitable force against them, and there was an engagement Muhammad Khān was killed and Sikandar's son fled Just then news came that Junaid had emerged from the abyss of contempt and was stirring up strife The Rajah went off to that quarter Junaid had gone off from Jhārkhand to Dāud with the idea that perhaps he might play the game of deceit with him and collect materials for disturbance Owing to his self opiniatedness, and excessive demands he did not get his companionship and was returning when he was astonished by hearing the sound of the victorious army Naẓr Bahādur, Abul Qāsim Namakin, Muhammad Khān son of Sulṭan Ādam Gakhar, Imām Quli Culak, Bihārhamal Khetri, and some brave men who were marching in front of the victorious army, had from inexperience advanced too far, and had not behaved with prudence
20 Junaid fell upon them Muhammad Khan Biharhamal and some others behaved bravely and sacrificed their lives When this news came to Rajah Todar Mal he proceeded with prudence to chastise the wretch, and Junaid was unable to stand his ground and fled quickly to Jhārkhand By the daily increasing favour of God the dust of disturbance was laid

---

[1] In Sarkār Mahmūdābad Jarrett II 133

One of the occurrences was that Yār Muhammad Arghūn Qarāwal proceeded to near Mūlhair[1] and plundered that country and got hold of a great deal of property. The elephant Apār, which is one of the noted elephants of that region, was one of the things he got Though Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān summoned[2] him, he made excuses, and hastened to the borders of Jhārkhand and set about collecting property. The vagabonds of the country gathered round him Thence he plundered up to the city of Belghatha, and came to the jungles of Lūnī[3] and Kankar, which were the asylum of the Afghan families There too he stretched out the hand of power and got possession of much property His whole design was that he might hasten by way of Jhārkhand to the sublime court, and in this way bring into safety his collections When he came to Tāra,[4] Bhūpat Cohān and Shihāb the son of Dhanji arrived in the jungle The victorious army addressed itself to pursue them Bhūpat from trickery came and paid his respects (to Yār Muhammad). He learnt the state of affairs and in the guise of friendship acted as an enemy By his guidance Junaid made a night attack, and got hold of everything that he (Yār M) had collected, and of all the goods of the merchants and of that great caravan The slumbrous one awoke from the sleep of negligence, and was fortunate enough to join the Rajah's army Before the might of the latter Junaid again took shelter in the hills

Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās proceeded against Daūd with the army which was aided by heaven, and conducted it with prudence When he came within twenty *kos* of Sātgāon, the enemy began to waver They threw the dust of ruin on their heads and

---

[1] In Baglāna S of Gujrat Mulhair is now in the Nausārī district of Baroda. Jarrett II 251, n 2, where it is spelt Muler But it is doubtful if this can be the place meant Muher on the borders of Behar and Jhārkand may be the place meant See text, p 127

[2] It appears from the sequel that it was rather the elephant that was sent for, than the qarāwal himself ! Yār Muḥ was shortly afterwards put to death, text p 127

[3] This can hardly be the Lūnī in Jodhpūr, B 398, n 1 Belghatta may be the place in Ghoraghāt, J 136

[4] Perhaps Du Tara or Dunārā in Jodhpur Jarrett II 276

went off towards Orissa The victorious army encamped at the port of Sātgāon The gates of justice were thrown open and measures were taken for soothing the distracted inhabitants At this time, scouts brought the news that Sirharī who was Daūd's rational soul was going off rapidly to the country of Catar [1] Though Muhammad Quli Khan made all speed, he was not successful, and that alert trickster got off in safety. All the thoughts of the leaders of the army were about taking their ease in that country Meanwhile
121 Rajah Todar Mal joined them, and spoke severely and honestly to them about proceeding towards Orissa and extirpating Dāud By the vigour of his intelligence and his endurance of burdens he cured the babblers and he supported Muhammad Qūli Khān Barlās While they were at the town of Mandalpur [2] Muhammad Quli Khān died in the middle of Dai, Divine month Except that at the time of breaking his fast he ate *pān* and then got fever (*hararati*), no other cause of death appeared Some farseeing ones ascribed this result to the evil designs of one of the slaves of the Khwāja Sarā [3] This unavoidable event caused disorder in the camp, and the market of the opportunists became brisk A number of men made Qiya Khān, who was the head of the babblers and was at enmity with the Khān-Khānān, their leader, and resolved to proceed to court by way of Jharkhand They proposed to make the discomfiture of Junaid a trophy for the *kornish* Though Rajah Todar Mal used his reason and his loyalty, he

[1] *Catar* (چتر) in text see Blochmann 341 who calls Sirharī Sarmadī Perhaps Chittuī is the place meant See Blochmann 375 376 Chittuī is N of Midnapore Apparently this is the Chatwa in Madaran of Jarrett II 141 There is the variant Jessore

[2] B says 342 Mednīpūr and so does the T A But Mednīpūr was then in Orissa which perhaps the imperialists had not entered The Maasir III 206 has Mandalpūr, as in the A N There is no Mandalpur in the Ain but there is a Mandalghat mentioned in Sarkar Madāran J II 141, which is perhaps the same as Mandalpūr B J A.S B XLII 223 says it is at the mouth of the Rūpnarain Perhaps by Mednīpūr B only means that the place is now in the Midnapore district See also Beames R A S J for 1896 p 107

[3] Blochmann 341, 342 I take the Khwaja Sarā to be Itimād Khān but perhaps all that is meant is that Muhammad Qulī was poisoned by one of his own eunuchs This is Blochmann's view

was not successful He sent couriers to the Khān-Khānān to inform him, and represented that the method to restrain the faction was to send money by one who was loyal and smooth tongued Mun'im Khān sent a large sum by Lashkar Khān, and held out both threats and hopes In accordance with the Rajah's advice the envoy in a manner quieted the slaves to gold By the foresight and efforts of Mun'im Khān, Shāham Khān Khwāja 'Abdullah, and a body of brave and loyal men joined the army, and by their arrival order was restored Then hesitating and discontented hearts resolved upon extirpating Dāud, and they marched off

Dāūd had hurried off to the extremities of Hindustan and was anxious to spend his days in the corner of obscurity, but when he heard of the dissensions in the victorious army, and got encouragement from Khān Jahān (Lodī) who governed Orissa for him he returned to do battle The officers left Bardwan and came by Madāran[1] to Citua[2] As the foreheads of many of the officers were still stained with disaffection the Rajah (Todar Mal) considered that if this was their condition how would things go on the day of battle which is the time for the seething of devotion and courage It was clear that if the Khan Khānān arrived no mischief would happen from the evil heartedness of some of the misguided ones Acting on this idea he wrote to him The Khān-Khānān was spending his time in the far off thoughts (i e apprehensions) of old men and he did not consider sufficiently that if a misfortune happened to the army, things would become difficult
At this time the prescience of the world's lord took matters into its 1'
hands The brief account of this story is that the alert *saz iwals* brought the holy order Its gist was that as by heaven's help that fine country had come into the possession of the imperial servants, and the inhabitants had obtained justice, he was not to consider the discomfiture of the enemy a light matter, but address his energies to his extirpation so that the inhabitants might once for all be at rest about his commotions The Khān-Khanān was

[1] Identified by B with Bhitar garh in Hugli district J A S B vol 42 223 n See also Beames R A S J for 1896 p 106

[2] In Sarkar Madāran the Catwa of J II 141 It is in Midnapore near Ghattal Beames R A S J for 1896 p 106

obliged to conform to the order and to undertake the task He joined the army at Cittuā Dāūd was with a large army in Harpūr,[1] which is intermediate between Bengal and Orissa, and was taking special care to strengthen the approaches Many of the officers, and the common soldiers, were from folly and cowardice, and bad intentions, disinclined to serve, and wanted that there should be some kind of agreement made (with the enemy) The Khān-Khānān convened a council of enlightened men and in the first place read chapters from the Shāhinshāh's book[2] of fortune (his rescript), and exerted himself to encourage them After this he spoke about loosing the knots of difficulty, and about their preserving their reputation Each officer answered according to his knowledge and courage, and the degree of his devotion. Some preferred peace to war, and sought for safety Some set their hearts upon fighting, but reflected upon the difficulties of the roads Others from excess of courage did not distinguish between what was easy and what was difficult and rejoiced in the giving of battle At last by the exertions of Rajah Todar Mal and the firmness of Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, all agreed to fight But search was made for another road, for it was difficult to go straight forward Ilyās (Elias) Khān Langā and a number who knew the difficulties of the country pointed out an easier way and did good service The strenuous and laborious were sent off to *smooth and make easy that route They with agility and dexterity* crossed by that path into Orissa All Dāūd's plans for fortifying the roads were made vain With a distracted heart he turned back and resolved upon giving battle The two armies came face to face in Tukaroi,[3] and that battlefield was adorned by the flashings of the heroes' swords The brave men on both sides distinguished themselves, and presented the coin of valour to a crucial test At last by the blessing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune,

[1] Or Harīpur, B 375 Perhaps the Harpat of J II 125 However I O MS 236 has Dharpur, which is given as a variant in Bib Ind The word recurs at p 435, and perhaps Dharmpūr is the correct reading See Elliot VI 75

[2] Perhaps this only means that he recalled to their recollection various successes of Akbar

[3] See Blochmann's valuable note 375

on the day of Dīn 24 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 20 Zilq'aada (3 March 1575), Dāūd was defeated, and a large number were killed The account of this great boon is that when the Khān-Khānān determined on this engagement, the troops were drawn up as follows He commanded the centre, and Lashkar Khān, Hāshim Khān, Mahasan Khān and many strenuous men 123
supported him. The *Altamsh* was commanded by Qīyā Khan, Khānzāda Muhammad Khan, son of Kocak 'Alī Khān Badakhshī, and others The *harāwal* (vanguard) was composed of 'Ālam Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Shīroya Khan, Saiyid 'Abdullah, M. 'Alī 'Alamshāhī, Shāh Tāhir, Shāh Khalīl, Talib Khān, Niyābat Khān, M. Muhammad Jalāīr, Khan Quli Diwāna, Hāfiz Kosa, Shujā' Beg, and others The right wing was ordered by the strength and wisdom of Shāham Khān Jalāīr, Muhammad Quli Khān Tokbāi, Payinda Muhammad Khān, I'timād Khān, Qatlaq Qadam Khān and Saiyid Shamsu d-din Bokhārī In the left wing were Ashraf Khān, Rajah Todar Mal, Mozaffar Moghal, Yār Muhammad Qarāwal, Abūl Qāsim Namakin, and others When the enemy came in front of the victorious army, courage was tested each day, and brave actions were performed on both sides

Verse

From the amount of blood sprinkled everywhere
The ground was like a lacerated face
Three days was blood thus spilt,
The valiant did not cease from fighting

On that day, in consequence of oppositions of the planets they did not intend to engage, and the brave men combated according to the daily practice All at once the enemy came up in battle-array. In the centre Dāud heaped up materials for his ruin with his own hands The right wing was dark with the gloom[1] of Sikandar, the brother of Khān Jahān The left was oppressed by the evil thoughts of Ism'ail Khān The van was commanded by Gūjar Khān All at once the commotion began The Khān-Khānān was

[1] Shomī, referring to Alexander's failure to find the water of life

compelled to draw up his forces and was supported by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh The Khān 'Ālam from his noble disposition and excessive courage broke the thread of discretion, and galloped too far The archers[1] applied their hand to the work and there was a hot fight The Khān-Khānān was vexed at this mistake and sent an angry message to him and brought him back The imperial army had not yet been properly arranged when Gūjar Khān advanced with a formidable line of active elephants in front and his presumptuous and daring troops behind As the tusks and heads and necks of the elephants were covered with black yak-tails and the skins of the animals, they produced horror and dismay, the horses of the imperial van were frightened on seeing these extraordinary forms, and hearing the terrible cries, and turned back Though the riders exerted themselves, they were not
4 successful and the troops lost their formation Khān 'Ālam, who was mounted on a tried and fearless steed, remained firm and displayed courage, and slew many of the Afghans Suddenly his horse got a sword-cut and reared, and he fell off But with consummate agility he mounted again, and again adorned the fight Just then a misfortune befel him, *viz*, he was overthrown by an elephant The Afghans crowded on, and he yielded up his life after the manner of the loyal and the famous of the visible and invisible world By this profitable trafficking (*az saudāī pūr sūd*) an everlasting good name revealed itself Before the dust of war had risen he had said to some of the servants of the fortunate threshold that he had a presentiment that he would fall in this banquet of battle and that he trusted that they would mention his devotion at the sacred court and tell the great assemblage that the well-pleasing of the lord of horizons is the material of salvation and the adornment of eternal life What is there improbable in such intimations to the pure hearts of the sincere?

When this happened to the leader, Gūjar Khān drove off the whole force and proceeded against the *altamsh*. As soon as he reached it, it broke Khānzāda Muḥammad Khān bravely sacrificed his life and went to the eternal land Then that presumptuous and daring one routed the troops (the *altamsh*) and proceeded to

---

[1] *giroh-i ūqcī*

attack the centre The courage of the latter (the centre) was shaken, and the men received the retribution of their feelings Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān with Lashkar Khān, Hājī Khān Sistānī, Hāshim Khān and some others stood their ground and fought bravely Though the Khān Khānān's servants did not behave well, he manfully received wounds Though he had many wounds on the head, neck and shoulder he did not give way, but took his whip [1] Lashkar Khān, Hājī Khān Sistānī and Hāshim Khān were also wounded The Khān Khānān used always to say that though the wound on the head healed, his eyesight remained injured, and that though the wound on the neck got better, yet he had not the power to look well behind, and that owing to the wound on the shoulder, he could not properly raise his hand to his head In spite of all these severe wounds, no idea of retreating entered his mind At this time a number of his well wishing servants seized his rein and turned him round Gūjar was just then driving the people before him, till at last he came to the imperial camp That orderly place was plundered, and this increased his pride and presumption In his intoxication and haughtiness he in order to encourage his men cried out with a loud voice, "I have inflicted severe wounds on the Khān Khānan, what is the good of prolonging the fight, make efforts, and 12(
bring the thing to an end." But to his confidants he, being frightened at the uncertainties of fortune, was saying, "In spite of the signs of victory my soul does not rejoice, and from time to time my sadness increases I know not what will appear from the veil of fate, and how the affair will end" When he passed beyond the camp many of his men dispersed in order to plunder At this time Qiyā Khān and his son turned some of the fugitives and proceeded to fight Khwājā 'Abdullah, Shīroya Khān, Selīm, Khān, Hājī Yūsuf Khān, Shujā' Beg, Jabbār Qulī Dīwāna, Hāfiz Koss and others *brought the escaped water back to its channel*, and the Divine favour, which is surety for the hopes of this great

[1] Cf Elliot V 387 where it is said that Gūjar K. personally wounded the Khān Khānān and that as the latter had no sword, he returned the cuts with slashes of his whip The statement that he had no sword is not in the Lucknow ed of the /T A. p 325 though it mentions the use of the whip

dominion, shone forth The power of the Shāhinshāh's favour took the upper hand At this time when the brave and loyal advanced and renewed the battle, an arrow from the quiver of fate conveyed the order of annihilation to Gūjar When he was destroyed, his comrades became disheartened and fled, and besides those who were killed, there were many who lost their honour The Khān Khānān who had hurried off three *kos* beyond the camp, returned and set his face to the battlefield During the uproar when the heroes of the right and left wings were drawn up and engaged, the right wing of the enemy came in front Apparently they had heard of Gujar's success and wished to join him, when what was decreed (his death) occurred They fled without coming to blows The state of matters was that Dāūd came in front of the imperial left wing Rajah Todar Mal by the vigour of his understanding kept his ground and held his troops in readiness Just then one of the babblers brought bad news of the Khān Khānān and Khān 'Ālam He remained steadfast and replied, "The ray of the Shāhinshāh's fortune is shedding light on the heads of the courageous and loyal servants, if the days of one are ended, and if the feet of another have slipped, what injury has happened to fortune's countenance, and why should the strenuous supporters of dominion be dismayed Don't prate, and don't say such things The breeze of victory is about to blow, and the light of success is emerging from the horizon of hope" With heartening words he put the seal of silence on the lips of that ill conditioned one, and hung in the ears of his understanding the jewels of instruction He himself became the leader of the loyal Bābāi Kulābi, Maqṣud 'Ali, Mir Yusuf Ābbārāni (of the river Bārān in Afghanistan), Ḥusain Beg Gurd, and a number of other active men went forward to
26 fight Shāham Khān Jalair lost firmness on hearing of the boldness of Gujar and of the confusion of the army and was turning back Saiyid Shamsu d din Bokhāri, and a number of brave and devoted men who were in unison with him, spoke bitter sweet words to comfort his soul and increase his activity, and so remedied matters By the November clouds of these ocean hearted men of war and lovers of honour the dust of apprehension was laid, and the brave men of the right wing became of one heart and soul and turned towards the left wing of the enemy A battle ensued

and in a short space of time the enemy was driven off, and the victors proceeded against the centre At this time, when the battle hung in the balance between the Rajah and Dāud, the right wing of the imperial army appeared, and the enemy became disconcerted Though Dāud had heard of the defeat of the vanguard, *altamsh* and centre of the imperialists, the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune made him regard this as a trick of experienced soldiers, and so he abode in the stony place of cowardice till this army (the imperial right wing) arrived The ingrate became shameless and fled to the desert of destruction Just then news came of the fall of Gujar, and there was hastiness in flight The victorious soldiers followed with drawn swords Many of the wretches slept the sleep of annihilation, and the plain became a tulip garden from the blood of the slain

Verse

In every corner there fell a drunkard,
Such a drunkard as ne'r became sober
You'd say 'twas a banquet, not a battle—
A banquet in which the brave were the wine drinkers

Abundant plunder was obtained, and there was physical and spiritual good fortune Visible and invisible felicity was attained The imperial servants had their wishes gratified, and offered up their thanksgivings

Oh seeker after enlightenment, open the eye of edification and regard with an instructed eye the marvels of the Divine aid! Advance from denial to confession, from confession to trust, and from trust to the lofty stage of devotion, and rejoice in the truth!

Verse

Wisdom keeps not pace with his lofty fortune
Hail, O power of fortune, Allah Akbar

After such an unexpected victory, obtained by the Divine aid, the Khān Khānān's bodily wounds, and inward lacerations, were healed by the balm of conquest Though before this, Bengal had come into possession, yet in the estimation of acute observers this day was the day of the conquest of that wide territory A great

boon came from the abodes of secrecy to the bright halls of manifestation The pillar of fortune was upreared The Khân
7 Khânân chose a camping-ground near the battlefield, and expanded in thanksgivings Next day, owing to the abundant wickedness of the crew of ingrates, and to the o'ermastering power of wrath, he exerted himself in gathering together the prisoners Their souls and bodies were separated, and eight sky high minarets were made of their brainless heads, as a warning to spectators When the news of this great victory reached the august hearing there was an increase of awakening, and thanksgivings were made Rescripts of great graciousness were issued and the honours of the loyal and serviceable were increased Their outward rank was exalted, and so also was their spiritual dignity

One of the occurrences of these days was that the cup of life of Lashkar Khân became brimful He was recovering from the severe wound which had disabled him on the day of the battle, but he died from carelessness and disregard during the days of convalescence

One of the occurrences was the death of Yâr Muhammad Arghûn He was one of the royal hunters, and was a prominent servant His good service in Bengal carried him into the thorn brake of presumption By searching and striving he gathered secret treasures[1] and he behaved presumptuously as if he were chief of the army Although Mun im K sent for the elephant Apâr, which had come into his possession, he did not forward it Advice did him no good In this battle too he had a dispute with some of his servants about the plunder When they demanded justice, the old enmity blazed forth Without inquiring fully into the matter, or looking closely into it, he (Mun'im) opened the hand of wrath and condemned him to capital punishment They beat him so severely that the woof and warp of his existence came to pieces Though he was tyrannously dealt with, yet many evil minded and presumptuous persons were guided to the happy land of obedience

---

[1] *Asbab-i Mukannat* apparently means "hidden properties Ba-lashkar begi dam i istikbar zad He breathed the breath of pride as if he were Commander in Chief But it may also mean that he behaved presumptuously to the head of the army He was a scout (ȷârawal) as well as a hunter

CHAPTER XXIV.[1]

BEGINNING OF THE 20TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE SECOND CYCLE

At this time of the increase of justice, and of world-adornment, the harbingers of good tidings arrived, bringing the news of Spring, and conferred world-wide joy

Verse

This day is the day of joy, and this year the year of the rose,
Good is the heart's state, for good is that of the rose
What is the rose? 'Tis a messenger from the garden of joy
What is the rose? 'Tis a letter telling of universal[2] glory

On the day of Friday 27 Zil-qaada 982 (11 March 1575), after the passing of 7 hours, 35 minutes, the world-adorner (the sun) cast **12**
his rays on the mansion of Aries

Verse

They tied a picture on the arm of morning,
They gave it the embellishment of early spring
Time gave colour and fragrance to spring,
It put a nosegay in the hand of wish

The twentieth year, which belonged to the second cycle, began There were rejoicings, and universal joy Just as the physical Spring year by year increases the beauty of young growths of vegetation and augments the joy of the spectators of material flashes so does the springtide of the fortune of the enthroned one adorn the parterre of sovereignty with the development of the virgins of the spirit, and increase the glory of the veiled ones who fashion existence and Divinity? There is joy to those who delight in the mystic garden such as does not come to the lovers of physical flowers in the material spring In this book of Divine praise, although the foundation of the work is laid on a description

---

[1] This chapter is much shortened in the Lucknow edition

[2] Text has *gul* at the end of the fourth line but I think it should be *kull*

of the wondrous workings of external fortune, and it is this which colours its words and makes them picturesque, yet as a comprehensive, much knowing soul even with hundreds of torches of Divine aid cannot compound the collyrium for fully perceiving the limitless, spiritual ruler, how can the hand, the pen, the paper, the ink have the brightness to succeed in the mighty task? But inasmuch as genius helps, fortune is auspicious, and disposition consonant therewith, I let a little trickle out from the abounding river and so water the adust souls of the desert of inquiry, and light up a part of that hall of brilliance with the rays of the lamp of vision, and so illuminate the darkened ones of Use and Wont. O thou of somnolent fortune, if thou feelest that the opening of thy inward eye is a task beyond thy capacity, yet the opening of thy external eye is a thing dependent on thy will, why dost thou not open thy vision and cast a glance at the journal of the deeds of the Khedive of the world? If thou hast not power to contemplate the spectacle of that Manifester of holiness, why dost thou abandon the perusal of the ways of those attached to the sublime court? If from evil fortune and from wisdom's being overlaid with self-interest thou hast not the felicity to do this, contemplate to-day this work of fortune (iqbālnāma, i.e., the A. N.) so that the holy blessings of the Unique and Incomparable One may vouchsafe an illuminating ray. If inward darkness let fall a veil over thy outer eye, take instruction from the condition of those attached to this Fortune, and from the wondrous marks therein acknowledge the sublime state of the world's lord! Deeds which in former times were with difficulty executed by magnanimous princes, are now easily exhibited by H.M.'s servants. Then turning from the
29 external to the internal infer what is the felicity of the holy spirit (of Akbar), and prostrate the forehead of the heart as well as the outward brow before the celestial threshold, so that, like those who are auspicious, thou mayest first bring thy external state into proper condition, and also enter upon the ever verdant rose garden of the inner life!

A fresh instance of fortune which adorned the opening of this year was that Dāūd, who wore upon his head the tiara of rule, made it a foot-rest in the court of the Shāhinshāh's fortune and became a servant of the threshold of fortune.

CHAPTER XXV

Dāūd's coming to see Mun'im Khān Khān-Khanān, and the Adorning of the Feast of Concord

When by the help of the heavenly armies, which are ever engaged in heightening the fortune of the world's lord and in elevating the standards of his fortune, Dāūd had cast the dust of disgrace on his fortune's head, and had taken to flight, and when Gujar and many of the proud had gone down to the pit of annihilation, as has already been briefly related, the Khān Khānān, acting in accordance with the advice of experienced men, sent Shāham Khān Jalāīr, and Rajah Todar Mal to pursue the wretch Qabul Khān, Muhammad Quli Khān Toqbāi, Said Badakhshi, Qamar Khān, Shāh Tāhir, Shāh Khalil, Tālib Bakhshi and many other active men had impressed upon their minds the canons of warfare and went forward on this duty The infatuated Dāud hastened to the corner of contempt When the imperial troops reached the town of Bhadrak, it was ascertained that Jahān Khān had quickly joined him, and given him encouragement and taken him towards the fort of Katak (Cuttack) which is one of the strong forts of the province The vagabonds of the country had gathered round him, and the sole thought of the presumptuous ones was that if the victorious army should come there, they might give battle, as the sudden defeat (i e, the battle of Tukaroi) had been the result of want of caution If there was delay in their coming, they would make arrangements for a contest, and on a proper opportunity obtain their revenge On hearing this news the old servants, whose fortunes were somnolent, were dismayed The seditionmongers became active in their machinations Though Rajah Todar Mal brought his wisdom and fidelity to bear, and addressed himself to the soothing and quieting this crew, he was not successful He was obliged to ask for the presence of the Khān-Khānān, and plainly wrote that a difficult business had been made easy by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh If reliance were placed on con-

ceited[1] men who were inefficient and heedless of the day of reckoning, things would again become difficult It was fitting that the Khān-Khānān should take the matter into his own hands, and come hither without delay. Though the Khān-Khānān's wounds were not yet healed he set off in a litter[2] and speedily arrived at the spot He soothed the empty-headed and reproved the self-conceited, and so brought them back from their evil thoughts, and then pushed forward He came near to that strong fort which the foolish Afghans had thought to be their refuge Their confidence began to abate They had no equipment for the defence of the fort, no means of fighting, and no way of fleeing, and the victorious army was numerous. Dāūd at the advice of tricksters adopted feline stratagems He turned to entreaties and abjectness and knocked at the door of peace He sent Fattū, Shaikh Niẓām and some other officers, and these tricksters by gold and words induced the leaders of the army to come to terms The old servants whose fortune was somnolent exerted[3] themselves to magnify by finesses the enemy's position, and regarding this a means of increasing their reputation considered the proposition of a settlement as an advantage. Though Rajah Todar Mal, who knew the real state of the case, exerted himself hand and foot, it was of no use In that abode of darkness the torch of his monition could not give light! The Khān-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān and Qutluq Qadam Khān, and expounded the conditions of peace The gist of the compact was that in the first place Dāūd should come and accept the service of the holy court, and send noted elephants and other choice presents After some time, when he had done good service, he was to convey his ashamed face to the holy threshold of the Shāhinshāh, and have it coloured with

[1] Perhaps the Rajah was referring especially to Qiyā K See text p 121, l 7

[2] *Sūkasan* See J II 122 for description of this kind of litter

[3] I presume that the meaning is that the old servants represented the position and resources of the enemy to be more than they were They regarded this as a means of increasing their reputation I suppose this means that they now magnified the enemy's position thinking that they would thereby make people believe that their former views about the difficulty of the imperialists enterprise were correct

fidelity At present he was to send one of his confidential relations to court to act there as his representative

Dāud, whose affairs were *in extremis*, gladly accepted every thing On 3 Ardibihisht, Divine month, corresponding to 1 Muharram 983 (12 April 1575), there was a celebration The banquet of reconciliation was prepared Previous to this a pleasant spot had been chosen outside of the camp, and been adorned to the admiration of beholders The Khān Khānān came into the hall of joy on the above mentioned date, and there was a festival Ashrif Khān, and Haji Khān Sistāni hasted and brought Dāūd and his nobles The Khān Khānān went to the edge of the carpet to welcome him, and displayed warm affection Dāud loosed his sword and left it behind him, implying that he had left off soldiering and had made himself over to the sublime court, and would do whatever the pillars of empire thought it right for him to do The Khān Khānān made him over to his servants, and after a time a splendid *Khilāt* was given to him on the part of the threshold of the Caliphate, and a sword and embroidered belt were 13
bound upon his waist Dāud with the humblest loyalty turned towards the quarter of the capital and made the prostration of service He presented noted elephants, the rarities of the country, and abundant money, and made over Shaikh Muhammad, the son of Bāyazid who was his own nephew, that he might accompany Mun'im Khān to court Much of that day was devoted to feasting and rejoicing, and when Dāud received leave to depart, some[1] estates in Orissa were given in fief to him When Mun'im Khān had dismissed him from the defile of difficulty to the wide expanse of joy he himself returned (to the camp) The generality showed joy, with the exception of Rajah Todar Mal, who from his far seeingness kept his head in the fold of thought, and who was not present in that banqueting hall, nor put his seal to the document of that peace Inasmuch as the world is a place of retribution, every one of them very quickly had the recompense[2] of his actions

[1] According to Nizāmu d-dīn Elliot V 390 and Stewart 161 the whole of Orissa was conferred upon Dāūd Perhaps the phrase '*baz mahal*' used in text has the technical sense of miscellaneous revenues

[2] Alluding apparently to the deaths of the officers shortly afterwards in the pestilence at Gaur

One of the occurrences was the disturbance in Ghorāghāt. The brief account of this is that when the Khān-Khānān with most of the troops proceeded to Katak, Kālā Pahār, and Bābuī Mankalī and a number of Afghans raised a commotion and fell upon the Qāqshāls. The latter made a little resistance and then covered their honour with the dust of disgrace! The Afghans took possession of Ghorāghāt, and pursued the Qāqshāls. The latter could find no place in which to plant the foot of firmness and came to Tānda. The Khān Khānān swiftly returned, and without entering into the city of Tānda hastened off from its neighbourhood to encounter the enemy. The enemy was indulging in confidence on the other side of the Ganges. The able leaders of the imperial army proceeded up stream to a place where the Ganges forms two branches, and had bridged one, and were preparing to bridge the other when the enemy lost courage. They stained themselves with the dust of defeat and took to flight. The Khān-Khānān hastened with his army to the borders of Tānda and from there despatched a force under Majnūn Khān to Ghorāghāt. The strenuous fighters reconquered that country and the sedition-mongers descended to the corner of contempt. The Khān Khānān returned thanks to God and to the Shāhinshāh's fortune and returned (to Tānda).

CHAPTER XXVI.

AFFAIRS OF THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR, INCREASING PERFORMANCES OF MOZAFFAR KHĀN, AND HIS RETURN TO FAVOUR

The benefactions[1] which the Shāhinshāh bestows on mankind in general are beyond the region of computation, and the public are obliged to confess their inability to requite them How then can those who are attached to the court, and are prominent sitters in the assemblage of justice, discharge the burden of their gratitude? In truth who has the courage, and where is the capacity that can 132 indulge in the thought of recompense? Devotion throughout long lives by single-hearted, efficient men cannot make requital for one of a hundred thousand favours! But the first stage of making up the account is, after perceiving the degrees of favour, not to forget to make a list of the register of reverence, and to attach the cincture of strenuous effort to one's service and to reckon whatever of good deeds has been done as one of a thousand acts of thanksgiving So that one may always be abashed and ashamed, nor loose the thread of calculation, nor allow the contemplation of the imperfect service of all and of one's own good deeds to become the material of insolence May one by this life of praise attain to the stage of limpid sincerity (ikhlaṣ), and become a fixture at the threshold of obedience! May he pass the stage of selling his service and place the seal of silence on his lips. Hail to the fortunate one in whose journey through the ups and downs of service the dust of shame has not settled on the face of his fortune Or if, from his inauspicious star, the dust of shame may have touched him, he has washed it away by the clear water of understanding, and he has with an open brow and cheerful countenance carried out what was in his destiny How shall I write that there can be no change (for the better) in such obedience? On the contrary, even to wearied souls there comes, from long habits of obedience and service, a ray of the Presence,

[1] This introduction is bombastic and obscure and is wanting in the Lucknow edition

and from time to time an increase of light The case of Mozaffar Khān is a clear illustration of this fact

It has already been related how H M as a means of producing discretion and enlightenment in him, had, without permitting him to do homage, appointed him, at the time of returning from the conquest of Patna to assist Farhat Khān, and had sent him to perform the service of taking the fort of Rohtas, so that if he could not recognise the favour and the educating power of the Shāhinshāh in the manner of the truly loyal, he still might not abandon mercantile considerations and the sense of favours received, and might in return for glorious benefactions exhibit the thanksgiving of good service For some time he was in the thornbrake of failure and was with the hand of presumption poinarding his heart and liver As felicity was implanted in his nature he emerged from his mental disturbance at the wise words of Khwāja Shamsu d din Khāfī, and applied himself to service He brought out some of his accumulations of wealth and prepared the equipment of an army By his courage he took possession of Caund and Shahsarām (Sasseram) which on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of State had not been given in *jagir* to any one, and then set himself to get things in readiness (for an expedition) He was in a position to do good service when Farhat Khān and the other officers came to besiege the fort In the course of a few days he showed his quality The brief account of this is
33 that one day Bahādur, the son of Haibat Khān came out of the fort of Rohtās and made a disturbance Mozaffar Khān behaved with activity and inflicted suitable punishment on him His elephants, etc, were captured Merely in consequence of that happy thought (of Mozaffar) his wandering waters were brought back into the channel Immediately the standards of trustworthiness were upreared in that quarter About the same time the officers arrived for the siege Mozaffar frankly took part with Farhat Khan and assisted in carrying out the plan In a short time a ray of the royal favour visited him, and an order was issued to the effect that if he and the other officers could fix a time within which the fort would be taken, he should exert himself in that great service If he could not fix a time and if the capture would be a work of time, he was to suspend operations, and turn his attention

to the punishment of the turbulent Afghans who were making a commotion in Bihar If they were willing to submit they would be pardoned Otherwise he was to inflict chastisement on them in order that it might be a lesson to others

Mozaffar Khan performed the prostration on receipt of the order and represented that he had not a siege train with him, and that a period for the taking of the fort could not be fixed The first business was to clear the country of the rubbish of rebels This he proceeded to do in company with the imperial troops Mirzada 'Ali Khān and many of the strenuous workers whom the Shāhinshāh had left in the country went with him Muhasan Khān, Āfāq 'Arab Bahadur and a number of soldiers who were engaged in looking after Mun'im Khan's *jagir* also joined him and did good service Mozaffar's ability was tested, and the dust of rebellion was laid throughout the whole province Ādam Khān Batani fled from Ibrahimpur without fighting and so did Darya Khan Kashi from Caikin,[1] and both of them fled to Jhārkhand

When nothing more remained to do there, the agents of Mun'im Khān grew envious of Mozaffar Khān's success and in a shameless manner sent him away As he had no fief assigned to him, he was forced to return to Caund and Sasseram, taking help from Khudādād Barlas and Khwāja Shamsu d din On the way he learnt that the insolent garrison of Rohtās had taken possession of those two towns As his fortune helped him, and his star was favourable, the dust of apprehension did not rest on the skirt of his courage, and he went with a stout heart to that quarter By the glitter of the sword, and the strength of contrivance he freed those two places By the help of far seeing reason he **134**
suppressed his own wishes and waited for a mystic revelation He employed a portion of his accumulations in the work, and took pleasure in attacking and plundering Suddenly a commotion arose in Bihar The managers of the country coolly (*ba firaghat i-tamam*) asked for the assistance of his presence Mozaffar Khān disregarded their previous behaviour and hastened to do his master's work He rendered good service The brief account of this is that Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān had left 'Arab Bahādur

---

[1] Chārgaon in Sarkar Bihar J II 154

in Maher [1] which lies between Behar and Jhārkhand At this time Ḥāji and Ghāzī two brothers came out of Jhārkhand with some turbulent Afghans and gained possession of the fort Many of the garrison were slain, but 'Arab succeeded in escaping The officers of the province gathered together and asked for assistance to put down the disturbance The Afghans went off to the mountain defiles and swaggered there The officers went there and then displayed hesitation They could neither determine to turn back nor to advance One day about 300 Rajputs from among the servants of Rajah Bhagwant Dās, but without him, entered boldly into the defiles, but as they did not behave rationally they were defeated Jia Kor, Kān Kachwāha, Didā Cohān and about one hundred brave men gave their lives to be plundered (were killed) When this disastrous affair occurred the officers lost firmness They were ashamed of their former behaviour and were compelled to send able envoys to ask help from Moẓaffar Khān He quickly joined them At this time when the vanguard of victory was rising from the orient of fortune, the officers of the army were slackening in their energy It seems that the reason of this was a letter from the Khān Khanān Its purport was that Junaid was hastening to Behar from Jhārkhand, and that Tengri Bardi had been appointed with a large force of courageous men It was not advisable to give battle hastily before the succour arrived The letter also referred to the catastrophes of the death of Muhammad K Gakhar and of Yar Muhammad Qarāwal's having been plundered, of which events a brief account has already been given

Muzaffar Khān stood firm and replied that the rational course was to make this circumstance (the advance of Junaid) a motive for greater courage and alacrity in fighting, so that the audacious rebels might be disposed of before Junaid's arrival It was not known if that villain would arrive for ten days yet and there was hope that the rebels would be dispersed in the course of one day By the daily increasing good fortune (of Akbar) the spirit which had left the leaders returned to them and they all made promises of acting in harmony and prepared for battle By celestial aid a

---

[1] J II 154 In Sarkar Bihar

party of men who knew the country pointed out another road, and it was determined that the army should proceed straight against the enemy, but should do so with sufficient slowness to allow the other force to come behind the enemy by the path mentioned All agreed to this course and the army was arranged as follows Moẓaffar Khān commanded the centre, Fath Khān Maidānī commanded the right wing, Farhat Khān commanded the left wing In the vanguard were Mirzada 'Alī Khān, Qarāṭaq Khān, Husain Khān, Ākhta, Āfāq, Bāqī Kulābī, Sohrāb Turkamān, 'Arab Bahādur, Sher Muhammad Diwāna, Kucak Qaiduzi and many other brave and strenuous men Khwāja Shamsu d-din was appointed, along with some brave and experienced men, to go by the other path and take the enemy in the rear The enemy were full of confidence owing to the strength of their position and their numbers, when suddenly the victorious army arrived in front and at the same time the force in the rear came up Their firmness of foot gave way, and their courage hid under a veil There was a grand victory, and a large amount of plunder The officers took steps to pursue the enemy The latter drew up their forces in the hilly country of Rāmpur which belongs to Jharkhand, and faced their pursuers The best of the gang were Ādam Batani the son of Fath Khān, Daryā Khān Kākar, Jalāl Khān Sur, Husain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Yusuf Batani, 'Umar Khān Kākar and Mahmud Kāsū Moẓaffar Khān made a skilful arrangement of his forces

Verse

The drums beat and the battalions deployed,
Swords flashed and dust raged,
The horsemen were intermingled in one place,
The infantry engaged in another [1]
From the blood of the brave and the dust of the troops
The earth became a ruby, and the atmosphere black

The combatants were hotly engaged when Khwāja Shamsu d-din and a party of active men took the enemy in the rear as on the former occasion and did valiantly. Ḥusain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Jalāl Khān Sur, who were among the brave men of note,

[1] *Judā* Lucknow edition has *hama*

fell into the dust of destruction When the hands of the enemy grew weary of the contest they took to flight, and by the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh a great victory showed her countenance Thanksgivings were offered up, and from cautious motives the army did not judge it advisable to remain there, and victoriously returned Every one then went to his own place and sought repose

When Junaid, who meditated an attack upon Bihar, heard
16 of this dominion increasing event he ceased to advance and sought for his opportunity Many days had not elapsed when Junaid thought he had his opportunity and proceeded to stir up a commotion in Bihar The officers of the province gathered together in Patna and considered how they should remedy matters They wrote to Mozaffar Khān and asked for his help He in reliance on the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh proceeded towards them As he had shown resolution, good service and loyalty, a sacred rescript reached him before his arrival, and it appeared from it that a silent tongue had enlightened H M's heart about his excellent performances, and that the Sarkār of Hajipur, which had been assigned in fief to Muhammad Quli Khān[1] Birlās had been conferred upon him On receiving this good news, he became a flower-gatherer in the garden of devotion, and the shoot of his spirit came to maturity His heart expanded and his intent spread her wings With a wide capacity he joined the officers, and exerted himself to uproot the evil and seditious He bridged the *Pun pun* and crossed it

At this time urgent messages arrived from the Khān Khānān to the effect that they should not be hasty in engaging Junaid as he himself had decided to come there quickly The officers gave up their intentions and chose delay Though Mozaffar Khān gave them salutary counsels it was of no effect His heart was troubled by thus coming and then turning back, and his zeal was such that he was prepared to encounter Junaid alone, when there arose a great commotion at Hajipur He was compelled to turn aside to that quarter The brief account of this affair is that Tāj Khān Panwār, Fath Khān Musāzai, Shahbāz Khān 'Arabi, Sulaimān Panwār, and Thān Rai came and put to death Mir

---

[1] Who had lately died

Mahmūd Shaukatī, who was in Hājīpur on behalf of Mozaffar Khān, and killed about a hundred more Of necessity Mozaffar withdrew his hand from Junaid and went off to Hājīpur along with Khudādād Barlās, 'Arab, Khwāja Shamsu-d dīn and a few other lovers of service In spite of the large number of the enemy he, with the help of the fortune which is conjoined with eternity, addressed himself to battle As it was difficult to cross over in front of the enemy he crossed the Ganges and came to the town of Siwāna The river Gandak was running boisterously between him and Hājīpur, and the Afghans were exultant on account of their numbers and the smallness of the imperial forces As he had with him zeal which is the key of enterprise, and fortune and a right intention, he put into order the means of success In the first place Udai Karn, the zamindar of Jitaran,[1] became one of the single minded, and, at a time when there was a crowd of the vagabonds on the other side, while on this side the chosen combatants were on the eve of crossing, and apparently the 137
execution of the design was difficult, the said landholder became the guide of the march and said that it occurred to him that a number of his relations lived up the stream, and that this would be a means of conducting the affair to a successful issue Also that there were strong boats to be had there The proper course was for the victorious army to parade itself in front of the enemy and to raise a song of triumph, and that a party of alert and brave men should be nominated whom he would cross over the river during the night When the latter had nearly arrived the army should cross over in front of the enemy, and while the contest was at its height the detachment should appear and throw the enemy into dismay In accordance with this choice plan 300 warlike men under the command of Qasim 'Alī Sistānī and 'Arab Bahādur proceeded by the *desert of auspiciousness* Swift swimming couriers were appointed to convey one after the other the news of the crossing of the detachment and of its near approach When the world became illuminated by the effulgence of the light of Akbar (*naiyir i akbar*) and by the great luminary (*naiyir i a zam* i e, the sun), and it was known that that band of heroes had crossed

[1] The variant Champaran is probably correct

the river and were near at hand, Mozaffar Khān filled the boats with brave and experienced men and sent them across in front of the enemy under the command of Khwāja Shamsu d-dīn and Khudādād Barlās The slumbrous fated Afghans plyed guns and bows and made a commotion Just then the sound of the kettle drums and big drums (kurāka)[1] of the detachment struck upon their ear They were forced to take to flight A large number of these were killed, and Hājīpur was delivered A large amount of booty fell into the hands of the soldiers The rulers of Patna who from their evil nature had been spectators and not given assistance, felt ashamed Had this gang regarded the world adorning beauty of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, or possessed a share of practical wisdom, or picked up a crumb from the banquet of those who are faithful to their salt, they would not have gone counter to the business of their benefactor, nor have been involved in so much shame!

One of the instructive events is as follows When by the might of eternal fortune Hājīpur had been conquered, and the dignity of Mozaffar Khān had been exalted, it was reported by trustworthy scouts that Fath Khān Musāzai, Jalāl Khān 'Arabi, Selim Khān Barmih, Satri and Catrī and many presumptuous Afghans were assembled on the other side of the Madalia[2] Gandak Mozaffar Khān set out to quell them When he had encamped near the river he went off with a few of his staff to examine the river and to find a place for crossing Though the breadth of the channel is less than the cast of a dart,[3] it is very deep While he was looking for a ford, about 200 horse were seen on the other side, and Khwāja Shamsu d din, 'Arab Bahādur and a body of brave men were ordered to cross at a distance and to
138 chastise that insolent and negligent troop They went off, and the enemy becoming aware of this sent off for assistance When the detachment showed itself the horse turned their reins and retreated to their camp Mozaffar Khān swiftly crossed the river

[1] *Kurka*, P de Courteille 'espece de timbale

[2] The Lucknow edition has Badh Gandak and so have the Iqbālnāma and the I O MSS There is also the Little Gandak which is called Marha Gandak See Beames map A S B for 1885 p 182

[3] Gazandāz *Agaz* is a dart or arrow

and joined his detachment His sole thought was that he would not be under obligations to those who made a traffic of their service. Just then, the enemy who were retreating were reinforced and came forward to do battle. From the numbers of the enemy and the paucity of the imperial troops, and from ill-fate and the cowardice of the soldiers, the troops dispersed. Many of them in their confusion fell into the water and were drowned. Mozaffar Khān was nearly throwing himself into the waves Khwāja Shamsu-d-din seized his rein and went off towards the hill country,[1] and he sent a swift messenger to the camp, thinking that perhaps the strenuous heroes might come up. The enemy set themselves to pursue, and made a tumult Ḥājī Pahlwān, Khwāja Shamsu-d-din, 'Arab and some more companions—about fifty in number—continually turned round and used their bows. In this way they made the enemy slacken in their pursuit When day was far advanced (*lit.* put her head in her skirt) and Mozaffar Khān's position became more critical, the fortune of the Shāhinshāh shone forth, and victory showed itself.

The detail of this Divine aid is as follows. There was a noise in the camp that Mozaffar Khān was killed, and every one was about to fly into the country, when the messenger arrived They plucked up courage and set about remedying the state of things Khudādād Barlās, Mihr 'Alī and many other brave lovers of battle to the number of about 300 crossed the river and went forward. The same messenger conveyed the news of their approach They[2] scented the breeze of success, tightened their rein, and raised the dust of battle

Verse

Such fight and struggle were waged till night,
There was no hand which did not inflict a wound.
You'd say all the Age had come out (to fight),
That hill and plain had commingled.

At this time of life-shedding when the enemy in spite of victory were becoming feeble on account of the heat of their cuirasses and their great exertions, there was heard the noise of the

[1] *Kohistān*. Perhaps here the word means forest

[2] Mozaffar and his few companions

drums of the victorious army, and this at once robbed them of their courage. They fled together with their evil fortune that night, and by the celestial assistance the breeze of victory blew on the rose garden of the imperial servants' hopes Such a victory showed itself after such a defeat! Joy after pain painted the eyes with collyrium There was fresh life and salvation and abundant booty, and great rejoicing

One of the instructive occurrences was that Shaikh Jamāl of Parsarūr[1] was one of those who warred against the carnal soul While the contest was going on he fell on the ground and became insensible When he fell in with Moẓaffar Khān he performed the prostration towards the Shāhinshāh, and guided men to the recognition of this teacher of horizons When they inquired what had happened, he explained that when he was in a trance he had a vision of the world's lord (Akbar) being mounted on the steed of fortune and equipped for battle, and bringing the good news of victory The courage of the enemy had been scattered by the majesty of that cavalier of the field of glory "With the hand of kindness he raised me from the dust of unconsciousness and encouraged me, and I came to myself I became possessed of great power and I flew with the wings of (mystic) assistance and bought as a gift the news of fortune He turned their rein and made them seized of victory " When had those hirelings[2] of defeat the heart or the ear to listen to this celestial intimation? They regarded this demonstration of truth as a fabrication, or an imagination, and considered that it was impossible for them to escape from their terrible position What question then could there be of victory? Suddenly the victorious army arrived and gave news of fresh life to the despairing, and the delight of new honour to those who had given way By the shining of the Divine aid a lamp of vision was kindled for the superficial Those who by good fortune and farsightedness were, without having seen miracles, acquainted with the majestic qualities of the adorner of truth's assemblage (Akbar) and were worshippers of the wonders of power, returned

[1] J II 320 It is in Siālkot in the Panjab and is the Pasrūr of the I G Moẓaffar was once collector of this pargana

[2] *Rasmlān-i kaslmatī* Rasmī a pensioner or domestic, perhaps "those accustomed to defeat

thanksgiving to the Creator on beholding these lights of direction The faction who were wrapped in the veil of self-conceit and were sitting in darkness on the hill of presumption had a window of illumination opened for them Next day they went to the Afghans' village and plundered it They got immense booty, and the tumult of the wicked was at once quelled

Among the occurrences was that the Afghans aforesaid took refuge with Tāj Khān Panwār and recruited themselves By his evil planning the dust of sedition rose again, and abundance of wealth, want of wisdom, and a plethora of scoundrels led to a seeking for battle Moẓaffar Khān exercised caution and recrossed the Madaha Gandak He established himself in a place surrounded on three sides by that river, and on the fourth by a large tank He engaged in collecting soldiers and munitions of war The presumptuous gang waxed bolder from this retreat They pitched their camp (*daira*) in front of the imperial camp, but owing to the ruggedness of the ground nothing resulted except impotent longing, and the more they tried the deeper did the thorn of disappointment pierce the foot of their desire When for some days the fortune of the Shāhinshāh had sported in this manner, it again put on beauty Soldiers assembled and many of the landholders set their hearts on rendering assistance The construction of a bridge was rightly considered to be a means of victory, and so was put in hand Inasmuch as prudence is the ornament of good fortune it was considered that perhaps something bad might happen when the troops were crossing the river and were not in battle array So it was thought that during the night some active men should dig a trench in front of the bridge and make a bulwark with 140
the excavated earth so that the soldiers might have time to deploy No one was inclined heartily to engage in this enterprise When Khwāja Shamsu d din Khāfi perceived that the Turks were irresolute, and that the commander of the army was at a loss, he in his courage and efficiency took the task upon himself He carried it through in a short time The Afghans from feline craftiness left their camp empty and retired to a corner[1] with the idea that when the imperial army

[1] گرنج gurinj a wrinkle a corner There is the variant ترعهد and the Lucknow ed. has in ? gin ? baragh weir Gurinj seems right the

crossed they would think that the enemy had run away and so proceed to plunder the camp Perhaps at this time of negligence they would be able to prevail Moẓaffar K͟hān practised caution and appointed a large number of soldiers and camp-followers (*urdu-bazari ra*, men of the camp bazar) to provide for safety under the circumstances which the black hearted wretches had arranged for The Afghans became aware of what he had done and did not put their stratagem into execution When a large force (of Afghans) attacked those who had crossed, the infantry lost heart and fled Their cowardice weakened the spirit of the cavalry and they too broke The rush of the flyers broke the bridge, and they fell into the river About 300 horse and foot were drowned K͟hwāja S͟hamsu d dīn, Khudādād Barlās and other brave men who were ambitious of honour shot arrows and twice turned back the enemy The third time, when the zealous had come to be perturbed, an arrow struck the horse of Ḥusain K͟hān, the leader of the enemy, and he fell to the ground His men became confused, and no harm came to the tiger hearted defenders After much exertion the bridge was repaired, and the imperial servants crossed the river in a majestic manner The Afghans gave way and retired to Tāj K͟hān's strong position Moẓaffar K͟hān pursued them, and when the victorious army had nearly arrived, scouts reported that many of the Afghan officers were superintending in the neighbourhood the construction of a moat and did not imagine that the imperial army could march such a distance so quickly Moẓaffar K͟hān left K͟hudādād Barlās and some other strenuous men to protect the camp, and set about capturing those wicked and presumptuous men Suddenly he fell upon them, and after a brief engagement the breeze of Divine aid arose The enemy thought it best to fly and many of them e sent to annihilation Ḥājī K͟hān Pahlwān cut off the head of Tāj K͟hān Panwar without knowing who he was, and brought it in Jamāl K͟hān
41 G͟hilzī who was one of their noted men, was brought in alive and many were made prisoners[1] of the sword and caught in the noose A great boon of fortune was vouchsafed The darkness of night and the density of the forest prevented the commanders from laying

---

fact being that the Afghans hid themselves in an ambuscade

[1] Perhaps this means that some were beheaded and some hanged

hands on the abodes of the enemy But many brave men reached the spot and obtained much booty Next morning the army proceeded against the Afghan camp, and before it arrived the enemy fled in confusion and threw themselves into the river What they thought to be their safety was the cause of their destruction A number escaped with a hundred pangs from the whirlpool to the shore of safety, and the foundation of the scoundrels was devastated

One of the occurrences was that when this disturbance was quelled, Satri and Catri joined with some of the Afghans and took possession of the country of Tegra [1] That is a cultivated district thirty *kos* long and twenty *kos* broad, which lies opposite Monghyr from which it is separated by the Ganges On Mozaffar Khān's hearing of this commotion he took with him Wazīr Jamil, Khudā dād Barlās, Khwāja Shamsu d din, M Jalālu d din, Bunyād Beg Khan, Tengri Qulī and many other combative lovers of service and went off to extirpate this gang When he arrived there, the audacious ones prepared for battle A great fight took place, and Fath Khān, who was the head of those men, fell bravely together with 79 leading men, and that territory also came into possession

When the flag of Mozaffar Khān's fortune was waving high from his devotion and exertions, Mun'im Khān did not desire that he should remain in the province He sent an urgent message to him to the effect that he should immediately proceed towards the threshold of the Caliphate This order for leaving that fertile country came to him at a time when the period of labour and unsuccess had been put an end to and that of enjoyment had arrived

---

[1] I am indebted to the Collector of Monghyr Mr Adam for the identification of this name. The text has Magra مگره but there is the variant Tegra تگره and this occurs also in one I O MS I O MS. 235 has تکر without any dots It is clear then I think that the place meant is thāna Tegra on the N bank of the Ganges and on the N W bank of the Ganges and in the N W part of the Begum Serai Sub division In the Āin it is entered as in Sarkār Hājīpūr and under the form of Patkehra J II 155 But there is the variant Tekhra or Tegra and Mr Beames has identified Patkehra as the old pargana of Tegharā lying along the left bank of the Ganges and which he states is now known as Mulkī though the town of Tegharā still retains its old name Tegra is west of Monghyr town and nearly opposite Sūrajgarh

He was embarassed by this letter, for the sacred order was that whenever the Khān-Khānān gave him leave he was to hasten to the imperial court While he was in this state of inward disturbance, a gracious order arrived to the effect that the sole intention of H M 's apparent neglect was to guide him aright Let him not be troubled in his mind, and let him feel that he was regarded with real favour and be zealous in the performance of his services in that country If the Khān-Khānān gave him leave he should not come to court till he received an order summoning him On receipt of this revelation Moẓaffar Khān's devotion rose high and a spiritual window was opened for the superficial After rendering of thanks publicly and privately, he came to Hajipur and spread the carpet of enjoyment The pleasant paths of joy were trod anew As the jewel of his fidelity sparkled, and as he came from the arid desert of misunderstanding to the garden of appreciation, in a short time the day of his fortune appeared He became ardent in
142 good service The farsighted Khedive recognised his services, and his confidence in him increased He made over to him the guarding of that wide province from the ferry of Causa to Garhi An order was issued that the soldiers of that province, great and small, should act according to his advice He from his devotion and wisdom observed the canons of sovereignty and the laws of the Caliphate, and became an adorner of justice

One of the occurrences was H M 's showing graciousness to the officers of Gujrat The praiseworthy nature of the prince of horizons has flashes which assist those who are deficient members of the court of realm and religion He also exalts those who strive for sincerity to higher degrees of trust He continually by the elixir of his glance of favour extracts the gold from the earth, and the pearl from the mud, and regards the commingling of spiritual and material feasts as his duty Especially does he do so to those whose proper actions are a mirror of their heart's mysteries In a short space of time the faces of those who sit secluded are unveiled and clothed with beauty His increasing the dignity of the officers of Gujrat was a new instance of this

When in the first expedition the standards of fortune had cast the shade of justice over that country, this set of men had by the

guidance of their good fortune rubbed the foreheads of supplication But from the downfall of fortune and innate wickedness, as they had not loyalty in the core of their hearts, and their interior and exterior were not knit together and mutually supporting, many of them from short sightedness ran away, and others were on the point of doing so The Khedive of the Universe from his abundant graciousness, and his gift of appreciation, made allowance for the common nature of humanity, and for the special circumstance of the education of those darkened intellects, and for some time withheld them from employment In this august year he perceived in them signs of repentance and cast a special glance upon them. He distinguished 'Itimād Khān, who was conspicuous for prudence and gravity, by special favours and committed to him the charge of the Darbār[1] (*darbar-i-mushkoi*) in order that he might minutely supervise that great place which is an ensample of heavenly things Especially he had the charge of the jewels and decorated utensils. Ulugh[2] Khān Habshī was caressed and exalted by a suitable fief, and Malik[3] Ashraf was appointed to the governorship of the city of Thānesar, and Wajih-al mulk was sent to superintend certain crown-estates in Gujrat.

One of the occurrences was that Ṣādiq Khān came and did homage at court The Shāhinshāh's kindness accepted his excuses and encompassed him with favours In the expedition to the eastern provinces he had been punished for bad service and sent into the desert of exile so that he might learn wisdom by punish- 143
ment, and know that in the service of kings no distinction should be made between little and great employments, and that obedience must be paid with one's whole heart and energy. Although the sacred order ostensibly was that he should travel about in the desert of search and seek for a choice elephant, and that if he could not find one which could equal that incomparable one, he should

[1] The epithet *mashkoī* might seem to imply that 'Itimād was put in charge of the female apartments but this 'Itimād was not Itimād the eunuch and the context as well as the Iqbālnāma show that what Itimād was put in charge of was the receptions and the jewels etc See also B 386 and the Maaṣir I 97

[2] B 437

[3] Ashraf in text but the name has occurred before and is Ashraq and the variants show this

pay the penalty,[1] yet in reality he dismissed him to the school for learning devotion and knowledge of service, so that the pride of skill might depart from him, and that he might always choose supplication He in that time measured the heights and depths of fortune and then turned the face of discipleship to the holy court. By the prostration of repentance the rust was cleared from the jewel of his sincerity and he produced one hundred elephants as a fine As he clearly had marks of truthfulness he was received with forgiveness and favour. Who strove and did not obtain! Who made his heart clean, and did not get his heart's desire! He hath opened the door of bounty and given an invitation to all! One of the occurrences was that Ḥusain Khān showed ingratitude and received the recompense thereof To whomsoever comes a day of destruction and a time of affliction, there comes first a darkening of the reason His thoughts go to ruin and he thinks his loss his gain, and remains afar off from good actions, and turns aside from the highway of auspiciousness!

Verse

When a man's fortune is bad
Nothing that he does succeeds

A fresh proof of this is afforded by the commotion of this simpleton. He was formerly with Bairām K After that when he became a servant of the court, because the ocean of graciousness was commoved and the market of appreciation was brisk, his rashness was purchased at the rate of courage, and his election of service was taken to be sincerity, and he was encompassed by favours And though he did not know how to keep numbers[2] in order (had not administrative skill), still, in the hope that he would learn (or perhaps be grateful), he was given the lofty position of an Amir At the time when the august standards were about to proceed to the eastern provinces, his evil fate withheld him from that service, and when he brought an abashed countenance to

[1] Jarimāna "Fine See B 131

[2] Intiẓām i kaṣrat namī dānist "Did not know how to arrange multiplicities Probably the meaning is that he was an ascetic or recluse and not fit for social functions This Husain K is Badayuni's friend the Tukriya (Patchei)

court, the Khedive of the world, in punishment for his offence, refused him the bliss of paying his respects This was a time when he should have increased the zeal of his service, but from excessive atrabiliousness and inverted fortune, he broke the thread of consideration, and from abundant wilfulness he let the things of the world and the materials of fortune go to wreck and ruin, and took the path of solitude (tajarrad) The wise prince on beholding such lack of wisdom had compassion on his condition and bestowed favours on him, and released his *Jagir*, and sent him to arrange about "the branding" When he got further away from the carpet of intimacy he in the darkness of his understanding set about attacking and plundering the country From madness or from craft he would say that all his activity in this respect was in order to carry out the business of the branding! Plundering as he went, he hastened to Basantpur, which belongs to Sarkār Kumāon, 144
as the rumour of mines and of abundance in that country had raised a tumult in his mind Inasmuch as the stewards of creation have so ordained that the evil doers and evil devisers against the Caliphate should be strenuously active in procuring their own punishment so that they may get their retribution by their own instrumentality, this infatuated man hurried on his own ruin He lost the thread of plan and made war in that country without system and was defeated He was wounded by arrow and bullet, and had met with his retribution before the circumstances of his position were made known to the royal hearing When the news of his commotion arrived, Sādiq Khān together with some of the Saiyids of Barha and Amroha and others were sent to him Though owing to his severe wound he was somewhat cured of his infatuation and vain thoughts, he became still wiser on hearing of the victorious *force (of Akbar)* *The wicked vagabonds fled* away from him, and by the exertions of his well wishers he saw fit to get into a boat and be conveyed to Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān Perhaps by the intervention of the Commander in Chief his offences would be clothed with the scarf of pardon! He got into a boat in the confines of Garh[1] muktesar and went on quickly Alert

[1] Gadha muknessar in text It is an ancient town in the Meerut district and is situated on the Ganges S I G XII 162

CHAPTER XXVII

Visit to the Hijaz by some of the Veiled Ladies of the Caliphate 145

That veil of chastity, etc, Gulbadan Begam the paternal aunt of H.M. the Shāhinshāh had long ago made a vow to visit the holy places, but on account of the insecurity of the ways, and of the affairs of the world, she had not been able to accomplish her intention At this time when the delightsome country of India was an abode of peace, and the vagabonds' abode of Gujrat had become inhabited by right thinking lovers of justice, and the masters[1] of the European islands, who were a stumbling-block in the way of travellers to the Hijaz, had become submissive and obedient, and the renown of the justice and piety of the world's lord had spread from Qaf to Qāf, and the classes of mankind had, owing to H M's constant care and dispensing of justice, come into the reposeful home of peace, the luminary of longing arose in the orient of the heart of that shining chaste one and broke the repose of her noble mind As the rays of truth impinged upon the antechamber of the celestial soul (of Akbar), he, in spite of his close union with her, did not prefer his wishes to hers Moreover all his desire is that every class of mankind may become religious and worship God in accordance with the measure of their faith He sent with her a large amount of money and goods and gave her permission to depart In connection with this opportunity a number of inmates of the harem of fortune were also excited by the same longing, and the sovereign poured into the lap of each the money that they wanted and so made the burden of their desires light. The *names of the chaste ones who went in attendance* upon that unique one of the field of spirituality are as follows 1st—The veiled one of the curtains of fortune, Selima Sultān Begam, 2nd—and 3rd—Hāji Begam and Gul'azar Begam[2] the daughters of M

[1] *Amīrān i-jazāīr-i-firang Jazāīr* perhaps here means peninsulas or countries

[2] Kāmrān had three daughters, and Ferishta after mentioning Kāmrān's death tells us whom they married.

Presence. But those who did not belong to these two classes did not render hearty service, but from folly and conceit, and lethargy, thought that loss was gain and indulged in vain thoughts They took the path of sloth and accumulated eternal chastisement At this time, which was the smiling commencement of the springtide of dominion, the institution of the seven watches shed a ray on the antechamber of the holy soul All the servants who held office in the court were distributed into seven divisions, each of which was on guard for twenty-four hours One of the grandees was appointed to command each division so that he might superintend everything during that period, and arrange the diversity of affairs Also an accomplished courtier was made Mīr ʿArẓi (master of petitions) so that he might during the time of his watch represent
147 the petitions and request of mankind without reference to his own ease, and also the public be freed from the pain of waiting and from various troubles By this act of graciousness the classes of mankind attained their objects, and the wishes of the people which might have remained unspoken owing to the greatness of the Sultanate were brought before H M The rank of the loyal was exalted, the market of the talented became brisk, and there was a day of testing for the servants The slothful were guided to the domain of activity, and the ignorant and the speakers out of season emerged from their folly Fresh lustre was given to the court, and things were knit together

One of the occurrences was the decline[1] of the fortunate star of Mīrzā Koka Inasmuch as the royal graciousness had raised him from nothingness to the zenith of dignity, and had made him during long service a partaker in the secrets of the holy banquet, he was sommoned from Gujrat, post haste,[2] in order that the business of the branding might be begun with the leaders Another reason for summoning him was that M Sulaiman was preparing to come to court, and it was desired that M Koka should be present at the

[1] B. 326, top lines, *cf* Elliot V 393

Bādāyūnī says he was punished for speaking the truth about the branding the *Krorīs*, etc.

[2] The text has *bā aspān* with horses but the variant *ba aspbām* is probably correct, for Badāyūnī II 214 has *bā īlghār*

entertainment He arrived on the day of Ashtād 26 Mihr, Divine month, and was received with boundless favours As the ebullition of the favour of kings does not agree with every disposition, he from the wine of success, from his distance from the carpet of honour, and the crowd of flatterers, let his foot slip in the path of prudence In the first place he used language about the affair of the branding—which is the disciplinary ornament of mankind, and the mode of guidance to the right path—which men of ordinary prudence would not use, and was still less becoming in pure loyalists As the gracious sovereign had educated him like his obedient children he made as if he did not hear what he had said When good counsel was of no avail, H M, fearing in his love that he might fall into irreparable mischief, and might also lead others astray, joined the laws of supremacy with kindness and for a time degraded him from the position of an Amir From extreme caution he excluded him from his society and assigned him a place in his own[1] garden (i e, M Koka's) where he might abide in comfort with all his property, take a warning, and appreciate H M's kindness and teaching

One of the occurrences was that some persons from lack of understanding, and imitativeness, became senseless from wine drinking The royal clemency cured them When the institution of the branding became current the petty shop of fraud lost its custom The opportunity of service fell into the hands of the energetic whilst the slothful were depressed Those who had a warlike spirit and who from being honourable and fond of reputation looked after their servants had an opportunity of showing their talents From keen sightedness they performed the branding and so heightened their own fortune The worthless who were slaves to pelf and collected gold instead of troops fell into evil 148 case Among them, Shujāāt Khān, M 'Abdu-l lah, Mir M'uizzu l-Mulk, Qāsim Khān Kohbar, Dost Muhammad Bābā Dost, Muhammad Amīn the accountant (*ṣahib taujī*), were excluded from the Presence and sent to Bengal to Mun'im Khān Khānān in order that they might get fiefs there suitable to their condition. For the sublime nature deals thus with criminals, and clothes with the scarf of

[1] He was sent from Fatḥpūr to Agra and there kept under surveillance in his own garden.

beneficence the torn honour of such people Though superficialists thought this to be favour and a mark[1] of grace, yet those who had inward vision knew this to be great disfavour and a heavy punishment inflicted by displeasure For the pure hearted and devoted know no more excruciating torment than that of being excluded from the visible Presence, when this is the result of wrath Though the far-seeing ones of the spiritual world regarded this treatment of a faction who had not reached the high rank of pure devotion as a kind of graciousness, yet in the eyes of the masters of investigation, who are the special of the special in the symposium of wisdom, it is certain that to leave a mistaken crew to their own devices and to treat them as cured and so not administer medicine to them, but to abandon them to their own ideas, is one of the greatest methods of displeasure

[1] Perhaps this is allegorical The wine was the wine of infatuation The word *canīn* (this kind of) seems to refer to M Koka's obstinacy

CHAPTER XXVIII

M Sulaimān's proceeding towards the Shāhinshāh's Court

(This chapter begins with some reflections upon the final prosperity of the good, and the final ruin of the wicked which marked Akbar's reign The author then proceeds to state that the adventures of M Sulaimān are an instance of these things It is noteworthy that these reflections do not occur in the Lucknow edition They occupy over eleven lines)

From the time that H M Firdus Makānī conferred upon M Sulaimān the government of Badakhshān, he used to be obedient and did good service, but inasmuch as outward prosperity, evil company and the friendship of flatterers lower the lamp of wisdom 149
and dim the eye of counsel, wholesome truth speakers had no honour in his presence, and empty, evil disposed encomiasts were in great request He did not understand his own good, nor did he allow another to show it to him If any one from intensity of goodwill became his own enemy and uttered words of truth, he was obliged, on account of the prince's unwillingness to listen, to place his head in the collar of grief Accordingly as the Mirzā found the defiles of the hill country of Badakhshān too straitened for his desires, he dropped from his hand the thread of obedience From darkness of intellect and perversity of fortune he in the beginning of this reign raised the head of presumption, and gave himself the name of majesty (called himself king?) and formed the design of taking Kabul, as has already been briefly narrated Though the Khedive of the universe, owing to his being behind the veil, paid no attention to this, and the imperial servants, on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of the extensive country of India, did not regard it, yet the stewards of fate were there and, according to the measure of his deeds, gave him to drink of the wine of misfortune In order to complete retribution, and to illustrate the sublime graciousness of the Shāhinshāh, they caused him to visit as a pilgrim and a supplicant the gate of princes Inasmuch as I desire to water the garden of speech, I proceed to give some account of these calamities according as one after the other emerged

from the privy-chamber of destiny. The first was the arrival of the Khānim.[1] The dust of contention between her and Ḥaram Begam rose high, and the seed of savagery was sown in the land. Ḥaram Begam was the daughter of Sulṭān Wais of Kūlāb of the Qibcāq tribe and who rose[2] high by the patronage of Sulṭān Maḥmūd M. When they married her to M. Sulaimān she showed dexterity and skill in the administration of the country, and the management of the army, and her influence came to such a height that the Mirzā made over to her even the infliction of punishments (siāsathā), from the obligation of which he could not free himself[3] Khānim Muḥtarima had the name of Khānim and was the daughter of Shāh Muhammad Sultan Kāshgharī. She was married to M Kāmrān, and from Kabul was proceeding to Kāshghar On the way she passed through Badakhshān. M. Sulaimān's passions became roused and he sought her in marriage. Ḥaram Begam became jealous of her, and anticipated matters by giving her in marriage to her own son M. Ibrāhīm. From this time evil thoughts took possession of them (both). A brief account of these will be given. Another thing which disorganized Badakhshān was that this faction (the Khānim's) stained the skirt of Ḥaram Begam's chastity by insinuations about her and Ḥaidar 'Alī Beg who was her beloved brother. The Begam's great attention and kindness to him emboldened them to make such frivolous remarks. M Ibrāhīm from the intoxication of youth put that innocent man (Ḥaidar) to death merely on account of those scandal-mongers, and became subjected to eternal contri-
50 tion. Another cause of injury to the Badakhshīs was the Begam's predominance She acted without consideration or appreciativeness, and quitting altogether the path of policy—which is the foundation of social matters—paid no attention in her punishments to time and place, or to propriety. When the dust of the

1 The Khānim was the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad by Khadīja Sultān Khānim the fourth daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Khān, Babar's uncle (Mrs Beveridge's History of Humāyūn, p 247, and T R, Ross, 330) Her father was killed (T R, Ross p 452) and her mother had to leave Kashghar She died on the way to Badakhshān, and her children went on to Kabul where by Ḥaidar's influence Muḥtarima was married to Kamrān (T R, 451)

2 I think this clause refers to the father and not the daughter

3 Apparently the meaning is that he could not or should not have delegated such duty

fabricators of lies had been laid, the Begam mingled revenge with stratagem and exerted herself to destroy the officers of the kingdom who had spread the calumnious reports Among the things which caused loss to the inhabitants of the country was the fatal calamity of M Ibrāhīm, of which a short account has already been given When she heard of this heart breaking sorrow the Begam became indignant with all the Badakhshians who were in the expedition, She abused the Khānim, and treated her advent as a bad omen and often said to her in private and public conversations, "You were a traveller, I picked you up, intending to do you good, and I cherished you I did not know your qualities" Such was the language she used, and which only the foolish indulge in Her sole idea was that the Khānim would be disgusted by such treatment and would go to Kāshghar, and that she herself would bring up Shāhrukh The Khānim from apprehensions of being separated from Shāhrukh cast aside all other considerations and treated those cutting reproaches as if she heard them not But she always indulged in the luxury of the thoughts of revenge Another thing which increased the internal dissensions (*nifaq*) of the people of Badakhshān was the arrival of Cucak Khānim the wife of 'Abdu r-Rashid Khān of Kashghar with her two sons Ṣūfi Sulṭān [1] and Abu S'aid Sulṭān for the purpose of mourning for M Ibrāhim After her condolences and sympathy were offered, Haram Begam's mourning was taken off, but when the ceremony was over she from excessive grief resumed it Cucak Khānim was displeased at this, and set herself to blaming her, and being nearly related to the Khānim she espoused her cause She often said that Haram Begam should not abandon ancestral customs (tora), and should not abate one tittle of the respect due to the Khānim, and should take [2] a lower seat in assemblies

[1] This chapter adds something to the information given in T R Ross and Elias p 120 Sūfi Sulṭān s proper name according to Mr Elias was Adham Sultan and he was the fifth son of Abdu r Rashīd Cūcak must have come to Badakhshān during her husband s life if she came to condole with M Sulaimān and Ḥaram for their son s death for he was killed in 967 and according to Mr Elias 'Abdu r-Rashīd did not die till 973 The name of Abu S aīd as a son is not mentioned by Mr Elias but Raḥīm is

[2] Pustī batalabad The I O MSS have peshī natalabad 'should not demand the chief place

Another thing which rekindled the fire of dissension among the Badakhshians was that Mīr Niẓāmī[1] Atālīq of M Shāhrukh and a large number of the nobles of Badakhshān, and Shaikh Bābāi Wālī—who craftily made the garb of a dervish the tongue of his mendacity—raised up Sūfī Sulṭān the son of Cūcak B the wife of 'Abdu r Rashīd Khān of Kāshghar, and in the abode of trickery of the said dervish, which they called a hospice (*khānqah*), took an oath together that they would erase the entry of Ḥaram Begam's life from the book of the world (would kill her) and would consign M Sulaimān to the corner of contempt At this time one of the conspirators disclosed the plot to the Mīrzā (Sulaimān) Immediate-

151 ly the latter hastened off to Farkhār[2] along with Waqqāṣ Sulṭān who was an excellent hostage, and Ḥaram Begam went off to Kūlāb in order that she might prepare for war and obtain a remedy against the intrigues of the Kāshgharians When the Khānim (Cūcak apparently) heard of this crime (the conspiracy) she felt ashamed and sent for the presumptuous intriguer (Sūfī Sulṭān) and reproached him The misguided young man answered that his foot had slipped on account of the evil imaginations of Mīr Niẓāmī and some of the evil disposed Badakhshīs and of that fair seeming but inwardly bad dervish Cūcak Khānim was ashamed and went off with her sons to Kāshghar She wrote a letter of excuse in which she narrated her own innocence and the evil thoughts of that stirrer up of strife (Mīr Niẓāmī ?) When M Sulaimān learnt the real facts he sent prudent men and made his apologies (for suspecting Cucak B) and asked for an interview Cucak Khānim sent Sūfī Sulṭān and her people to Kashghar, and for purposes of union halted with 'Abu S'aid Sulṭān and Raḥīm Khān The Mīrzā and Ḥaram Begam came there and held a friendly banquet In order to strengthen the foundations of concord the Khānim[3] married her eldest daughter to Abu S'aīd

[1] Called Mīr N ẓā ai at A N III 267 and described as husband of Muḥtarima's daughter Mihmān B

[2] Described in the Ghiāṣ al loghāt as a town in Turkestān celebrated for the beauty of its inhabitants

[3] Sic in text but clearly Khānim is a mistake here for Ḥaram The Khānim (Muḥtarima) had not Rustāq in her gift However it would appear from the sequel that the term Khānim is also applied to Ḥaram.

Sultān and gave Rustāq as her dowry When the friendship had been cemented, Cucak Khānim made over her son (Abu S'aīd) to the Mirzā and went off to Kashghār The Mirzā set himself to punish the sedition mongers He sent many to the pit of annihilation and imprisoned others The dervish and his crew he pilloried (tashhir) and expelled from the country. A number fled with great quickness out of the country

Another thing that increased the distress of the Badakhshiāns was Haram Begam's bestowing the government of Kūlāb on Nadim Qabbuzi. This caused a disturbance in that country, and was disagreeable to the army of Kulāb From the want of true affection and respect they raised up 'Abdu l Ghaffur the son of Jahāngir 'Ali Beg the brother s[1] son of the Begam, who was in Qarātagin, and put Nadim to death Haram Begam took M. Shāhrukh from Qandūz, and Ābū S aīd Sultān from Rustāq, with her, and marched against Kūlāb The rebels fortified themselves in Qarātagin, and the Begam set herself to besiege it Mir Aflātun, who was her general, crossed the river and blockaded the country. 'Abdu l Ghaffur and some of the garrison fell upon him, and he was killed Just then the Kūlābis in the Begam's army cast the dust of faithlessness on their heads by deserting to the enemy. The Begam was compelled to make a rapid retreat, and 'Abdu-l-Ghaffur was wicked enough to pursue her He came up with the Khānim (i e, Haram) and M Shahrukh, but as there was some good in his disposition he only plundered her property and honourably released her She was in consternation at her misfortunes when suddenly M Shahrukh appeared and drove away her grief. She said to him, "My husband left your father among the enemy and hurried off, and I left you among the rebel-crew and ignorantly 15
fled in haste May God forgive me for it!" In a short space of time she joined M Sulaimān and his army and proceeded against Kūlāb 'Abdu l lah took refuge in Qirghīz, but his goods and chattels fell into the hands of his enemies

Another cause of mischief in Badakhshān was when by the exertions of M Hakim and the leaders of that country the servants of M Sulaimān were turned out in a wretched condition from

[1] The meaning is apparently that 'Abdu l Ghaffur was the Begam s nephew

Afghanistan, as has already been described M Sulaimān came to *Kabul, and when he did not succeed, he turned back* He imprisoned Muhammad Quli Shighāli and some others who had shown slackness in their ser ice Some of them he caused to be beaten, and some he censured, and he took away from Muhammad Quli *the governorship of* Qunduz and *gave it to Hājī* Taman *Beg*. Qanghar Bāī, Yusuf Quli, Bir Kacī Khāksār, S'aid Beg his son, Hāji Fakhrgī, Bāqi Beg and a number of others fled to Hāji Taman Beg, and that wretch joined in with those ungrateful and evil servants They also in collusion with the Khānim put forward the seven years old M Shāhrukh, and raised the dust of sedition Their sole thought was to obtain for M Shāhrukh the country which had belonged to M Ibrāhim, so that another shop (of intrigue) might be established, and that there might be a splendid asylum for the ill conditioned When M Sulaimān heard of the sedition mongering of this crew he proceeded against them They shut the door of the fort and took steps to defend themselves The siege (of Qunduz) lasted for about forty days By the strenuous exer*tions of M Sulaimān, and the efforts of some right thinking persons,* M Shāhrukh waited upon the Mīrzā, and the whole of that iniquitous crew were seized The Mirzā bound these wicked, fly-like men and sent them to Qarātagin There they colluded with the garrison and brought Mihr 'Āli, who was governor of Qaratagin, to disgrace No one had yet been appointed as chief when the officers of Qarātagin said to those presumptuous and evil disposed men, ' Neither we nor you have any one who is fit to be chief one of two things must be done, either do you bring M Shahrukh in order *that we may elect our service in his presence, or you must* depart from this country and manage your affairs yourselves" The matter came so far that they sought to seize the faction They became helpless and hurried off to Balkh as supplicants Haram Begam sent presents to the governor there and requested him to punish them The gang escaped by the intervention of Shaikh Husain of Khwarizm and came to Kabul Owing to discord, and vacillation of opinions Ḥaji Taman Beg and some others turned back and hastened to Badakhshān S aid Badakhshi, Tengrī Bardī Qūshbegi, Hājī Beg Bāqī Beg and some others turned towards the world protecting court When this commotion subsided,

Muhammad Quli's favour was increased, and Qundūz was given to him Shāh Tayib, who was nearly related to Haram Begam, was made atālıq (guardian) to the Mirzā (Shāhrukh)

One of the occurrences which might prove the retribution of M 153
Sulaimān for his ingratitude was this that the sedition mongers again made M Shāhrukh a pretext for commotion The brief account of this is that 'Abdullah Khān the ruler of part of Turān set about seizing Hisār The people of Hisār asked help from M Sulaimān The Mirzā, in order to keep up the tie of relationship which he had recently formed, and also from consideration of the opinions of farsighted persons who thought that if the country were absorbed by 'Abdullah Khān the war would reach him, determined to collect the Badakhshān army and proceed thither He was engaged in the work of administration and in putting his army into order and had made over the Passes to experienced men, when owing to the quarrelsomeness and evil nature of Muhammad Quli Shighālī, who was the prime minister, words were uttered by him which were unfitted for the occasion At such a time when Muhammad Quli should have supported him, he in his wickedness preferred all sorts of demands, as is the way of the empty headed When the Mīrzā saw this bad behaviour, he was at first amazed and then reproached him for his improper language In the same assembly he sent trustworthy men to summon Haram Begam in order that he might make him over to her for punishment Muḥammad Quli became confused and came away from the meeting, pretending that he had a pain in his belly He went off to Qunduz in order that he might fortify it and engage in strife He sent his younger brother Khwāja Beg to Tāliqān in order that he might renew the old compact with the Khānim and get hold of M Shahrukh, and stir up the dust of strife That strife monger combined with Mullā 'Ali and Mast 'Ali, who were in the Khānim's service, and plotted evil things The Khānim and M Shahrukh, who was now fifteen years of age, left Taliqān on the pretext of going for an excursion Shāh Tayib became suspicious at this departure, and quickly arrived and kept a look out Mullā 'Alī, Mast 'Ali, Jahāngir Beg, Muharram Beg Pir Quli, Khāki Khānazād and some other wicked men represented to the Khānim that Shāh Tayib was alone and that they ought to finish him But from fear

fly-like men and went off to Tāliqān When he came there every one who was with M. Sulaimān wickedly took the path of faithlessness and went over to M Shāhrukh Those wicked men got their opportunity and exerted themselves to utter gold-incrusted words and to lead that simple-minded one astray. In spite of their urgency the Mirzā did not drop the thread of righteousness, and begged permission to wait upon M Sulaimān. He replied, "Let the Khānim come first and solace my heart. After that come you and be the light of my eyes" M Shāhrukh agreed to the wish He hastened to pay his respects, and waited upon M. Sulaimān While they were in Tāliqān, M Sulaimān, from excessive suspicion, would not for some time allow the Khānim to depart from his presence Muhammad Qūlī and his brethren out of wickedness behaved harshly to the Mirza's (Sulaimān's) men, and M. Shāhrukh suitably rebuked some of them He also gave a great banquet, and in the banqueting hall promises and oaths were interchanged It was determined that Shāhrukh M. would never leave the highway of doing what was well pleasing to M. Sulaimān

When solemn oaths had been taken, M Sulaimān said that during the lifetime of M Ibrāhīm he had a desire to visit the Hijāz and to circumambulate the holy places, and that now the same desire was disturbing his soul His wish was that they should part on good terms, and that the division (of territory) which had been made should be adhered to M Shāhrukh from goodness and reverence hesitated to grant this request And as imagination—the sovereign—had great predominance, every supplication which M Shāhrukh made was regarded by M Sulaimān as something different and sinister When nothing could pacify M Sulaimān, M Shāhrukh was compelled to take leave of him with all reverence and to
156 allow him to depart with his property From there M Sulaimān came to Kabul, and his whole idea was to form some alliance and so take revenge on M Shāhrukh If Hakim M would help him, he would return and exact vengeance, and if he could stir up strife in Kabul, he would attempt to do so, and make this a help towards his recovering Badakhshān. Otherwise he would go to the Shāhinshāh's court and there try to carry out the secret objects of his heart. When M Hakīm perceived the

day of Amardad 7 Ābān, Divine month (middle of October 1575), and all the insignia of royalty appeared before the Mīrzā He dismounted and came hastily forward The illustrious Shāhinshāh who made the increase of worldly dignities a motive for increased humility and friendliness dismounted and performed the *kornish* The Mīrzā performed the prostration (*sijda*), and was exalted by favours All at once, the grief of former wanderings, the sorrows caused by the recalcitrance of Shāhrukh M, the bad behaviour of Hakīm M and the distracting influences of exile were erased from his heart From that place he returned with a heart full of thankfulness, and a tongue full of praise The Mirzā had the bliss of being nearly associated with H M, and became enrolled among his followers The sovereign returned to his palace, and there was a great banquet

Verse

They prepared a wondrous banquet hall
In it was an abundant feast
In every corner were the beauties of China and Chigal[1]
They robbed the senses and seduced the soul

(*six lines of rhetoric*)

In that feast the Shāhinshāh opened the hand of liberality and conferred boundless favours on the Mirzā and on all the visitors Inasmuch as the whole idea of the Mirzā was to get the government of that hilly country—Badakhshān—he was gladdened by the news that this desire of his would be gratified He was informed that the armies of the Panjab would shortly be despatched under the command of Khān Jahān, and that they would soon bring Badakhshān into the Mirzā's possession The Mirza performed the prostration and became partaker of perpetual joy

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal came and performed the prostration on the day of Debādin 23 Ābān, Divine month He brought as a present fifty four noted elephants, and rarities from Bengal, which had been obtained in the battle of Takaroi and at the time of the peace He described the events of the country in accordance with what has already been related He

[1] A town in Turkestan famous for the beauty of its youth

was the recipient of various favours Financial and territorial matters were entrusted to him, and he was made Mashrif i-dīwān [1] He served with honesty and the absence of avarice There was no cupidity in his administration Would that he had not been spiteful and revengeful so that a little opposition [2] would cause dislike to spring up in the field of his heart and acquire strength and substance. Such a quality is considered by the wise to be one of the worst qualities in a man especially in an administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted, and who has been selected as the vakil of such a world lord If bigotry in religion had not coloured his nature he would not have had so many bad qualities But in spite of these defects, if we look to the nature of men in general, in fulness of courage (*serdili*) absence of avarice—that market was always flat with him—in the performance of service, in diligence and skill he was a man such as is seldom seen, or rather he was incomparable [3]

One of the occurrences was that the territory of Gadha was taken from Rai Sarjan [4] and given in fief to Ṣādiq Khān who was sent there to take charge of it To Rai Sarjan was given the fief of Cunār

Another occurrence was that M'aṣūm Khān [5] came from Afghanistan and entered into service He was given high rank and sent to Bihār He belonged to the Saiyids of Turbat in Khurāsān His paternal uncle Mir 'Azīz [6] had been in the service of H M Jahānbānī and had attained to the rank of vizier He stood to M Ḥakīm in the relation of *Kokaltash* (foster brother) He was renowned for bravery and thoroughness Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī, from a

[1] B VII

[2] Bayāzīd Biyat M S I O 132a mentions an instance of Todar Mal's religious feelings when he punished Bayāzīd, with justice apparently for breaking down a temple at Benares and converting it into a Madrasa. Afterwards when Bayazīd on his return from Mecca got a pargana, Todar Mal rack rented him Perhaps A F was thinking of Todar Mal's conduct to Shāh Manṣūr He put him in prison and in chains and afterwards reported him to Akbar He also perhaps had to do with his murder

[3] See B 431 n 1

A F also represents Todar Mal as prejudiced against *Qāẓī Alī* Baghdādī

[4] B 409 Gadha is Gadha-Katanga, i.e Jabalpūr

[5] B 143 n 1

[6] The Mir Azīz Ullah Turbatī of B 527

day of Amardad 7 Ābān, Divine month (middle of October 1575), and all the insignia of royalty appeared before the Mīrzā He dismounted and came hastily forward The illustrious Shāhinshāh who made the increase of worldly dignities a motive for increased humility and friendliness dismounted and performed the *kornish* The Mīrzā performed the prostration (*sijda*), and was exalted by favours All at once, the grief of former wanderings, the sorrows caused by the recalcitrance of Shāhrukh M, the bad behaviour of Hakīm M and the distracting influences of exile were erased from his heart From that place he returned with a heart full of thankfulness, and a tongue full of praise The Mīrzā had the bliss of being nearly associated with H M, and became enrolled among his followers The sovereign returned to his palace, and there was a great banquet

Verse

They prepared a wondrous banquet hall
In it was an abundant feast
In every corner were the beauties of China and Chigal[1]
They robbed the senses and seduced the soul

(six lines of rhetoric)

In that feast the Shāhinshāh opened the hand of liberality and conferred boundless favours on the Mīrzā and on all the visitors Inasmuch as the whole idea of the Mīrzā was to get the government of that hilly country—Badakhshān—he was gladdened by the news that this desire of his would be gratified He was informed that the armies of the Panjab would shortly be despatched under the command of Khān Jahān, and that they would soon bring Badakhshān into the Mīrzā's possession The Mīrza performed the prostration and became partaker of perpetual joy

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal came and performed the prostration on the day of Debādin 23 Ābān, Divine month He brought as a present fifty four noted elephants and rarities from Bengal, which had been obtained in the battle of Takaroi and at the time of the peace He described the events of the country in accordance with what has already been related He

[1] A town in Turkestan famous for the beauty of its youth

was the recipient of various favours Financial and territorial matters were entrusted to him, and he was made Mashrif i-dīwān[1] He served with honesty and the absence of avarice There was no cupidity in his administration Would that he had not been spiteful and revengeful so that a little opposition[2] would cause dislike to spring up in the field of his heart and acquire strength and substance Such a quality is considered by the wise to be one of the worst qualities in a man, especially in an administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted, and who has been selected as the vakil of such a world-lord If bigotry in religion had not coloured his nature he would not have had so many bad qualities But in spite of these defects, if we look to the nature of men in general, in fulness *of courage (serdili), absence of avarice—that market was always* flat with him—in the performance of service, in diligence and skill he was a man such as is seldom seen, or rather he was incomparable[3]

One of the occurrences was that the territory of Gadha was taken from Rai Sarjan[4] and given in fief to Sādiq Khān who was sent there to take charge of it To Rai Sarjan was given the fief of Cunār

Another occurrence was that M'aṣūm Khān[5] came from Afghanistan and entered into service He was given high rank and sent to Bihār He *belonged to the Saiyids of Turbat* in Khurāsān His paternal uncle Mir 'Azīz[6] had been in the service of H M Jahānbānī and had attained to the rank of vizier He stood to M Ḥakīm in the relation of *Kokaltash* (foster brother) He was renowned for bravery and thoroughness Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī, from a

[1] B VII

[2] Bayāzīd Bīyat M S I O 132a mentions an instance of Todar Mal's religious feelings when he punished Bayāzīd, with justice apparently for breaking down a temple at Benares and converting it into a Madrasa. Afterwards when Bayazīd on his return from Mecca got a pargana, Todar Mal rack rented him Perhaps A F was thinking of Todar Mal's conduct to Shāh Manṣūr He put him in prison and in chains and afterwards reported him to Akbar He also perhaps had to do with his murder

[3] See B 431 n 1

A F also represents Todar Mal as prejudiced against Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdādī

[4] B 400 Gadha is Garha-Katanga i.e. Jabalpur

[5] B 142 n 1

[6] The Mir [illegible] B 527

cloud on his mind which happens to worldlings, on a slight suspicion endeavoured to destroy him From far sightedness he came to *court, and was received with the glance of favour*

In the same year Mir Saiyid [1] Muhammad Mir 'Ādil was given the government of Bhakar

One of the occurrences was that Jalāl Khan [2] quaffed his last draught It has already been mentioned that he was sent to assist the army of Siwāna When he came to Mirtha, Sultān Singh and Rām Singh the brothers of Rai Rai Singh, and 'Ali Quli the relation of Shāh Quli Khan Mahram, sent a message that they had in accordance with H M's orders addressed themselves to the uprooting of Candar Sen, but that owing to the hilliness of the country, the difficulties of the roads, and the crowd of audacious men, he was making great resistance, and that it was time for help to arrive Jalāl Khan marched quickly to that quarter Candar Sen took to vulpine tricks on the arrival of this army, and had recourse to stratagem The imperialists saw through his design and marched against him, and he took refuge in the mountain of Kanūja (?) [3] and came forward to fight A large number were killed, and when his glory was discomfited, he of necessity retreated to the folds of the hills
9 The officers entered victoriously into the fort of Rāmgarh [4] At this time one of the crafty spirits represented that he was Debī Dās Vagabonds gathered round him Many were certain that Debi Dās was killed at Mirtha in the battle with M Sharafu d din Husain At this time the claimart gave out that he was wounded in that *engagement, and had lain on the ground nearly dead* A benevolent hermit had taken him on his shoulders and conveyed him to his cell, and had there applied plasters to his wounds and had healed them He had then gone in attendance on the hermit to visit holy shrines Now the hermit had given him leave, and he had again put upon his shoulders the scarf of social life Some believed his story and some repudiated it He joined Jalāl Khān in order that he might do good service and his name be reported to the Shāhinshāh Suddenly fortune, the juggler, played another trick

---

1 B 438

2 B 475

3 In some MSS it is Kan ca Q i Is it the hill near Gūndoj ment oned in Rajputana Gazetteer II 223 ?

4 In Ja p r 100 m N W Jaipūr

The short account of this is as follows When they were in hot pursuit of Candar Sen, that fabricator represented that the ruined wanderer (Candar Sen) was in the fief of Kalā the son of Rām Rai, his (Candar's) own brother's son, and that his face was turned towards the wall of contempt (i e, was in a wretched condition) The victorious army hastened to the spot Kalā from ill fatedness maintained that Candar Sen was not there, and by fraud and deception won over Shimāl Khān to his side and set about ruining Debi Das Shimāl one day brought him to his house and was about to seize him, but he bravely got out of that whirlpool As he had come to despair of the imperial troops, he craftily went to Kalā and became his companion On the day of Shahriyūr 4 Āzar, Divine month, November 1575, when the imperial soldiers had gone off in various directions, the lamp of the vision of Debi Das and some other daring and presumptuous ones was extinguished while they were seeking to glut their vengeance They took Jalāl Khān's quarters to be Shimāl Khan's and attacked them He fought bravely but without arrangement, and yielded up the coin of his life The evil doers went from there to Shimāl Khān's tent, and just then Jaimal came up with many combatants and quelled the disturbance When this catastrophe was reported to H M, he appointed Saiyid Ahmad, Saiyid Hāshim and a number more of the Saiyids of Bārha to chastise the presumptuous men of that region They did good service, and put down the rebels [1]

[1] This chapter is chiefly taken up with the affairs of Badakhshān, and it gives many interesting details about the history of that country There is an amount of feminine gossip in it which makes one think that A F is here copying from some lady's memoirs Perhaps it represents a missing part of Gulbadan Begam's memoirs? Presumably Muḥtarima did not marry Ibrāhīm M till after the death of her first husband M Kāmrān This occurred in the end of 964 (1557) Two periods are referred to in the chapter, one when Shahrukh was 7 years old, and the other when he was fifteen Ibrāhīm his father was killed in 967 and apparently Shāhrukh was born in that or the following year The character given of him by A. F corresponds with that given him by Jahāngīr in his memoirs He married Shukranisa, a daughter of Akbar His mother died in 993

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Entrusting of the Government of Bengal to Khān Jahān.

On the day of Māris̤fand 29 Ābān, Divine month, reports came from Bengal to the effect that Mun'im Khān had died on the day of Khūr 15 Ābān, Divine month (23 October 1575)[1] and that Dāūd had wickedly broken his oath and taken to rebellion, and that the officers from want of wisdom and envy had not stood their ground, but had abandoned that fine country without a battle They were now, it was said, at the parting of the ways, and in confusion in the desert of bewilderment They neither thought of staying where they were, nor had the courage to proceed to the holy threshold

The brief account of this instructive occurrence is that when Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān had made peace he hastened to Ghorāghāt, and quelled the disturbance there From there he returned, and made habitable the city of Gaur which formerly was the capital This he did both that the army might be near Ghoraghat, which was a fountain of sedition, and might entirely put down commotion there, and also that he might restore this delightful place, which had a noble fort, and magnificent buildings. He did not notice that the atmosphere of the place had acquired poisonous[2] qualities in consequence of the vicissitudes of time and of the decay of the buildings, especially at the time of the end of the rains, when there is a change of climate (*ābgardish*) in most of the districts of Bengal. Though those acquainted with the character of the country stated the facts, their remarks were not listened to He adopted the ordinary kind of resignation and so kept a world in the whirlpool of annihilation The resignation which is practised by the elect of the palace of inquiry consists in observing the dictates of deliberation, and the glory of wisdom—which are the sentinels of the mate-

---

[1] The date given in Bayāzīd Biyāt's Memoirs is the night of Monday, 18 Rajab, 983, which is equal to 23 October 1575, 15 Ābān should be 25 or 26 October The Maāsir I 644 does not give the full date

[2] Cf Jarrett II, 120

rial world—and then leaving the result of their skill to the incomparable Deity, and not to reason and outward causes On this account [1] Ashraf Khān, Haidar Khān, M'uinu d din Aḥmad Khān Farankhudi, Lāl Khān, Hāji Khān Sistāni, Hāshim Khān, Muhsin Khān, Hāji Yusuf Khān, Qanduz Khān, Mirzā Quli Khān, Abu l-hasan, Shāh Ṭāhir, Shāh Khalīl, and many other officers, each of whom was a proper soldier and a world conqueror, fell asleep on the bed of annihilation, and the thought of death took hold of everyone Though in that year there was a strong wind of destruction in all the eastern provinces which shook the pillars of life, in that city it amounted to a typhoon

As the Khān Khānān had acted contrary to the opinion of many, he stuck to what he had said and did not take warning But when the mortality exceeded calculation, and he perceived the wretched state of affairs, he applied himself to remedy matters At this time the news came that Junaid was beginning to raise a disturbance in Bihār, so that a motive of coming away from that valley of annihilation presented itself He left that city of calamities with the intention of crossing over to Bihār It was a still more extraordinary thing that he did not suffer in that typhoon of plague which was fraught with evil to the generality, but as soon as he came to Tānda he died after a little illness [2] On account of this there was great

---

[1] See list in B 376 Ashraf Khān was a noted calligrapher and is mentioned in A. F s Inshā, cf B 101 and n 6 and p 389

[2] Mun im Khān was over eighty when he died (Badayūnī 221) It will be seen that he died at Tānda and not, as commonly stated at Gaur There is some account of the plague at Gaur in Bāyazīd Bīyat p. 147a He says the pestilence was aggravated by the intemperance of the army

There is a long and good account of Mun im Khān in the Darbārī Akbarī p 229 et seq His son died before him and according to Badayūnī all his wealth went into the exchequer The Maaşir I 635 has a long account of Mun im and says p 645 that the enduring offspring of Mun im is the bridge he built at Jaunpūr over the Gūmtī in 981 (1573) The bridge is still standing Stewart in his history of Bengal 162 note mentions the interesting fact that in 1773 a brigade of British troops sailed over the bridge which suffered no damage from the violence of the current See also an account of the building of the bridge etc, in the Darbārī Akbarī, p 2.0 etc

The exact date of Mun im s death seems uncertain A F only give

uneasiness in the army Although the officers appointed Shuham Khan as commander, and the eunuch I'timād Khān, who was dis
161 tinguished for sense and judgment, put upon his shoulder the scarf of dexterity, yet on account of the want of harmony among the leaders, and the imaginations of the generality, and the small capacity of most of the advisers, and the flames of the dissentients, there was no unity in the deliberations Daūd's evil spirit was aroused by hearing of these quarrels, and he snatched the veil of honour from his face and broke his engagements He besieged Nazr Bahadur in the town of Bhadrak, and after inducing him by promises to surrender, he put him to death Murad Khān let the foot of his courage slip from the city of Jalesar (Jellasor) and came to Tanda without fighting a battle At this time of confusion 'Īsa Zamindar fell upon Shah Bardī, who had charge of the boats and the artillery of the province Though he put forth the foot of courage and raised the standard of victory, yet out of excessive apprehension he left *that country and joined the officers with the artillery and the* flotilla The chiefs of the victorious army on account of their being disgusted with the country, and the want of right thinking dropped from their hands the thread of work They crossed the Ganges and came towards Gaur The whole soul of those paltry minded men was engaged in carrying their acquisitions out of that country (Bengal), while outwardly they said, "When we have put the river between us and the enemy, we shall give our minds to fighting, and then the Qāqshals from Ghorāghāt will join us" When they had crossed the river, Qutlaq Qadam produced a lying[1] letter (*muzauwir nama*) and spread unpleasing reports about the world's lord Those friends of pelf, foes of fame (azdostān, nāmus dushman) used this false statement as their credentials and went off towards Bihār by

the date according to the Persian Calendar Elliot V 395 wrongly has Safar instead of Rajab The T A and also apparently Badayūnī (who copies the T A) only gives the month for the ten days are those of the illness and not of the month Bayāzīd has the night of Monday 18 Rajab (983)

The Iqbālnāma says distinctly that he was ill for ten days and died on the eleventh day It also gives *Tānda as the place of death*

[1] The Iqbālnāma calls it *Kitab jālī*, a forged book or letter

way of Purniya and Tirhut They gave up such a fine country without regarding it Still stranger! Adam Lajband, who at this time had brought firmāns from H M to the Khan Khānan and the Bengal officers, from wickedness and the instigation of evil men appropriated to himself the elephants and other property of Mun im Khān He opened a thousand doors of plundering and gave out that he was by orders of the Shahinshāh taking measures for the preservation of the goods In reality he was sunk in cupidity and was enriching his house for his own harm and by his own efforts arranging for himself the materials of eternal ruin[1]

When these occurrences came to the royal hearing he thought that he might entrust Bengal to M Sulaimān, so that he might in that fine country amend his misfortunes, and accumulate happiness of life Should he, under those circumstances, wish for the headship (*sirdari*) of Badakhshān, and if the being in that Highland country had taken possession of his mind, that desire would be easily gratified The high wind of M Sulaiman's passion for revenging himself on M Shahrukh, and of his overweening affection for the stony land of his birth extinguished the lamp of plan and deliberation The notes of joy did not appear on his forehead when 162
he heard of this great boon The world's lord pardoned the simpleton and gave him the glad tidings of the gratification of his petty wishes But inasmuch as it is inscribed on the portico of world rule that urgent enterprises should be preferred to ordinary ones, and that the principles of sovereignty must not be abandoned, H M directed Khan Jahān, who was prepared with a victorious army to proceed to the conquest of Badakhshan, to march to Bengal and to conquer and clear that country He imparted to him instructions which were calculated to soothe mankind and to be well pleasing to God On the night of Isfandarmaz 5 Āzar,[2] Divine month, about 15 November, 1575, he was dismissed to that country after his dignity had been increased by great favours Rajah Todar Mal, who was an able and experienced man, was appointed to accompany him,

[1] Bayāzīd Biyāt Mem 147*a* describes how he went to Gaur after Mun im s death and the difficulty he had in securing the property

[2] This must be the date of issuing the order of appointment The news of Mun im s death only came on the 29th of the previous month (Ābān), and Akbar s first thought was to appoint Sulaimān

and an order was given that all the Bengal officers and land holders should regard Khān Jahān as the executor of the orders of the Caliphate and should consider his will and pleasure as those of the sovereign, and should properly exert themselves for the conquest and civilisation of the country The government of the Panjab was taken from him and given to Shāh Quli Khān Mahram who was renowned among the brave and right-thinking

Khan Jahān addressed himself to service according to the rules of the loyal and fortunate The Bengal officers had reached the neighbourhood of Bhagalpur when the victorious army arrived there The bewilderment of those self-interested men increased. They were not inclined to turn back and co-operate (with Khān Jahān) and they could not venture to proceed to court Most of them threw off the veil of shame, and eloquently discoursed upon the refractoriness of the people, the pestilential atmosphere of the country, and the large mortality, and objected to go back. Some from evil disposition and strife mongering brought forward the affair of religion,[1] and began to chatter foolishly about the headship of Khan Jahān By the halo of the Shāhinshāh's majesty, the politic conduct of Rajah Todar Mal, and the wide capacity and toleration of Khān Jahan, the seal of silence was impressed on the lips of every one, and they elected to accompany him Ism'ail Quli Khān took his place in the army with a band of active and courageous men, and by the Divine aid, and their skill and loyalty, Garhi, which is the gate of Bengal, was recovered with little difficulty. Ayāz Khāṣṣa Khail, who had charge of that place, fell alive into their hands and was put to death Dāūd in his pride never imagined hat the imperial army would come so soon On hearing the everberation of its approach he suddenly proceeded to take lefensive measures By alertness and dexterity Khan Jahan chose or his camp Āk Mahal[2] which is fortified on one side by the river,

[1] Khān Jahān was Bairām s ister s son and a Persian and a Sh ia. The Bengal officers were many of hem Turks and S nnis

[2] Rājmaḥal Perhaps Āk is Tur ish and the ame means White House B how ver reads Ag Maḥall See his Errata But see Jarrett II 129 The name Rajmaḥal was given to it in consequence of Rajah Mān Singh s choosing it for his residence The Turkish word for white is pro perly آق āq The text is wrongly punctuated a d makes it appear as

while on the other side access is impeded by lofty mountains while in front the tracks were effaced by a large marsh Apart from its being a strong refuge, Āk Mahal is in the forefront of Bengal Accordingly the occupants of this strong position were saved from the effects of accidents, and the inhabitants of the country remained 163
in security as soon as the armies of fortune had come there Khan Jahān drew up in battle array, but owing to the difficulties of the country and the time there was no engagement The gallant warriors came out on every side and displayed devotion, and there was abundant testing of men's mettle

One of the occurrences was that Mīr Muhammad Khān Khān Kilan died in Pattan Gujarat on the day of Farwardin 19 Dai, Divine month (December, 1575) The appreciative sovereign begged[1] forgiveness of his sins and assuaged the grief of those he had left behind by princely favours

Among the occurrences was that M Sulaimān obtained leave to travel to Ḥijāz From the time that the Mirzā obtained the bliss of doing homage, he was continually encompassed by the favours of the Shāhinshāh, and was distinguished by great honours in the holy assemblies As his whole soul was intent upon chastising M Shāhrukh, and upon obtaining the government of the mountains of Badakhshan, the knot on his heart was not loosed When Khān Jahān went off to the province of Bengal, and there became a little delay in the fulfilment of his wishes, he from his ill fortune and haste did not understand the real state of affairs and applied for leave to go to the Hijāz He thought that perhaps by this route he might reach that country (Badakhshān), and obtain his ends by feline tricks H M acceded to his wishes and bade him adieu, and sent Qilij Khan and Rūpsi to accompany him and to wait upon him, and to see him through the difficult parts up to the Gujarat ports Subsistence for several years and a well found ship were bestowed on him The above mentioned officers conveyed him peacefully and with comfort to the port of Surat and sent him off to the Hijaz

---

il it was Dāūd who encamped at Āk Mahall

[1] i e repeated the *fatiha*

CHAPTER XXX.

The Royal Cortège proceeds to Ajmere

The parterre adorner of the Caliphate in his plenitude of Divine worship and his keen quest of truth conducts himself with a regard to the feelings of the superficial majority In consequence of his vast comprehensiveness, and his thorough knowledge of the pulse of the age, he seldom promulgates the luminous conceptions which cast rays on his heart from the sky of genius For the food of forest lions is not adapted to sparrows of the house gable, nor are the rations of mountain like elephants expended upon feeble gnats! Nor is the diet of the spiritually strong beneficial to the mentally sick Accordingly the enthroned one of the Sultanate allows for the condition of the classes of humanity and regulates his effulgence in accordance therewith From his observing this course, there arises no dust of
64 unsoundness in the inner chamber of his spirit Though he sit upon the throne of the spiritual kingdom and of a world illuminated by the rays of true light, he regards the worship of the True God to be also accomplished by external forms, and worships the very God as superficialists do, and is a spiritual worshipper according to the formulas of ordinary followers of the world's customs From this idea, the circumambulation of the sepulchres of the leaders of the caravan of existence (i e, saints, or perhaps it only means those who have gone before)—which is regarded by some as the essence of the worship of the Creator, and of the acknowledgment of Divinity, while others look upon it as a pious act and a contemplation of the Divine mercy—was rigorously practised by him, just as if he were a mere formalist By this excellent plan he introduced worshippers of externals to the feast of practical wisdom and guided them to the highway of Truth And when he who understood the pulse of the age, devised such a cure for those sick persons, there came no dust

---

1 This exordium does not occur in the Lucknow ed nor do Akbar's remarks occur in the collection of his sayings at the end of the Ain

from such earth questing (*khākparsī*) to sully the skirt of his grandeur Many a time there rose to his lips, in his sacred privy-chamber, the words, "Seeing that the note of man's greatness, which consists of knowing the truth and the performance of good actions, is not visible in the elemental house—which is an abode of lust and affections and is in the world's language called Body—how can it be sought for in an earthly prison (the grave)? Moreover, when the cavalier of Purpose (*maqsud*) gets lost in the equable mansions of Time, that is, the bodily frames, what hope is there that he will be found after the web and woof of the constitution have been dissolved in the prison house of death, which is a boisterous ferry (or perhaps bleaching-ground, i e, graveyard) of the Divine wrath? When he cannot be found in his own house, why drive a mine into the house of the dust? If the matter were rightly considered, men would not conserve the house of a ruined home, which they call the grave. But this language may not enter into every ear, nor can impress itself on every heart Hence it follows that those who understand institutions and are widely tolerant do not on beholding this springless autumn surrender the flower garden of their soul to the winds of disturbance, but contemplate the ideas of those who regard the practice (of pilgrimages) as Divine worship, and enjoy an autumnless Spring"

On account of such views H M left the capital of Fathpūr on the night of Zamiyād[1] 28 Bahman, Divine month, and proceeded towards Ajmere He passed along, stage by stage, dispensing justice and increasing joy, and by the guidance of the Divine aid he encamped on the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandarmaz, Divine month (18 March 1576), in the bounteous district of Ajmere In accordance with prescribed customs he performed the last stage to the shrine on foot, and making external things a means of increase to internal light, he came as the flower-gatherer of the garden of truth He divided a large sum of money among those who sate at the threshold of the shrine, and fixed splendid salaries for the expectants He made strong the souls of the wishful, and caused the depressed of heart to be chief sitters in the hall of acceptation By the blessed influence of the setting up of the sublime standards, the country acquired fresh prosperity At once, outward customs were observed, and likewise was 165

[1] T A says 7 Zul qada i.e 9 March 1576

the spiritual world decked out. The dignity of the clay was exalted, and illumination was bestowed on the heart In this dust bin of externalities (the world) it is an approved principle to honour saints and to ask inspiration from them, and to magnify those who are connected with this chosen class, especially when this is done by majestic Kings God be praised! This noble temper as well as other grand qualities have been implanted in the holy personality of the Shahinshah And inasmuch as this laudable quality holds high rank among the outwardly great, how can the majesty thereof be reckoned when it occurs in the highflyers of the spiritual world, and the high thoughted and wide of capacity who have combined the leadership of both conditions—as is the case revealed by the lustrous brow of the world's lord!

Verse

My words have risen high, me fears
A portion[1] of them may leap from my mouth.
The roadster of discourse is grown impetuous,
Me fears, the reins may spring from my hand

[1] Possibly instead of *jazuz* we should read *jazda*, a cricket and also a whisper

CHAPTER XXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 21ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, *viz*, THE YEAR ĀZAR OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

In this spring time of increasing justice the equable vernal breeze began to blow The outer world acquired freshness just as did the city of the soul of the Khusru of horizons.

Verse

The zephyr adorned the garden of the world with verdure,
The earth appeared a model of the meadows of the other world
Where is Majnūn that he may petition and see
The beauteous hall, and the loveliness of Laila?

On the night of Sunday 9 Zilhajja (11 March 1576), after passing of one hour and nineteen minutes, the physical and spiritual illuminator cast his glance on the Sign of Aries, and the 21st year of the second cycle began At the banquet of sovereignty a spring time without autumn showed its face from the picture gallery of truth

Verse

God be praised for this movement of the zephyr
What limits are there to His gracious works?
They send gifts to eye and heart,
They are protagonists of life and growth

In the beginning of this year H M gave his attention to the augmentation of the repose of the inhabitants of Gujarat From the time when M. Koka had from inauspicious fortune gone astray, and the physician of the horizons (Akbar) had restrained him from office and sent him to the school for learning wisdom, it had been in the secret chambers of his heart that if the Mirzā awoke from his somnolence and took the path of bliss he would send him away to protect that country. As the time for that had not arrived, M Khān, Wazīr

3 Khān, Mīr 'Alā'u d daula, Saiyid Moẓaffar, and Bipāk[1] Dās, each of whom was distinguished in his own line, were sent to protect property, life, honour and religion—which sum up the possessions of mortals—and to compose the distractions of the country Their external rank was exalted by glorious favours, and they were also the recipients of precious jewels of instruction The government of the province was entrusted to Mīrzā Khān, while the administration was committed to the weighty judgment of Wazīr Khān Mīr 'Alā'u-d daula was made Amīn, and Bipāk Das was appointed Dīwān Mīr Moẓaffar was made Bakhshī of the armies The above mentioned officers went there, and in a short space of time the country became peaceful

Among the occurrences was the despatch of an army against the Rānā

The choicest worship for the social state, from which the lamp of recluses gets light—is when majestic rulers obliterate the darkness of the desert of presumption by the effulgence of farseeing wisdom and the flashes of the world adorning sword, and cause the stiff-necked wayfarers of the lanes of pride to journey to the city of supplication And if the ill fate of men of this class have been confirmed, great rulers cleanse the earth from the rubbish of their existence, for most evil doers are of a wicked nature, though some are only foolish, so that they may obtain their deserts, and mortals their repose, and that every one may, under the shade of peace, make his own fashion of Divine worship, and his customs a means of thanks giving, thus may the outer world acquire repose and adornment, and the spiritual world set its face towards increase and development

In accordance with these views, as the disobedience and presumption of the Rana as well as his deceit and dissimulation had exceeded all bounds, H M addressed himself to his overthrow Kuar Man Singh, who was among the first in the court for wisdom, loyalty and bravery, and who, among other favours, had been granted the lofty title of *far and* (child), was nominated for this service On the day

[1] The Lucknow edition has Piyāg Dās The Iqbalnama has Pāk Dās and it appears that this is the real name and that the b is the preposition

of Dibādin 23 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to 2 Muharram 984 (3 April 1576), he left Ajmere Ghazi Khan Badakhshi, Khwaja Ghiasu d din 'Ali, 'Asaf Khan, Saiyid Ahmad, Saiyid Hashim Barha, Jagannath, Saiyid Rāju, Mihtar Khan, Madhu Singh, Mujahid Beg, Khankār, Rai Lonkarn, and many other brave officers went with him From abundant graciousness H M briefly 167
and comprehensively reduced into writing instructions as to what was proper with respect to temporal and spiritual matters

Among the occurrences was that at this time M Yūsuf Khan, Masnad 'Āli Fath Khan, Saiyid Umr Bokhari, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaznavi, and Saiyid Qasim were sent to the Panjab so that that province might become a place of increasing peace and tranquillity

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Siwana,[1] one of the forts of Ajmere, and which was in possession of Candar Sen and was held for him by Pata Rathor As Shāh Quli Khan Mahram and Rai Rai Singh did not conduct the army properly, the horses became weak and the want of barley and forage distressed the soldiers In the first place Saiyid Ahmad Saiyid Qasim, Saiyid Hashim, Jalāl Khan, Shimal Khan, and many other distinguished combatants were appointed to endeavour to take the fort while the former were to hasten to court The officers proceeded to their fiefs and set about collecting equipments Meanwhile the catastrophe of Jalāl Khān occurred and the stubborn ones of the country raised the head of commotion Especially did Kala the son of Ram Rai and grandson of Rai Māldeo, and many of the disaffected assemble in the fort of Deokur[2] The Saiyids of Barha and other leaders exerted themselves to put down those wicked men, and so the business of Siwana dragged on Accordingly Shahbaz[3] Khan was appointed from the court to bring the thing to an end, and then to return to court When he came near the spot he learnt that the army were perplexed about the siege of the fort, and that the affair was difficult on account of a succession of troubles and great fights Shahbaz Khan arrived, and immediately set about taking the fort By the celestial help which befriends the strenuous and the pure of

[1] J II 276 It is there entered as in Sarkār Jodhpūr

[2] B 399 n 1 Perhaps the Deogāon of J II 273

[3] His real name was Shah Ullah See Badāyūni II 171 Lowe 174 This explains the pun at p 333 of Lowe

heart, victory showed herself, and a large number of the enemy were annihilated, and the fort was taken The rebels were caught, and Shahbāz Khān having left some of the Saiyids of Bārha in the place (*thana*), addressed himself to the conquest of Siwāna Seven kos from that fort there was a stone fort called Dūnāra [1] When the army was crossing (the Lūnī) near it, the Rajputs of the Rāthor clan assembled and displayed haughtiness Though the highway of obedience was indicated to them, it was of no avail, and it was necessary to take the fort *Sabats* were made, and in a short time that strong fort was taken The blood of many of the audacious ones was spilt on the dust of disgrace, and this great success was a preamble to the conquest of Siwana and was a cause of increasing the dismay of the wicked From there Shahbaz Khan proceeded to take Siwana while
168 he sent the former army (lashkar pesh, i e, the army that had failed) to court. In making *sabats* and in the disposition of materials for the untying of this apparently difficult knot hand and heart were combined, and skill joined with valour In a short space of time the garrison sought protection and made over the fort to the loyal and hastened to prostrate themselves at the threshold of fortune They did this while the imperial standards were at Ajmere, and were received with royal favours When the affairs of this province had been completed H M proceeded on the day of Khur 15 Ardibihisht from Ajmere to the capital and on the day of Bad 22 Ardibihisht he reached Fathpur He applied himself more than ever to affairs which brightened the world and the rose garden of the world attained fresh verdure

One of the events was the appointment of the army of Bihar to the province of Bengal It has already been mentioned that the world subduing armies had after the taking of Garhi confronted the enemy at Ākmahal From that time news was continually conveyed backwards and forwards by relays of mounted couriers At this time news was brought that the rainy season, which is tempestuous in that province had arrived and that if a fresh army were appointed, the conquest of Bengal would be easily effected Accordingly an order was issued to Mozaffar Khan and the other officers of Bihar that they should put their army in order and proceed to Bengal

1 The text has Dubana but there is the variant Dunār It lies on the right bank Lūnī S W Jodhpūr

Also at this time, as the privations and the shortness of supplies for the army had impressed themselves on H M 's mind, boats laden with money and goods were despatched, and the anxiety of the timid was remedied, while the hearts of the enemy were filled with trepidation. Also during this time, the news came from the army that one day Khwaja 'Abdullah [1] Naqshbandi, who was full of the light of loyalty, was in his entrenchment and had gone with some of his men and sought battle. A large number of the enemy came forward, and the Khwaja's companions became stained with the dust of disgrace and took to flight The Khwāja stood firm and slew many of the enemy. At last he played away the coin of his life and ascended to the sky of fame H M the Shahinshah was grieved at this occurrence and bound up the hearts of his children and dependants by various acts of kindness

One of the events was the sending of Shahbâz Khān against Gājpati [2] The brief account of this affair is that Gajpati was one of

[1] Badāyūni II, 240, says he was a descendant of Khwāja Ahrār

[2] Called Kajī in Lucknow ed. See B 399 n 2 Bayāzīd, I O MS 135a, says Gajpatī held Bhojpūr and Bihiya, and he calls him the Ujjainiya Rajah The word is badly written in the MS, but I am convinced that my friend Mr Irvine is right in suggesting that Ujjainiya is what is meant. See B 513, n 1 Blochmann adds that the Bhojpūr Rajahs called themselves Ujjainiahs because they claimed descent from the Rajahs of Ujjain in Malwa. Maulwi Abdul Haq Abid has favoured me with a genealogical tree, procured from the office of the Rān[1] of Dumrāon showing that Rajah Gajpatī, commonly known as Rajah Gujun Shah, of the village of Dawa, Pargana Bihiya, Zillah Shahabad, was the 73rd in succession from Rajah Vikramāditya of Ujjain. He was the son of Badal Shāh The Dalpat Ujjainiah of B 513, n 1, and his successor Pratāp, were also members of the Dumrāon family, but it appears from the genealogical tree that Dalpat, called there Dulīp Shāh and Dalpatī Shāh, was not Gajpatī's son, but his uncle (?) He is said to have reigned from 1577-1601 and to have been succeeded by Muluk Mān Shāh of Bihta. Pratāp is called in the tree Rudra Pratāb Narain Singh and is said to be the 77th in succession from the Rajah Vikramāditya I have also received an official letter from the Shahābad Collectorate to the effect that Gajpatī is commonly known as Gujunsāhī, and that his palace was at Jagdīspūr The account of the jungles near Gajpatī's palace recalls the events of the mutiny and of the fights with Koer Singh who was also connected with the Dumrāon family

Badayūnī calls Gajpatī II 227, zamindar of the country about Hājīpūr

the noted landholders of the province of Bihar. He used alw
be associated with the warriors of the threshold of the Caliphat
169 he had rendered good services in the conquest of Bengal For
insufficient reasons he took a sort of leave and went off to hi
country. At the time of the Bengal rebellion he sought help
(*panāh āward*) Khān Jahān, but when the latter passed with his
through his premises (*yūrat*), Gajpatī, from an inverted fate an
nature, went aside and had not the felicity of accompanying him
the army of fortune was for a long time stationary in front c
enemy, the ill-conditioned strifemonger became increasingly a
ed to highway robberies and to oppressing the weak Evil dis
and self-interested men gathered round him, and his seditio
became more and more pronounced In his folly and shortsi
ness he extended his robberies to towns [1] and cities When he
the dust of predominance in the vicinity of the town of A
Farhat Khān, the jāgīrdār thereof, did not deem it expedi
engage in battle with him and shut himself up in the fort
his wickedness Gajpatī entered into negotiations with Dāūd
exerted himself to close the lines of march. He also seized an
prisoned Peshrau Khān who was proceeding [2] post-haste by boa
the capital towards Bengal In his blindness and ill fatedn
stretched his foot beyond the measure of his blanket, and, as
rule of the organizers of fate to draw up some ingrates and evil-
so that they may have the heavier fall, and be broken to p
they let this black-hearted man blaze forth for some days like
of straw, on the heights of error Farhat Khān, his son, and Qa
fell in battle against him The brief account of this is tha
hang Khān,[3] the son of Farhat Khān, on hearing of the sie

and Patna Niẓāmu d dīn says Gajpatī rebelled when Moẓaffar K went off towards Rajmahal to help the Khān Jahān, and so left Bihar without troops Perhaps the variant Kajatī is really Gajanī The Iqbālnāma has Kajanī or Kajatī

Jahāngīr in his Memoirs, Elliot VI 321, speaks of the territory of Ujjainiya as lying near Patna Evidently he means the Bhojp jah s country

[1] The Lucknow ed has l "for plundering ' here

[2] *ba tarz īlghār* Luckn has *ba tarz ashkzār, lit*, like a tity of tears, and has a note e ing the idiom

[3] Apparently Farhang s fi east of the Sone He crossc

Arrah, came there from his fief and was joined by Qarāṭāq Khān who was in the neighbourhood Near the fort they engaged the fleet of that devastator of the general weal and defeated it, and then gallantly crossed the Sone The presumptuous and brainless man was emboldened by the number of his reckless bravoes to give them battle At first Farhang Khān distinguished himself in hand-to-hand encounters, and twice brought his sword to bear upon Gajpatī, and that spark of sedition was nearly put out, when his swordsmen hamstrung Farhang's horse He fought valiantly on foot and journeyed to the desert of annihilation After that Qarāṭāq also gallantly tied up the chattel of existence When Farhat Khān heard of the fatal catastrophe he came out of the fort from his abundant paternal affection and, after the manner of life-sacrificing lovers, chose the route of the blessed land

When the news of the rebellion of this evil-doer reached the august hearing, H M, on the day of Ram 21 Khurdād (beginning of June 1576), Divine month, sent off Shahbāz Khan, who was distinguished for fidelity and good service, to punish the wretch An order was also issued that S'aid Khān, Makhṣūṣ Khan, and other servants who were in that part of the country, should join him with a suitable equipment and should unite in putting an end to him Shahbaz K on receiving the order hastened to the spot, and the officers above mentioned joined him with all celerity. Gajpatī was heedless of the end of things, and thinking that what was the depth of down- 170
fall was the height of exaltation, he increased in arrogance and brought many towns and villages into his possession He was about to proceed against Ghāzīpūr where the family and dependants of Khan Jahān were Just then the victorious army arrived, and he in his pride turned back and drew up for battle By the blessing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune he soon received fitting punishment as shall briefly be described.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shihābu d din Ahmad Khān to Malwa. The lofty genius which was always attending to

---

order to relieve Arrah Badayūnī calls him, II 227, Mīrak Radāī, but perhaps Radāī is a mistake for Razavī See B 381 and 438 Niẓāmu d dīn calls him Mīrak Rawānī, according to the Lucknow lithograph, Elliot V 399 has Mīrak Rāwī

the civilization of countries, the cultivation of hearts and the distribution of justice to the oppressed, took care of the bringing into repose of the inhabitants of that country, which is an extensive and delightful region. He increased the rank of Shihābu-d din Aḥmad Khān, who was distinguished for ability and cherishing of the peasantry, and conferred on him a *manṣab* of 5000 and despatched him to the province on the day of Dībādīn the 23rd Khurdād Divine month He loaded the cars of his fortune with the weighty jewels of admonition, and so increased his wisdom

[Here follows 2¼ pages—from the middle of p 170 to the bottom of p 172—of a dissertation about the different (six) classes of men, and about the duties of an administrator It may be compared with the chapter at p 87 of Jarrett II, and that on the currency of the means of subsistence at p 50 *id* The dissertation does not exist in the Lucknow edition, and there is nothing informing or characteristic of Akbar in it except a remark at the end about the expediency of increasing the numbers of elephants, and caring for horses, oxen, asses, etc I have not thought it necessary to translate the dissertation The dissertation purports to be an abstract of Akbar's instructions to Shihabu d dīn on his being sent to govern Malwa.]

173 One of the occurrences was the death of Mīr Sharif Qazwini Inasmuch as in the game of *Caugan*, which strengthens onsets and hand to-hand encounters, there is education for the strenuous, and improvement for horses—which is the most choice part of soldiering—H M regards the pastime as worship under the guise of sport From this view a game was held on the day of Ārād the 25th Khurdad, Divine month Mīr Ghiaṣu-d-din Naqib Khān and Mīr Sharif, the sons of Mīr 'Abdu l laṭif Qazwīnī, in consequence of the favour of the Shāhinshāh, took a distinguished part in the play In the heat of the onsets the horses of the two brothers collided The young novice was *thrown to the ground, and became senseless and blood flowed* from his ear H M dismounted in that plain, which was a world spectacle, and cast the shadow of compassion (on Sharif) The spectators, when they did not see the world's lord on horseback, became confused and uttered cries and lamentations Evil minded strife mongers took advantage of the opportunity A moment had not elapsed when that composer of the world s distractions mounted his

horse at the entreaty of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and rode over the plain. The consternation ceased. In a short space of time the combination of the elements in the fallen man was dissolved. H.M. distributed at the tomb large sums to the family of the deceased, so that their heart-shoulders were lightened of the load of debt, and there came a time of good fortune. May the satisfaction of the heart (at his debts being paid) support him in his awful journey!

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE BRIGHTENING OF THE LAMP OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S FORTUNE, AND THE SINKING OF THE RĀNĀ INTO THE DARKNESS OF FLIGHT.

It has already been mentioned that the Rānā's arrogance was swollen by the fact of the glory of his line of ancestors who were in ancient times rulers of India. The strength of his position, the extent of his territory, and the large number of his Rajputs who would sacrifice life for honour, cast a veil over his vision. He did not perceive the marvels of the Shahinshāh's fortune, and abandoned obedience and went astray. The parterre-adorner of the world ordered Kuar Mān Singh to go with a number of loyal men and arouse him from his infatuated slumbers and guide him to the school of auspiciousness. But to him who is unfortunate (*lit.* has a black blanket) the motives of awakening only bring increase of somnolence. The imperial forces remained for some time in the town of Mandalgarh,[1] waiting for their officers and the gathering of the camp. The Rānā during this time of awakening ignorantly increased his obstinacy and came forth to make commotion. He paid no heed to the fortune which was conjoined with eternity, and regarded the leader[2] of the victorious army as a landholder subordinate to himself. His whole idea was that he should come to the town above mentioned and fight a battle. But his well-wishers did not suffer him to increase his loss (*khasārat*) by this act of daring (*jasārat*).

74 When the imperial army had been collected, Kuar Mān Singh, relying upon daily-increasing fortune, drew up his forces and marched towards Goganda,[3] which was the native country of him of somnolent fortune (the Rānā). He himself was in the centre, the Saiyids of Bārha were on the right wing, Ghazī Khān Badakhshī, Rai Lonkarn, were on the left, *Jagannath* and Khwāja Ghiāsu-d-din 'Ali, Āsaf Khān were in the van, Madhū Singh and other distinguished men were in the *altamsh*, Mihtar Khan and others were in the rear. On the side of the enemy the Rānā was in the centre, Rām

[1] About 100 m. N. E. Udaipur I. G. It is described by Tod.

[2] i.e., Mān Singh. The Iqbālnāma says this had been the position of the Amber family.

[3] B. 418, n. 2, Tod calls it Gogoonda.

Shah [1] Rajah of Gwaliar had the right wing, the left was commanded by Bedāmata of the Jhala tribe, Rām Das, son of Jaimal, was in the van The Rana, owing to the darkness of his presumption, had not the head for arranging his forces in battle-array, but by the efforts of far sighted men various arrangements were made, and he displayed alacrity On the day of Amardad 7 Tīr, Divine month [2] (18th? June 1576), when a watch of the day had passed, the two armies met in the village of Khamnur,[3] which is the mouth of the Haldi defile and is a dependency of Goganda They strove together valiantly The price of life was low, that of honour high

Verse

When army commingled with army
They stirred up the resurrection day upon earth
Two oceans of blood shocked together
The soil became tulip coloured from the burning waves

The enemy's right wing drove off the left wing of the imperialists and their vanguard also prevailed Many of the imperialists gave way Jagannath behaved bravely, and was about to sacrifice his life when the *altamsh* arrived, and Kuar Mān Singh in person joined in the fight The enemy's left wing also prevailed over the imperial right Saiyid Hashim fell from his horse, but Saiyid Rāju rehorsed him Ghazi Khān Badakhshi advanced and joined the van. There was a market of life taking and life surrendering The warriors on either side yielded their lives and preserved their honour And as the men did wonders, so did the elephants perform marvels On the side of the enemy was the rank breaking Lona Jamāl Khān Faujdār brought the elephant Gajmukta [4] to encounter him The 175

[1] B Ram Sāh

[2] 21 Rabi I B 418 n Badayūnī has the beginning of Rabi I

[3] Tod's map shows a village Kamnor to the north of Goganda. The battle is usually called that of Haldī ghāt Elliot V 398 Badayūnī says it was 7 kos from Goganda The text has the word *berun* instead of Haldī but the reading of the Cawnpur ed. Hardī i.e Haldī is preferable and is supported by the Iqbāl nāma. The best account of the battle is that given by Badayūnī Lowe 236 etc. See also Noer's Akbar translation I 247, etc Kavirāj Shymal Dās says the place is called Haldī because the soil there is yellow like turmeric

[4] B 121

shock of these two mountain-like forms threw the soldiers into trepidation, and the imperial elephant was wounded and about to fly when by the help of daily-increasing fortune a bullet struck the driver of the enemy's elephant, and he turned back Just then Pertāb,[1] a relation of the Rānā, brought forward Rām Pershād which was the head of their elephants, and threw down many gallant men. At the time of wavering Kamāl Khān brought up the elephant Gajrāj and took part in the fight Panjū brought the elephant Ran Madār opposite Rām Pershād and did excellently well. This elephant too was nearly letting the foot of his courage slip By the might of fortune the driver of Ram Pershād was killed by an arrow, and that noted elephant—which had often been a subject of conversation in the sacred assemblies—became entered among the spoils Up to midday the contest continued.

Verse.

Many a one engaged with another,
Much blood was poured out on the battle field,
Livers grew hot, cries resounded,
Necks were throttled by nooses

Rām Dās, son of Jaimal, went to the sorry abode of annihilation from a stroke by the hand of Jagannāth. Rajah Rām Shāh with his three sons Salbahān, Bhān Singh and Pertab Singh fell, fighting bravely During these blazing sparks of commotion and contest, and the heat of the fires of fortune, Kuar Mān Singh and the Rānā approached one another, and did valiant deeds In the opinion of the superficial the foe was prevailing, when all at once the lightning of the Divine aid—which supports the eternal fortune—flashed out victory One of the external causes of this was that during the tumult the vanguard arrived equipped for battle A report circulated that the world's lord had come on his steed swift as the wind and had cast the shadow of his might on the battle-field A cry went up from the combatants, and the enemy who were continually becoming more and more predominant, lost heart The breeze of victory began to blow upon the rose-bush of the hopes of the devoted

[1] The Rajah is also called Pertab though generally spoken of as Rānā Kīka

from the quarter of celestial help, and the rose bud of success of those loyal expenders of their lives bloomed forth Vanity and conceit were changed into disgrace There was a new testing of the fortune conjoined with eternity The devotion of the sincere was increased, and sincerity was imparted to the simple The auspicious morning breeze of confession and belief blew for the sceptics, to the enemy came the thick darkness of the night of destruction About 150 *ghazis* died on the field, and of the enemy more than 500 distinguished men were stained with the dust of annihilation On account of the excessive heat and the fatigue of the battle the imperialists did not set their hearts on pursuing the enemy, and the Kuar proceeded next day to Goganda after offering thanksgivings The wretch fled 176
and hastened to the defiles of the hill country The imperial army encamped in that city, and a report of the battle mentioning the services of the heroes and the bravery of the enemy was sent to court along with splendid articles of booty, especially the elephant Ram Pershad, in company with Maulāna ʿAbdu l Qādir Badayūni, who had obtained leave from among the group of learned men (*ahl sa adat*) for this expedition On the day of Māh the 12th Tīr, Divine month, the news of victory reached the august hearing He returned thanks to God, and raised the rank of the loyal and devoted On the same day Saiyid ʿAbdullah Khān[1] was sent to the eastern provinces by post horses to convey to the officers the news of the approach of the world conquering standards. He was both to convey the news of the glorious victory and also, if the soldiers of the province of Bihar had not marched to assist Khan Jahān, he was to insist upon their doing so[2] At the time of sending him off H M said that a ray of inspiration had fallen on the portico of his heart which announced to him that, as he was taking to that country the news of this celestial victory, so would he in a similar manner bring to court the news of the *conquest* of Bengal

[1] B 465

[2] *Sazawalī namāīd* lit *display sazawalī* A F does not explain in the Ain the word *sazawal* Here it seems to be used in the sense of dunning or urging and may be compared with the *takīdgīr* which used to denote in Bengal a man employed by zamindars and indigo planters to urge on the peasants to pay their rents and sow indigo *Of* text 178 11 lines from foot and p 177 1 14

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Expedition of the Shāhinshāh to Bengal and his returning from the first stage

(The chapter begins with some unmeaning praises of Akbar, which do not occur in the Lucknow edition)

The account of this is briefly as follows Some trustworthy
177 people arrived from the eastern provinces and announced that the light of daily increasing fortune was continually shining in the victorious camp, and that Ism'āīl by name, an Afghan, to whom Dāūd had given the title of Khan Jahan, had been killed at the entrenchments of the Qāqshals They also reported that the leaders of the army were of opinion that without the arrival of the standards of world conquest the lights of victory would not fully shine forth, but that out of respect they could not freely state this H M ordered that preparations for an expedition should be made, and that the army should go thither by land and water Qāsim Khan was sent to Agra to arrange for the stations on the river In a short time the managers of the business accomplished the work of several years

As the pillars of knowledge and the Sultans of wisdom never approve of the work of to day's being postponed to the morrow, and think this especially bad in the matters of administration, the Shāhinshah, in reliance upon the Divine bounty, left Fathpur in the height of the rains,—a season when many energetic men refrain from exertion,—starting on the day of Ābān 10 Amardad, Divine month—corresponding to Sunday 25 Rabi' al akhir (22 July 1576)

Verse

The Shāh rode off from the abode of glory,
Bakhtiyar (his elephant ?) *became the abode of glory (?)*
The standards (*Kaukaba*) were of heavenly splendour,
The moon of his ensign rose to heaven,
The forms of the elephants bent the earth,
There was a shaking in the universe

His sublime intention was that he should proceed by the river with a few of his courtiers, while the army should go by land

Though the season was not suitable for the movements of an army, yet as the world's Khedive was looking to the settlement of a country, he considered that the repose of the soldiers would consist in the quelling of the enemy On the way he said to some of his intimates, "Last night a window opened into the mystic world while I was in a state of dream, and I learnt that in a short space of time news would come of the conquest of the eastern provinces, and that the inhabitants thereof would enjoy repose and daily increasing justice" On that day, when he had reached the village of Birār, which is a dependency of the district of Agra, at the beginning of night, Saiyid 'Abdullah Khan, having accomplished a long journey in eleven[1] days, brought news of the victory of the imperial servants, the discomfiture of the haughty rebels, and the conquest of the country of Bengal And in order to teach mankind he threw down in the *jilaukhana* 178
(shed) of the courtyard the head of Daud A cry arose from the spectators, and mankind rejoiced Though in the eyes of the superficial, a great victory had occurred in the outer world, yet in the eyes of those of profound vision it was the spiritual world which had been conquered Guidance was furnished to the weary of foot in the wilderness of search Seekers who had lost their way and who used to search for the night illuminating lamp (of direction) in the dark abode of covetous wearers of rags (*i.e*, from the ascetics and beggars) obtained the prince of the horizons for their guide, and commenced work anew, and had the candle of their vision lighted by two great marvels—to which intelligence had no access, and for which conjecture and reasoning had no capacity The blind of the rose-garden of existence were made joyful by the fountain of vision and the acquisition of thousands of eyes of awakening and partook of the feast of witnessing (*shuhud*) The lame of the field of recognition had the foot of knowledge restored The blear eyed obtained the antimony of vision Those who were tottering on the high way of search received into their hands a staff[2] of firmness The first (of the two marvels) was that at the time of giving Saiyid

[1] The battle was fought on Thursday 12 July 1576 and 'Abdullah arrived on the night of Sunday the 22nd id From the T A Elliot V 400 it appears that Birār is 10 m from Fatḥpūr

[2] The text has aẓā members but the variant 'aṣā "staff" seems preferable

'Abdullah his dismiss on there had come from the lips of that cream of creation (Akbar) the words "You will bring news of victory and conquest" The second was that on that same day H M had while *en route* given the interpretation of his dream and conveyed the tidings of victory and conquest

H M the Shahinshāh returned thanks to God for the two glorious victories Though the untying of this hard knot (the conquest of Bengal) was in reality the result of the blessing of the holy influence of the world's lord, yet the external cause was the wide capacity, skill, and continuous efforts of Khān Jahan and Rajah Todar Mal, and the exertions of the irrepressible (be ru?) *sazawals*[1] When the heaven aided army was in Ākmahal opposed to Daud there could be no pitched battle on account of the rugged nature of the ground, and the brave men on both sides were continually coming out and making trial of their courage The whole idea of the presumptuous wretches was that when the rainy season set in the camp would be broken up The officers of the victorious army were for the most part Caghatais, and did not wish that so great an enterprise should be headed by the Khān Jahan, who was a Qizilbash They had not such fidelity as to disregard, on account of their master's work, differences in religion and custom, and to endeavour for carrying out his objects Necessarily such unrighteous thoughts were an obstacle in the path of the auspiciousness of this faction Also the Bengal army had their hearts turned against the country on account of the prevalence of the plague, and their whole energy was devoted to prevent the prosecution of the work Where is that splendour of wisdom which can comprehend that time and place do neither good nor ill towards filling the measure of life? That amount will appear which is in the Divine knowledge, whether one spends one's days in a tiger-
179 jungle or on the verges of the fountain of life! And where is that

[1] *Sazāwalān.* This word is used here as in pp 176 and 178 to signify special messengers or officers who were deputed by Akbar to urge on and quicken the movements of his generals They are called *be rū* lit without face, because their business was to be importunate and troublesome and to have no respect of persons Cf English word effrontery

A F dwells with some justice on Akbar's and the sazāwals exertions for apparently Khān Jahān would not otherwise have fought during the rains

loyalty which asks for the sacrifice of life in the service of his lord? And also they were disinclined to combat, because in the eyes of the superficial the enemy was increasing in quality and quantity. They did not possess the far sightedness which could see the armies of the daily increasing fortune of the Shahinshah. Also they did not like the prospect of fighting on account of the strength of the enemy's position. They had not the magnanimity to find the equivalent of the strength of position in the might of H. M.'s fortune. Also the vehemence of the rains and the violence of the rivers withheld them from engaging. From total irrecognition of the Truth, they did not weigh spiritual aids against the calamities of the skies, and also the difficulty about grain and the high rates of articles caused weakness in their ardour. From want of trust, and from self conceit they did not regard the Causer of Causes, and occupied themselves with secondary matters.

Khan Jahan and Rajah Todar Mal from their loyalty and knowledge of the world did not listen to men's idle talk, but exerted themselves greatly to hearten and encourage them. They bought over at a high price the disaffection of their companions, and submitted the jewel of service to exquisite tests. As they could not read the letters of the word of conquest in the forehead of these men's dispositions they set themselves to the bringing down the army of Bihar, and wrote letters to this effect. They besought the help of the sublime court in this matter. Mozaffar Khan was spending his time in the petty anxieties of men of small minds, but when the strenuous and irrepressible (*be rui*) sazawals[1] came from the court he was obliged to act, and together with Shujaát Khan, Muhibb 'Ali Khān, M'ṣūm Khan Kabuli, Mīr M'uizzu-l mulk, Samānji Khān, Mirzada 'Ali Khān, Tarkhan Diwana, he put the army in order and set his face to service. In the territory of Bhagalpur[2] Mozaffar Khan returned to his first opinion, and after eloquent discussions with his officers he decided that "The rains were a season of commotion, and that to go at this time to Bengal and fail was to ruin oneself. The proper thing to do was to remain where he was till the end of the rains. Khan Jahan, who was distressed from his long facing of the enemy, and

[1] *Sazawalan be rūī* shameless importuners. Apparently the principal person referred to is Muḥibb Alī Khān Rohtāsī. cf. p. 179, 15 from foot.

[2] Kākalpūr in text but the variant Bhāgalpūr is probably correct.

excessive hardships, must return, when the star Canopus arises, the rivers begin to fall, and the air to be pleasant, the imperial servants shall proceed with unanimity to the conquest of Bengal and the extirpation of the Afghans" At this time Muhibb 'Alī Khān[1] arrived, and replied to this commotion by saying, "This idea cannot be weighed in the balance of loyalty or even of practical wisdom When the wise ruler has sent a decisive order that we should hasten to Bengal and deliver battle, it is improper to think of any other plan or to indulge in delay Let us hold fast to the command and go forward with our heart and soul to perform our service, and let us bring this long business to an end by the help of God and the fortune of
180 the Shāhinshāh" Inasmuch as this encouraging idea came from the fount of devotion and loyalty, it appealed to every one Willingly or unwillingly, the crew of slingers of stones of delay assented to the proposition and suggested that before they joined the army (of Khān Jahān) trustworthy messengers should be sent to assure it that when the two forces were amalgamated the battle would not be delayed, and that they would bring the great work to a termination, for they feared lest the officers of the advanced force (K Jahān's) should not be inclined to fight and would wish to wait for the arrival of the Shāhinshāh's cortégé, and that their camp might in such a season become broken up Accordingly Mīr Mu'izzu d dīn and Wazīr Jamīl were sent to reassure them

When the writing of delay had been thus erased they were obliged to move towards the province On the day of Māristand 29 Tīr, Divine month (10 July), the armies of Bihar and Bengal joined The Khan Jahān met the chief officers (of the Bihar force) and treated them with honour He brought them into his quarters and gave them a great feast Next day he went to the quarters of Mozaffar Khān and had a private interview with him After much talk of little moment he (Mozaffar) set his heart on fighting and they proceeded to draw up their forces Khān Jahān commanded in the centre, the Bihar army had the right wing, in the left wing were Rajah Todar Mal, Jabbāri, Bāba Khan Qaqshāl, I'tmād Khān Khwāsarā, Rajah Gopal, and others In the van were Shāham Khān, Murād Khan, Jan Muhammad Bahsudi, Isma'īl Beg Uzbeg, and

[1] This is Muhibb 'Alī Rohtāsī and not Muhibb 'Alī the Mīr Khalīfa's son See B 422

others In the *altamsh* were Ism'ail Quli Khān, Qiyā Khān, and others The enemy's forces were arranged as follows in the centre was Daud, Kalā Pahār had the right wing, Junaid the left, in the van were Khan Jahān the ruler of Orissa, and Qatlu On the 31st Tir, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 15 Rabi 'as sani (12 July) the battle took place Though the whole country was under water and there was no way of crossing it by a bridge the gallant men of the victorious army kept the slope of the hill before them and made, by the help of daily increasing fortune, efforts to gain fame and jeopardised their lives A suitable path was found, and when the news of this success arrived they raised the pæan of joy. They arranged themselves in order and sought for victory When they had gone some distance there appeared before them a deep, black stream There was no way of crossing it, and they could not think of turning back A flood of apprehension seized the superficial and shortsighted whilst the profound of vision opened the eye of instruction and waited for some wonderful effect of Fortune In a short space of time the mystic rays lighted up their faces with joy and that difficult stream became fordable The able and intelligent took this as a pre 181
sage of victory When the enemy perceived what had happened they prepared for battle Baba Khan Qiqshal and all the heroes of the left wing crossed the stream and behaved with activity Kala Pahar and the other brave men among the enemy stood firm and brought the jewel of courage to the bazaar of battle The battle field became glorious

Verse

Spears (*sinan*) smote upon breasts (*sinaha*),
The world became like the day of the resurrection
So much blood flowed stream on stream
That it carried away heads like polo-balls

Owing to his ill fatedness Babā Khān turned his rein Just then Jabbari and some other brave men came up and attacked Severe fightings polished the jewel of courage The strenuous were nearly wavering when Rajah Todar Mal came bravely forward The devoted renewed the attack, and making skill the ornament of energy they engaged in wondrous hand-to hand encounters and drove off the foe Kala Pahar was wounded and saw that his safety was in flight The courageous heroes did not think it advisable to pursue him as

there were great marshes in front, and also they had no news about the rest of the troops They were obliged to draw rein and to behold the wonders of fortune The holy warriors of the right wing were about to prove their courage when the enemy became stained with the dust of ruin, and no engagement worthy of description took place Junaid, who was the sword of the Afghans, and who had military skill, measured the ground of baseness (was killed) The cause of this was that on the night which was pregnant with the morn of victory, a cannon ball reached Junaid, who was sleeping on a *car pai* (bed), and broke his leg Murad Khan and others of the van crossed the stream and advanced. The enemy gave proof of courage and drove them off Just then other *ghazis* of the van and the *altamsh* came up and turned back those who had been defeated They stood firm and gave proof of devotion

Maṣnavī

Two armies came together seeking for vengeance
The brave came to the battle field
The day of battle rose and fell
The dew of blood (descended) to the Fish, the dust (rose) to the moon
The swords of the heroes were red with blood
One gave his life, and another fled
Armour was broken, and loins unloosed
There was neither strength of hand nor of head

Khan Jahān, who was at the head of the enemy, went to annihilation, and disorder took possession of the foe The battle had not
82 yet reached the centre when the light of the crescent of Divine favour illuminated the world, and the luminary of the Shahinshāh's fortune increased in brilliancy The victorious soldiers pursued the fugitives on every side, and the hostile troops gave their honour to be consumed by the sparks from the fiery swords and went in confusion to the desert of bewilderment. Many of them in their confusion entered the rivers and streams, and so lost their lives Khan Jahan had gone off in search of the foe when the battle field became full of the noise of victory His ears were delighted by the sound of rejoicing On every side were heard the notes of the drums of joy In the midst of this joyous confusion they brought in as a prisoner the

foolish Dāūd It seems that his horse stuck in a quagmire Talib Badakhshi, a son of the Khwaja Ibrāhim, who had been a confidential servant of M Hindal, had wickedly given him a horse and allowed him to depart Suddenly an unknown person (*iki az na ghinasan*) reported the facts to Murad Sistani and Husain Beg Gurd, and they seized him and brought him in At this time too that ill intentioned one (Talib) came with them and claimed a share (in the capture) On seeing what had occurred he went off ashamed Khan Jahān asked the strife monger (Daud) what had become of his compact and oaths He removed the veil of shame from his face and said, "That engagement was with the Khān Khanān The time has now come to make friends and to enter into a new treaty" [1] Inasmuch as elegance of speech does not light up the darkness of the ruin of action, the Khan Khanān wisely stopped the wiles and story weaving of the wicked one and ordered [2] that he should be relieved of the burden of his head of contentious brains Immediately afterwards he sent the head along with Saiyid 'Abdullah, and reported the fortunate facts The body of the treaty breaker was affixed to a gibbet at Tanda, which is the capital of that country

Verse

Great God! who has such fortune
That he takes a world with little trouble
Hail to his lofty jewelled umbrella
The shadow of God shades his throne
As yet his sharp sword is hidden
As yet one rose of a hundred has not bloomed,
As yet mystic victories are in store,
As yet there are good news beyond thought.

When the facts of this great victory became known, fresh thanks were offered to God, the Giver of kingdoms The market of giving and of increase of dignities became active Saiyid 'Abdullah was distinguished by liberal gifts of money, etc, and so much red and white coin was poured into the skirt of his hopes that he could not carry it away Bulletins of victory were sent to rulers and 183

[1] This refers to Khān Jahān's making no answer to Dāūd

[2] Badayūnī says K J did not want to kill Dāūd as he was very beautiful, but the officers persuaded him to do so

governors Hail to the Fortune which in the course of 25 days displayed two great victories, such as have seldom appeared to mighty princes of old times The first was the dispersal of the Rana's pride, the second the conquest of Bengal, and the execution of Daud Although the superficial were astonished at these results, yet those who know the glorious qualities and actions of the sovereign—his wisdom, his recognition of truth, and his purity—considered them but as one out of thousands of blessings, and bowed the forehead of adoration!

As the general public were troubled by so distant an expedition at such an unpropitious season H M recognised the fact that a speedy return was the forerunner of thanksgiving, and turned back on the morn of victory, and spread the shade of justice over Fathpur the capital Great feasts were given, and there was much rejoicing The spiritual market acquired fresh activity, and waves of largesse quenched the thirst of the needy

Verse

Like an ocean which casts up waves,
Pours out pearls and then retires,
The subject cherisher in his universal bounty
Was like a rain that rains in due season

By the glory of the justice of the world's lord, and the splendid exertions of Khān Jahan and Rajah Todar Mal, that wide country came anew into possession, and became an abode of peace A people of opposed nations and habits arrived at repose and the holy heart became entirely at rest about a country which from old times was called a house of contention (*bulghak khana*)[1] That is to say, the dust of commotion was always being stirred up in that country by wicked men Whilst the wise throne occupant on beholding the tokens of right thinking and right acting implored the Divine aid and prayed for increased energy, mankind in general returned thanks for their lucky stars, in having bestowed on them such a wise, loving, pious and subject guarding ruler They bound the knot of obligation (*'aqd-i luzum*) on their mental skirt and made auspiciousness the face-brightener of their lives

[1] B 331 where the epithet is especially applied to Satgaon

Verse

May his reign endure as long as Time
May the cachet of cycles appear on his decrees!

One of the occurrences was the election of Qutbu d din Khan to the rank of a commander of 5000 What day was there when that appreciator of the temporal and spiritual kingdoms did not raise officers, wherever stationed, to high rank? Inasmuch as the arrangement of the outer world is implicated with the increase of degrees of rank he made the canons of justice and equity the blazon of the portico of intelligence and used to augment the grades of the servants of the court At once men's qualities were tested, and the world's market was kept alive If an account of these measures were written, this sublime volume would not contain it I am constrained to attend to great matters and to refrain from touching details No, No! every detail of the sublime court is the totality of the upper world But the complete description of the events of ever adorned dominion is beyond the capacity of the human intelligence, then what can be done by one a bewildered soul of the fraternity of contingent existence (*anjuman-i-imkan*) Especially when I have taken on the shoulder of objective the burdens of the social state, would the attempt at real asceticism, and at sitting in the ravine of obscurity, and at breaking the connection of materiality, with a weak heart and a distracted soul, be destructive of peace of mind In writing the tale of enlightenment I have, contrary to followers of the commonplace, made Divine worship and thanksgivings for favours received my guide in truth's wilderness, and have in spite of the distraction of conflicting motives applied myself with an honest intent and truth choosing disposition to the accomplishment of this great task The holy order which bears the signature of Wisdom is that if the hand does not reach the body of the skirt, one should not try to seize its hem by a corner, and if there is no path to the garden alley one should not contort the face by trying to smell the flowers Consequently by mentioning some leading articles of the court of fortune I in the first place collect materials for my own bliss, and secondly I prepare a fresh gift for inquirers both present and future Perhaps by means of this I may have a place in their hearts and may become one of the front sitters of acceptance

184

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to punish Dauda,[1] the son of Rai Sarjar, the ruler of Ranthambor That evil disposed one went off without leave to his native country of Bundi, and opened the hand of oppression The just sovereign appointed Safdar Khan, Bahadur Khân, Muhammad Husain Shaikh, Kandar Rai, Jandūn Sultan, Jaimal and other warriors to make that infatuated one who did not see the end of things, crapulous with failure and to give protection to the inhabitants, and the shadiness of repose

[1] B 410.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Expedition to Ajmere, etc

The pious sovereign proceeded to the shrine of Khwāja M'uinu- 185
d din Sanjari on the day of Isfandârmaz 5 Mihr, Divine month, 15 September 1576 He went on horseback and was accompanied by some of his servants and a number of loyal amirs At the first stage Mirza K met him, having come by order from Gujarat, and had the glory of doing homage The wise king made plurality [1] the veil of *unity and alighted at Ajmere on the night of Mihr 16* [2] *Mihr, Divine* month, 26 September, and performed the ceremonies of visiting the shrine of the holy sepulchre The troops of men who had gathered from the various parts of the earth to offer up their vows, became possessed of joy Mankind in general carried off abundant store from the table of bounty Masters of joy dispelled grief by dancing and clapping of hands

Verse

The vocalist ministered wine, but twas by the way of the ear

Outwardly, the city of custom was in fête inwardly, fresh verdure was given to the rose garden of Truth by irrigation

One of the occurrences was that Kuar Mān Singh and the other officers *of the* province came out and *did homage* *This faithful band* had on the rising of the light of H M 's fortune and the setting of the Rana's star behind the hills of defeat encamped in Goganda The outcast from the Divine precincts (*dargah*) had carried the face of disgrace to these mountain defiles The officers from prudential motives did not go in quest of him, and on account of the difficulty in

[1] That is made society or perhaps business a veil for solitary con templation

[2] The T A says Akbar arrived at Ajmere on Thursday 5 Rajab and Badayūnī says he arrived on 6 Rajab wh ch was the anniversary of the sa nt (29 September 1576) The anniversary (*urs*) nearly coincided with the date of Akbar s birth day Indeed it may have completely done so for the Rajputana Gazetteer p 63 says that the day of the saint s death is uncertain and so the festi val lasts from 1 to 6 Rajab

transporting provisions they came out of that stony land and reared the standards of victory in the open plain Tricksters[1] and time-servers suggested to the royal ear that there had been slackness in extirpating the wretch, and the officers were nearly incurring the king's displeasure. But by the might and profundity of examination, which are the glorious characteristics of the world's lord, the veil was removed from the painted countenance of those evil-inclined word-spinners One of the joyous occurrences was that on the day of Bād 22 Mihr, 2 October 1576, which contained the auspiciousness of time and displayed the rays of the glory of the age, the coin of Creation s Treasury (Akbar's body) was weighed[2] according to fixed rule against glorious objects, and there was an assayment of gifts.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of Peshrau K[3] and his bringing the good news of the last victory, *viz*, of the defeat of Gajpatī and of his having met with his deserts The brief account of this is that he from topsy-turviness of fortune and from the inaccessibility of his country transgressed the path of obedience and became presumptuous, as has already been briefly narrated He was meditating the plundering of Ghāzipur, when Shahbaz K arrived with the army of fortune, and his confidence was shaken He saw it was best to seek safety in flight and hastened off to the ferry of Causa He crossed the Ganges and stood ready for the battle The heroes by exertions collected boats and proceeded to cross By

[1] It is stated by B 340 that Akbar was displeased because Mān Singh did not follow up his victory and so he recalled him In this B is supported by Badayūnī Another thing which annoyed Akbar was that Man Singh let his army suffer want in Goganda rather than plunder the country of the Rānā, who was a Rajput like himself Badayūnī, Lowe 247, says Mān Singh and Āṣaf K were for a time not allowed to pay their respects

[2] The weighing took place twice a year This was the lunar weighment and it took place on this occasion on the 8th or 9th Rajab 984 But it nearly coincided with the solar anniversary Perhaps the two weighments were amalgamated

[3] B 498, but Peshrau seems to have been sent in the 21st year, and not the 19th See supra 169 Peshrau lived to be 90 years of age and died in the 3rd year of Jahangir, Tūzuk 71 For his biography see the Maaṣir, and B 497 He was called Peshrau (forerunner) because he was in charge of the *peshraukhāna* and so had to go with the Advance Camp, Tūzuk J 23

their vigorous action the enemy was driven into the desert of defeat 186
They got possession of guns and boats and other goods of his On the march they came to the fort of [1] Mahnd and set themselves to besiege it Sangram [2] the governor of the fort made the delivery of the keys the proof of his own success Shahbaz K made over the fort to skilful men and pressed forward to punish Gajpati The wretch sought shelter in the forests of Bhojpur, where there are many heights and hollows Though the devoted warriors trod the soil of effort, they were not successful, for the slumbrous fated one, on account of the majestic "Avaunt" (*durbash*)of Prestige (*iqbal*), did not see it good to give battle The victorious army returned and took another route Next day the tyrant [3] who was looking for his opportunity came to the bank of the river in order that he might at night stir up the dust of battle On account of the broken nature of the ground, and the ravines, prudence did not permit the courageous heroes to cross over in front of the enemy By the guidance of Sangram they marched rapidly to devastate his home In several places there were great contests and glorious victories were gained As the inwardly darkened one was made hopeless by the orb [4] of day he made a night attack, and by his own efforts fell headlong into the gloomy abode of destruction Covered with the dust of shame he hastened to Jagdispur, which was the strongest of his places The strenuous soldiers were for nearly two months engaged in cutting down the trees round the dwelling, but by the might of the Shahinshah's prestige the fort was (at last) taken, and the evildoer's family and belongings were imprisoned in the noose of the Divine wrath, while he himself was stained with the dust of dishonour and brought into contempt

---

[1] Variant Mahda as in B 446 n 1 In J II 154 it appears as Masodha in Sarkar Bihar and he gives the variant Modha which Gladwin and Tiefenthaler have

[2] B 446 n 1 and his Erratum to p 340 l 19 He was Rajah of Kharakpūr id. 446

[3] *qābucī* a Turkish word literally meaning gate-keeper or door-keeper The epithet is used apparently because Gajpatī ensconced himself in his forests and would not admit the imperialists The word is properly *qapūcī* from *qāpū* a gate Meninski s v *qāpūci* ed 1780 has a long note

[4] *nurīstan i roz* Gajpatī is represented by A F as a sort of night bird who could not endure the light There is an allusion to Akbar who was the orb of day

Peshrau Khan also related how on that night, which was big with a great victory, the Divine protection became his fortress owing to his turning himself towards the Shāhinshah, so that he was delivered from his deadly peril The story of that great deliverance is briefly as follows "From the time[1] that I fell into the custody of that insolent and presumptuous one there was not a day which I did not expect to be my last But by the blessing of my remembrance of the world lord, I was kept scatheless Especially was this so when there was a fight with the army of fortune And the worst time of all was the night when that slumberer in misfortune trod the desert of defeat About seventy prisoners showed (me) the path to annihilation (i e, they were killed) Among them were four of my companions Every one was made over to a scoundrel that he might be slain in the forest, and he who was told off to take the life of this hopeless one (himself) took me apart, and set himself to cut the woof and warp of my existence I made the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh the medium for drawing nigh to God, and turned the face of supplication to the Source of bounties Sinking my head into my collar I became absorbed in meditating that if this osseous tower (*kakhh i ustakhwani*, i.e, his body) did not protect me I might obtain a
87 lofty chamber in the blessed abode of joy When a long time elapsed, and there was no sign of the iron livered executioner, I raised my head and he came forward with supplications and entreaties, and said, "Art thou one of the guests of the banquet of vision, or a chosen one of the workshop of mystery, for however much I tried, my arm refused to act?" In reply I expounded to him fidelity and the wonders of the Shahinshah s fortune, and became his teacher (guide of the path) This discourse concerning the truth had not ended when Gajpati passed by us As he was in the slumber of failure, and his evil destiny hung down a veil over the eye of enlightenment, he regarded this warning exposition as trickery and made me over to another murderer He too made great efforts to throw down my elemental structure, and I meditated as before on the holy personality of the spiritual and temporal Khedive, and making him my fortress I turned towards the Divine[2] Court Though that strong man used

[1] See text p 169

[2] Perhaps meaning that he turned his face towards Fathpur as Daniel did towards Jerusalem Dan vi 10 and Tobit 3 11

all his might, his sword would not come out of the sheath. Suddenly that vagabond (Gajpatī) of the desert of destruction again passed us Seeing what had taken place he grew wrathful and he scowled As he was in great confusion, for, on the one hand he was in fear of his life, and of being captured, and on the other was the thought of how he could convey his family into safety, he lost the path of auspiciousness At a signal from him the same executioner took me on an elephant and went off in order that he might dispose of me in a safe place and at his ease The elephant was newly caught and vicious. The man got hurt and flung himself down, and in so doing he got kicked and swooned away. Just then the elephant made a fearful noise, and ran off, and on hearing the terrible sound all the other elephants stampeded. Soon I came to a desert where there was no sign of man. During this rapid career I flung my arms, which were tied, round the driver's neck in order that I might squeeze his throat, and that when he was done for, I might convey myself to a place of safety. The driver thought "he's trying to make fast to me." At last he perceived my object and contrived to fling himself off. The elephant continued to rush on. At break of day he halted, and I flung myself off and fell on my face and became insensible I recovered my senses at midday In a very weak state I managed to come to the road. A horseman came in sight, and hurried on, thinking me a stranger. I thought he was a person I knew and called out. He recognised me and made the prostration of thanksgiving He was one of the attendants who were making a keen search for me I returned thanks for the glorious results of my meditation on the holy personality and for the marvellous Divine aid, and got on the saddle and became joyous and thankful Just then I heard a kettledrum I hastened in its direction and saw 'Arab Bahadur and a party of soldiers who were looking for me I came with him to Shahbaz K. and told him the tale of how I had been succoured by the spiritual and temporal King of Kings All bowed their heads on witnessing this great miracle

I magnify the multiplex, sublime influences which yield such 1
rays of guardianship for the protection and guidance of those who may be far away from the precincts of the carpet of honour, and which brighten the eyes of the hearts of the auspicious ones who are

in the court of the Presence Accordingly,[1] many a time during this august campaign did he cause the children who had come to despair of him to be filled with joy by the good news of his being alive and of his returning. Some of those who were sunk in the whirlpool of ignorance and who regarded the tricklings of truth as merely conventional comfortings, arose from their negligent somnolence, bedewed with shame[2]

God be praised for that the throne-occupier of Unity in Multiplicity continually raises by wonderful contrivances the sincere to increased light, and kindles a lamp of guidance for the unfortunate who are in the gloomy abode of ignorance, and makes them acquainted with illumination What marvel is it if the holy spirits of highly-favoured God knowers have such wondrous power? Or how is it strange if those who rub their foreheads on the thresholds of holy souls have such joy after agony? But petty-spirited formalists *from smallness of understanding imagine real excellence and spiritual eminence to exist among the rag-wearers of the desert of asceticism*, and on beholding such miracles as these (in Akbar) bind thousands of loads of astonishment on the heavy footed porters of their hearts.

Amongst the wonderful things which he (Peshrau K) related was this "While I was hastening along I fell in with a man in chains[3] He took pity on my loneliness[4] and made his servant go with me In return for his kindness I released him On that very day just as he[5]

[1] It is not clear whether this is a general statement or refers only to the children of Peshrau K

[2] Meaning that when Akbar told friends or relations that some absent one would return they thought it was merely 'vacant chaff well meant for grain This sentence seems to show that the previous sentence is a general statement and does not refer merely to Peshrau

[3] Masalsal Perhaps this was a revenue-defaulter See the word used with reference to Shāh Manṣūr A N III, 193 Apparently he was accompanied by his servant

[4] This seems to refer to the time when he was travelling post and by land If he had been in the boat (see text p 169) he would have had his boatmen, and perhaps the four companions whom he alludes to at p 186 *Perhaps the loneliness refers to his being in a foreign country* and ignorant of the language He had been brought up in Tabriz

[5] The sentence is obscure, but I think the 'he in this place must refer to the servant and not to the man in chains It looks almost as if the latter had been chained up in some place in the jungle, but allowed

by being separated from the unfortunate one emerged from the de file of the wilds, so did I by the unluckiness of his coming fall into prison In the beginning of that night which was followed by the dawn which released me from my deadly captivity he, with many other prisoners, was sent to the pit of annihilation Just as I by the misfortune of his company was seized by evil, so was I by the bless ing of his departure made the attainer of happiness"

One of the occurrences was the erasure of the writing of the life of Biri Sal When the light of the celestial rays which is the shin ing lamp of daily increasing fortune, made Gajpati a vagabond of the desert of ruin, and when, though Shergarh[1] was a strong refuge i e from confusion and mortal fear and with the thorn of failure in his foot hastened to the hill country of Rohtas, and put upon his shoulder the mantle of ignominy, his brother Biri Sāl and many others of the rebels put their trust in the hills and glades of the for est Brave and active men followed and suddenly fell upon them and he and many others were slain Much booty was obtained

Another event of increasing fortune was the taking of the fort of Rohtas Whereas loyalty, laboriousness, and the non selling[2] of service are the keys of success, and the untiers of the knots of deeds and of glorious enterprises—which worldlings regard as difficult—this fort, the taking of which by physical means was an arduous task, was easily gained and with little effort When Gajpati was trodden under foot by misfortune his son Sri Ram[3] and a number

to have his servant He gave his servant to Peshrau and presumably departed to his home The servant went with Peshrau Peshrau s com ing freed the servant from the neces sity of staying on in the jungle but the ill luck of his company led to Peshrau s being seized Then the servant was led off to execution and Peshrau says his departure saved him Peshrau s story does not occur in the Lucknow edition It is an interesting tale but A F has done his best to spoil it by his turgid and staccato mode of writing Pesh rau was a title and was apparently given on account of the courier s activity His real name, or at least another name was Mihtar Sāadat See B 497 and Jahāngīr s Memoirs

[1] Ruined village in Shahabad dis trict 20 miles S W Sāsaram Sher Shāh built a strong fortress here which is described in the Archæo logical Survey I G XXII 272

[2] *Khidmat nafaroshī* A F re flects on those who, as he expresses it sell their services i e do not act from loyalty but from greed

[3] This name does not occur in the

89 of audacious rebels collected materials of defence and established themselves in Shergarh Shahbaz K set himself to besiege it, and commenced to construct *sabat* (covered ways), etc Most of the rebels in the country took the highway of submission During this interval, by the wondrous working of prestige, a fresh flower adorned the garden of wishes The brief account of this is that when the country was without any great officer, Rohtâs fell into the hands of Junaid. He made it over to one of his trusted followers named Saiyid Muhammad When Junaid was killed, Saiyid Muhammad for some time guarded the fort with evil intentions But as he had no proper backing, he thought to himself that he might, by the mediation of some influential person at the imperial court, use the fort as an offering and so become one of the imperial servants But from abundant shrewdness he did not openly say anything At this time the bandits of the neighbourhood of the fort, without whose concurrence it was difficult to get near the hill, were influenced by dread of the imperial army and elected to become loyal Mozaffar Khan also marched with the army of Bihar to take the fort The garrison lost endurance, and they opened up a correspondence with Shahbaz K. by sending trusty men to him and making proposals for obtaining quarter. He readily acceded to their wishes, and went there rapidly with some brave men He made the bewildered garrison joyful and returned thanks to God Mozaffar Khan on hearing of this delightsome conquest sorrowfully retraced his steps.

One of the occurrences was the taking of Shergarh When, owing to daily increasing fortune, Rohtas had come into possession, the inhabitants of this mountainous tract (koh paya) lost confidence Before the veil had been removed from the face of their actions, Sri Ram, their head, wisely recognised the majesty of the imperial fortune, and paid his repects to Shahbaz K He delivered over the keys of the fort to him and amended his evil fortune

One of the occurrences was the despatch of victorious troops to the province of Jālor and Sirohi and their being successful When it came to the august hearing that Taj Khan Jalori had twisted his head away from obedience, and that Deora Rai of Sirohi was also, from ignorance, not observing the rules of servitude, Tarson Khan,

genealogical tree which I have received from the office of the Raja of Dumraon

Though at first sight well wishing has reference to the good, yet on *profound inspection it is clear that there may be well wishing with* reference to the evil And though at first sight it is reproof which is addressed to the disobedient and turbulent, yet in reality it is a source of bliss for such as are pure For by the vigour of a proper investigation, the testing of the essential substance is brought to the touchstone of the balance, so that the *cherishing of the first class (i e,* the good) and the source of exaltation may be impressed on the mind of the superficial followers of custom And it is clear that the assemblage of the duties of sovereignty reposes primarily on the responsibility of throne occupiers of wide capacity who belong to the palace of Sultan Wisdom From this view the pious King of Kings applies his own holy spirit to the disposal of matters which cannot be managed in the most excellent way by his servants Accordingly at this time, which was the beginning of the radiation of the luminary of prestige, when a ray showed that the Rānā had lifted up his head for sedition in the southern hill country, and that Rai Narayan Dās [1] was rearing the standard of presumption in Īdar, and also that the heads of another faction were itching with pride, he resolved to go hunting [2] in that country On the day of Marisfand 29 Mihr, Divine month, the different grades of officers and a number of servants who had the bliss of being at court came forward in troops, adorned with steel, and presented themselves for inspection.

Verse

The heroes were sunk in iron from head to foot,
Their appearance was like that of a mirror
A man so encased himself in iron
That his eyelashes took the shape of needles [3]

1 On that day the royal cavalier chiefly rode upon the elephant Balsundar, and though the pretext of the ride was a joyous hunting party, and only some servants of the Presence were in attendance, a

1 J II, 241, where it is said that Narayan Dās was of such austere life that he lived on the grain voided by cattle

2 *lit* to hunt that country as his game

3 *Sozan* It also means the instrument used to clean the touch hole of a gun

great army made its appearance On 31 Mihr, Divine month (about 11 October 1576), after Divine worship—which consisted in the arrangement of outward affairs—he marched from the pleasant spot of Ajmere towards Goganda A sublime order was given that the officers of the guard (*umra-i kishik*)[1] should every day after performing their service hasten forward and become the watchmen of the processes of enlightenment, and also that they should when entering on their duties of serving in the fore court of the Presence perform the kornish When the standards of fortune approached their destination many of the presumptuous ones of that country rubbed the forehead of obedience The Rana went into the hill country of contempt before the majesty of the Shahinshāh Out of precaution and farsightedness Qutbu d-din Khan, Rajah Bhagwant Das, and Kuar Man Singh with sundry of the imperial servants were sent off in order that they might go into the hollows of the hills and lay hands on the villainous dweller in ravines Qulij Khan, Khwaja Ghiasu d din 'Ali Āsaf Khān, Mir Ghiasu-d din 'Ali Naqib Khan, Timūr Badakhshī, Mir Abulghais, Nuram Qulij and many other strenuous men were sent on that day to Īdar in order that they might clear that country of the weeds of the ungrateful

One of the occurrences was H M 's inclination towards the pilgrimage to the Hijaz But on the petition of the officers of dominion he abandoned his intention The world's lord in his abundant piety and recognition of the truth is ever strenuous in doing the will of God And in spite of all his treasures, material and spiritual, he,

[1] *Kishik* is a Turkish word meaning a baton This obscure sentence does not occur in the Lucknow ed Some light is thrown on it by the 9th A n of the 2nd Book Blochmann 257 In the Ain text this Ain is called the *Āin i-Kishik* and Blochmann has translated that as Rules about mounting guard It would seem from this chapter that guards were relieved and inspected in the evening, and the order of Akbar seems to have been that the officers should perform the kornish or the taslīm both when going off duty and when coming on duty The kornish and taslīm were ordinary salutes and different from the *sijda* or prostration which was only allowed to the followers of the Divine Faith and then only in private assemblies The phrase become the watchmen of the processes of enlightenment seems to mean that after and before performing their ministerial duties of watching they became by appearing before Akbar guardians of enlightenment or spiritual awakening

owing to his wide capacity and ample talents, does not regard what he has attained to as the satisfaction (*lit* breakfast) of his desires And because the world illuminating light has taken possession of his vision, he looks not at his own daily increasing beauty, and the glance of search is ever beaming from the eastern horizon of his soul The foot of his genius is ever in quest of the sign of the signless One (God) At this time a set of persons without ties[1] (*lawandan*) who hailed from the land of simplicity perceived the royal cavalier's eagerness for bodily acts of devotion and especially for visiting distant shrines of martyrs,[2] and suggested again to this keen traveller of the wilderness of search the pilgrimage to the Hijaz Though from the plenitude of his wisdom it was clear to him that pilgrimage[3] was the first step (only) for truth seeking ascetics, and that those who had gone upon such journeys, and still more those who had reached the fountain head of their desires, had gathered up their skirts from such earthly and formal worship and given their energies to other things There were other tasks for the great ones of the social world, and their worship was of another character Especially was this so in the case of justice administering rulers, and most of all was it so in the case of such a world Adorner who had taken the burden of mankind on his shoulders, and who, by his skilful projects, and flashing scimitar, had converted the territories of so many great princes into an abode of peace How could such a form of worship be deemed suitable for him? Nevertheless the God-loving sovereign felt constrained to fulfil every condition of solidarity, and so grasped this journey in the skirt of his energies The Court favourites and the sages of the holy assemblages described the devotions of the social and the recluse state—they were already clear to his truthful mind—and represented—in the manner in which the honest and upright make remonstrances—that some of the great geniuses who had garnered truth, and who had held such journeys to be legitimate for his holy class, had made it conditional upon no dust of failure entering thereby the

[1] Lawand is a name applied to faquirs and other religious devotees

[2] *Mashahad* sepulchres of martyrs, but the word martyr does not necessarily mean in Muhammadan hagiography one who has witnessed with his blood Muinu-d-dīn for instance died a natural death

[3] Perhaps the meaning rather is that the first step for ascetics is the search for truth

pleasant abode of the cherishing of their subjects The just sovereign, in accordance with his own lofty understanding, and for the sake of guarding the hearts of the sincere and single-minded, erased the characters of his desire from his heart tablet.

As there[1] was a necessity for making some arrangement, his right judging mind determined that an upright and experienced man should be sent to that country in order that, whilst the precious jewel of truth became polished by the spiritual retractation (of purpose), so also might outward performance be effected by means of this deputation Sultan Khwāja Naqshbandī—who had an abundant portion of the above qualities—was on the day mentioned[2] appointed "Amīr-i-Ḥāj" and dispatched He was given six lakhs of rupees and 12 000 khil'ats in order that he might distribute presents in accordance with the rules of propriety, and also might bestow gifts on those who chose to exile themselves for this long journey. An order was also given that inquiries should be undertaken and a clear list made of the recluses of that country, who from being occupied in looking after their souls, had not leisure to follow professions or handicrafts, and of the other patient paupers of the land The object of his holy thought was that an enlightened person of the court might be sent every year to that country so that abundant provision might be made from the table of the Shahinshāh's bounty for the needy of that country as for the necessitous of other climes There were various classes of men in this auspicious caravan, and especially those connected with the family of contemplation and enlightenment, and those associated

[1] The sentence is obscure and perhaps the meaning is that as external circumstances prevented Akbar from going in person a deputy was appointed. The "spiritual retractation" mentioned in the same sentence is in the original *bāzgasht i m'ānavī* and seems to mean the return of Akbar's spirit from the Ḥijāz Though he did not actually go there, his spirit went or was going, and then after the expostulations of his courtiers, his spirit returned

[2] No day is expressly mentioned. Perhaps the date in question is that on which Akbar left Ajmere which was 31 Mihr, or 11th October 1576 The Iqbālnāma however gives the date of Sultan Khwāja's departure as Thursday 2 Sh'abān or 25th October 1576 Perhaps however this is the date on which the caravan and the army parted company The Iqbālnāma adds that Akbar put on the pilgrim's dress and that he took S Khwāja by the hand and made him his deputy

with demonstration and testimony (*shahud*) Never before had there been such a coming of seekers of blessing from India to that country

S'aādat[1] Yār Koka, Shāh Khwāja, Malik Mahmūd, Qāzi 'Imādu l-mulk, Maulānā 'Abdu r Rahmān Wāiz[2] (preacher) Mullā 'Abdullah Wafādar, Khwāja Ashraf, Khwāja Husain 'Ali Farkhāri, Maulanā Fazlī Naushād, Shāh Mirza, Jamal Khan Bilūc were among the pilgrims In his great kindness H M ordered that the officers who had been dispatched to Goganda and Īdar should act as escort The large caravan went by the way of the Haldi pass, and proceeded with the victorious army to Goganda They passed through the defiles and ridges and reached Pauwāra From that place Quṭbu d dīn Khan and Rajah Bhagwān Dās and the other soldiers who had been appointed to extirpate the Rānā turned back and went off to Goganda *When they reached the native country of that ill fated* one, he went off to the pit of contempt and placed the mantle of
93 concealment on his head The troops which had been sent off to *march to Īdar escorted the pilgrims stage by stage and arrived there on the day of* Amardad 7 Abān, Divine month The haughty ones of that country went off to the defiles of the hill country, but a number of Rājpūts took post in temples and houses and resolved to die A number of heroes such as Hira Bhan, 'Umr[3] Khan Afghan, and Hasan Bahādur hastened to extirpate them The ill fated ones unsheathed their swords and made ready their spears and came forward to the

the pilgrim-caravan moved towards Gujarat, and Timur Badakhshi and a number of officers escorted it On account of the periods being unseasonable for the sea-journey the caravan halted in Ahmadabad

One of the occurrences was that the far seeing prince raised Khwaja Shah Mansur Shirazi, who was an adept at the mysteries of accounts, to the high office of Vizier He had formerly been appointed one of the head-officers[1] of the Perfumery department, but owing to his quickness and zeal (*josh i-rashd*) he had disputes with Mozaffar Khan and was dismissed After much ill success he joined Mun'im Khan and when he came to court about the affairs of Bengal his abilities became conspicuous When Mun'im Khan died, Rajah Todar Mal on account of questions about accounts imprisoned him and put chains on him H M from his great appreciation of merit sent an order, summoning him to court At this time, which was the beginning of the smiling of the Spring of dominion, Shah Mansur glorified the forehead of his fortune by prostration on the holy threshold, and without the recommendation of courtiers—which is what helps most men—and without experience—which the experts regard as the evidence for promoting servants—the weight and influence of the Khwaja increased Though the wide capacity and abounding knowledge of H M are independent of the help of a minister (*Dastur*) and though the brilliance of the wisdom of this unique one of creation puts the ordinary servants of the Sultanate into the straits of inactivity yet from his appreciative power, and 194
from his shutting his eyes to the shining of his own God given beauty, he is ever searching for a good man (*sara-i adam*) and continually expresses by words and acts his wish for such a choice man, and assigns to him the office of a living second soul and a third eye (to Akbar's own) But it is apparent that the incomparable Deity wills that the holy personality of the Shahinshah should come forth from retirement and seclusion, and that the disciplinary laws of mortals—which are fitted to be universal regulations should come forth from him whom He himself hath made great, and that the world illuminating beauty of the lord of the earth should be

[1] *Tashraf i-atriyat* Apparently countant to the department (Mush

with demonstration and testimony (*shahūd*) Never before had there been such a coming of seekers of blessing from India to that country.

S'aādat[1] Yār Koka, Shāh Khwāja, Malik Maḥmūd, Qāzi 'Imādu-l-mulk, Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Wā'iz[2] (preacher) Mullā 'Abdullah Wafādār, Khwāja Ashraf, Khwāja Husain 'Ali Farkhāri, Maulānā Fazl Naushād, Shāh Mirza, Jamāl Khān Bilūc were among the pilgrims In his great kindness H M ordered that the officers who had been dispatched to Goganda and Īdar should act as escort The large caravan went by the way of the Haldi pass, and proceeded with the victorious army to Goganda They passed through the defiles and ridges and reached Panwāra From that place Quṭbu d-din Khān and Rajah Bhagwān Dās and the other soldiers who had been appointed to extirpate the Rānā, turned back and went off to Goganda When they reached the native country of that ill fated one, he went off to the pit of contempt and placed the mantle of
33 concealment on his head. The troops which had been sent off to march to Īdar escorted the pilgrims stage by stage and arrived there on the day of Amardād 7 Abān, Divine month The haughty ones of that country went off to the defiles of the hill country, but a number of Rājpūts took post in temples and houses and resolved to die A number of heroes such as Hira Bhān, 'Umr[3] Khān Afghan, and Hasan Bahādur hastened to extirpate them The ill-fated ones unsheathed their swords and made ready their spears and came forward to the scene of life sacrifice Many of the imperial soldiers turned back, but those above named brought the jewel of firmness to the magnificent market and behaved marvellously. Umr Khan and Hasan Bahādur drank the last wholesome draught and went to the paradise of repose The stiff-necked and ignorant ones fell headlong into the pit of annihilation, and the city together with abundant plunder fell into the hands of the imperial servants, and they occupied themselves in keeping order and in administering justice. From thence

[1] Possibly this is the son or step son of Gulbadan Begam See Bloch mann 443 Gulbadan B speaks in her Memoirs of her son S aādat Yar If it was he he died in 1003 A H A N III 656 He had a sister Ḥāji Koka and a brother, whose daughter married A F s son 'Abdu-r Raḥmān, A N III 579

[2] This is the Transoxiana priest mentioned at p 74 of text

[3] It seems probable that this is the father of Daulat K and grand father of Khān Jahān Lodī See Abū Turāb s History of Gujarat p 84

the pilgrim-caravan moved towards Gujarat, and Timur Badakhshi and a number of officers escorted it On account of the periods being unseasonable for the sea-journey the caravan halted in Ahmadabad

One of the occurrences was that the far seeing prince raised Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr Shīrāzī, who was an adept at the mysteries of accounts, to the high office of Vizier He had formerly been appointed one of the head officers[1] of the Perfumery department, but owing to his quickness and zeal (*josh i-rashd*) he had disputes with Moẓaffar Khan and was dismissed After much ill success he joined Mun'im Khān and when he came to court about the affairs of Bengal his abilities became conspicuous When Mun'im Khan died, Rajah Todar Mal on account of questions about accounts imprisoned him and put chains on him H M from his great appreciation of merit sent an order, summoning him to court At this time, which was the beginning of the smiling of the Spring of dominion, Shāh Manṣur glorified the forehead of his fortune by prostration on the holy threshold, and without the recommendation of courtiers—which is what helps most men—and without experience—which the experts regard as the evidence for promoting servants—the weight and influence of the Khwaja increased Though the wide capacity and abounding knowledge of H M are independent of the help of a minister (*Dastur*), and though the brilliance of the wisdom of this unique one of creation puts the ordinary servants of the Sultanate
into the straits of inactivity yet from his appreciative power, and **194**
from his shutting his eyes to the shining of his own God given beauty, he is ever searching for a good man (*sara-i adam*) and continually expresses by words and acts his wish for such a choice man, and assigns to him the office of a living second soul and a third eye (to Akbar's own) But it is apparent that the incomparable Deity wills that the holy personality of the Shahinshah should come forth from retirement and seclusion, and that the disciplinary laws of mortals—which are fitted to be universal regulations should come forth from him whom He himself hath made great, and that the world illuminating beauty of the lord of the earth should be

[1] *Tashrif i-ʿIṭrīyāt* Apparently his appointment was that of accountant to the department (*Mushrif*). See Blochmann 430

impressed on the hearts of small and great. If such a wise man of wide capacity and the unique of the unequalled court—such as H M is looking for—were found, a number of short-sighted persons belonging to the world of formalism would adopt the injurious idea that those great laws emanated from this man's wisdom! Though the wise of the age do not see the propriety of the Unique one of God's having a Vizier, yet as H M observes the connection between spiritual and temporal things and preserves both of these high matters he on the day of Gosh 14 Abān, Divine month, appointed the Khwaja to this high office Although he possessed no share of the current sciences yet he was at the head of the first rate men of the age for excellence in speech and in action, and together with these qualities he had a wide capacity

One of the occurrences was that when he encamped at the town of Mohi [1] Shihābu d din Ahmad Khān, Shāh Fakhru d din Mashhadi, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Muttalib Khan and the officers of the province of Mālwa came and did observance Each of them was the recipient of favours in accordance with the degree of his loyalty For some days that spot was made illustrious by the Shāhinshāh and the condition of the inhabitants was properly supervised Bahādurs such as Ghāzi Khān Badakhshi, Sharif K Atka, Mujāhid K and Subhān Quli Turk were left in Mohi, and 'Abdu r-Rahmān son of Muyid Beg, and 'Abdu r Rahmān the son of Jalālu d din Beg, and others were left in Madariya [2] Similarly, brave men were appointed to other places in order that whenever that wicked strife monger (Rānā Partāb) should come out of the ravines of disgrace he might suffer retribution When the holy mind had disposed of the affairs of that region he on the day of Mihr 16 Āzār, Divine month, proceeded by way of Bānswāla (Banswara) towards Mālwa His whole wish was that the country might obtain justice by the blessing of his advent, and that the general community might, under the shadow of his graciousness obtain rest and repose

95 One of the occurrences was that Qutbu d-din K and Rajah Bhagwant Dās were censured The brief account of this is that the leaders of the army of fortune had reached the abode of the Rāna As no trace could be found of that turbulent one, they hastily, and

[1] Mohanī of Badayūnī [2] J II 274 It was in Sarkār Citor

without orders, came to court on hearing of the approach of the royal standards As the observance of the orders of the Sultanate rests, in the first place, on great commanders, and in the second on the inferior servants, they were excluded from the bliss of doing homage and were reproved When they showed signs of penitence (lit when the characters of repentance were clear in the lines of their foreheads to correct readers of such marks), and had made confession of their shortcomings, they were permitted to present themselves

One of the occurrences was that while the sublime cortège was passing through Udaipūr, reports came from Gujarat to the effect that a set of ignorant persons had vexed the pilgrims by frightening them about the officers of the Feringhi ports Though their pure highnesses[1] were addressing them with words of wisdom, and the

[1] *Ḥazrāt Qadsī*, lit holy Presences cf Ḥazrāt Begamān A N 66 1 5 I think this expression must refer to Gulbadan Begam and the ladies who accompanied her on pilgrimage If it does not refer to them it must mean either the holy persons such as Sultān Khwājah and the Maulvis who were with the pilgrims, or some other noble ladies who were in the caravan But I am doubtful if the phrase 'holy Presences' would be applied to Sultan K and the Maulvis, and we do not hear that any ladies of high rank, except Gulbadan B and her party, went on pilgrimage at this time Then also there were two ships engaged and one, the Selīmī, was only for the ladies Surely only ladies of Gulbadan B and other Begams rank would be allowed the privilege of a separate ship The difficulty is that Gulbadan and her party left Fatḥpūr long before the caravan, but then Badayūnī tells us that they were detained for a year in Gujarat This would give time for the caravan to come up with them According to Badayūnī, text II 213, Gulbadan B and her party left Agra in 982, and he also seems to say that they reached Mecca in Sh'abān, 983 But what I think he means is that they sailed from Surat in Sh'abān, and also I think there must be a mistake in his dates and that 982 and 983 should be 983 and 984 unless indeed his 982 only refers to the end of that year and to the journey from Agra to Fatḥpūr Certainly A F says, III 145, that Gulbadan B and her party left Fatḥpūr in the end of Mihr of the 20th year, i.e., about the middle of October 1575 or Sh'abān 983 Niẓāmu d-dīn also, Elliot V 391, puts the departure into the 20th year, and he seems to connect it with the appointment of a Mīr Ḥāj If then, as Badayūnī says, Gulbadan B and her party had to wait a year in Gujarat, they would not sail till October 1576 or Sh'abān 984 Badayūnī says that they performed four

imperial officers were encouraging them, the generality refused to be comforted. In his great kindness H.M.[1] could not allow this company of voluntary exiles to be left in distress. Accordingly he summoned Qulīj Khān, who held several of the parts of Gujarat, to come to him by relays[2] of horses from the camp at Īdar, and then he sent him off to Gujarat in order that he might go as far as the seashore and soothe and assist the pilgrims.

[The Iqbālnāma seems to clear up the difficulty about the ladies having started long before the caravan, for it says expressly that Qulīj K. arranged for the departure in the ship Selīmī of "the chaste ladies of the harem who had started before" (the caravan).]

By the might of the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh he in a short space of time performed that excellent service. The secluded ladies[3] of the court of chastity sailed in the ship Selīmī, and Sultan

ḥajas or pilgrimages, and that they spent a year at Aden on account of their having been shipwrecked, and returned in 992 (1584). A. F. says, III. 385, that they spent 3½ years in the Ḥijāz and were detained for seven months, on the return voyage, at Aden. If they left Surat in Sha'ban 984 they probably would be in time for the Ḥaj which took place in the last month of that year. The other three ḥajas would be those of 985-87. 988 began in February 1580, and this might bring them to Aden in April of that year where Bayāzīd found them. (A. S. B. J., vol. 66, Part I, for 1898.)

[1] Possibly the meaning is that the ladies could not leave the other pilgrims behind.

[2] *basp-yām*. The text wrongly has bām. See P. de Courteille's Dict. Seeing that Qulīj K. was at Īdar in Ahmadabad Sarkār, J. II. 252, and only 40 kos from Aḥmadabad (Badayūnī II. 241), and that Akbar was at Udaipūr, one might have expected that the order would have directed Qulīj K. to proceed direct from Īdar to Surāt. But it appears from Niẓamu-d dīn, Elliot V. 403 and 404, that Qulīj was brought to Akbar by the messenger, who was 'Alī Murad Uzbeg (Badayūnī II. 243), and that the meeting took place in Banswāra. From there Qulīj K. went to Surat and with the assistance of a Cambay merchant named Kalyān Rai got passes for the ships and had them dispatched.

[3] I think this must be Gulbadan and the other ladies. It appears, Elliot V. 402, that the vessels sailed from Surat. According to Niẓāmu-d dīn 336 and Badayūnī II. 242 the difficulty was about getting passports (qaul) from the Portuguese. Qulīj K. with the help of Kalyān Rai arranged matters. Badāyūnī says, II. 242, that Kalyān Rai was a *baqāl* (shop keeper) of Cambay.

Khwāja and the other officers made the voyage in the ship Ilāhi. The Christian rulers and the chiefs of every country regarded the advent (of the pilgrims) as an honour and gathered the materials of eternal bliss.

One of the occurrences was that while the splendour of the august standards was casting glorious rays on the territory of Bānswāra, Rāūl Pertāp the head of that district—who was always stubborn—and Rāūl Askaran ruler of Dūngarpūr and other turbulent spirits of that country came and paid the prostration of repentance Inasmuch as H M's nature is to accept excuses, and to cherish the humble, he accepted the shame of their having rendered little service, at the rate of good service, and took the life, the honour and the country of this faction under the protection of his justice and kindness They were exalted by special favours

One of the occurrences was that the Mirzāda 'Ali Khān [1] came and did homage He brought 65 elephants out of the spoils of the 18
eastern provinces, and gave wonderful accounts of those regions and of the good services of the devotees of their lives There was cause for thanksgiving to the unequalled Creator

One of the occurrence was that troops were appointed to Goganda At this time it came to the august hearing that the Rānā had again made the hills and defiles means for turbulence and was engaged in evil thoughts On the day of Dibmihr 15 Dai, Divine month, Rajah Bhagwant Das, Kuār Mān Singh, M Khān the son of Bairām K, Qāsim K Mirbahar, and a number of experienced men went off to that country By the great attention of the Shāhinshāh that country was cleared from the thorn brake of rebellion, and adorned by just subjects

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal and 'Itmād K Khwājasarā arrived in Bānswāra from Bengal and did homage They presented glorious spoils of that county—among them were 304 noted elephants—and praised the wondrous and daily increasing fortune as shown in the success of the imperial servants, the failure of foes, the cleansing of the country from ingrates, and the repose of the inhabitants

---

[1] B 443

One of the occurrences was that in Dipālpūr, Rahmān Quli K Qūshbegi (falconer) arrived from the Ḥijāz and did homage He produced before H M the petitions of the *Sharīfs* and other officers of that country H M stayed some days in that neighbourhood for disposing of various matters of administration

One of the occurrences was the mission of Rajah Birbar and Rai Lankaran to Dūngarpur The brief account of this is that the Rajah of that place had from his good fortune petitioned through some intimates of the court that his daughter—who was one of the distinguished of the age for chastity and wisdom—might be included among the palatial servants (i e, might be married to Akbar) In this way a rare jewel would find its proper place, and also a great help would be given to his (the Rajah's) relations H M had regard to his loyalty and granted his request Those two confidential servants were given leave in order that they might convey in a choice manner the secluded one to the harem of fortune

One of the occurrences was that on the day of Farwardin 19 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, a report came from Rai Rai Singh announcing the conquest of Sirohi and the taking of Abūgarh[1] The brief account of this is that the Rai of Sirohi Sultan Deorah from his ill fate, and native savagery came to his own country with an evil intention At a signal from H M, Rai Rai Singh Saiyid Hāshim and other servants went to conquer that country, and to punish that evil disposed person They began by entering the country and by besieging him As the fort was strong, and he was without calculating reason, he thought that the lofty hills would protect him, and his arrogance increased The warriors took up their abode there and proceeded to act leisurely instead of rapidly Rai Rai Singh sent for his family from his home He whose fortune was slumbrous (the Rai of Sirohi) attacked the caravan on the road with a number of determined men Many Rajputs who were with the convoy and under the leadership of Raimal fought bravely and there was a great fight Many fell on both sides, but by the blessing of daily-increasing fortune that audacious highlander was defeated and became a vagabond in the desert of failure He abandoned Sirohi and went off to Abūgarh That country (Sirōhi) came, by the excellent conduct of the servants, to be in

cluded in the imperial dominions, and they hastened towards Abūgarh[1] The real name of this place is Arbudā Acal (here A F spells the words), and it had been converted by men's tongues and by time into Abugarh They say that Arbuda is the name of a spirit who comes in a female form to guide those who have gone astray in the desert of search Acal means a hill, and the idea is that that pure form is specially associated with the place Abugarh is near Sirohi, and on the borders of Ajmere towards Gujrat Its extent is about seven kos On the top of the hill the Rānā built in former times a sky high fortress The road to it is very difficult There are springs of good water, and sweet water wells, and there is sufficient cultivation to support the garrison There are various flowers and odoriferous plants and the air is very pleasant Wealthy people have for the sake of spiritual welfare erected temples and shrines there The victorious bands came to the fort by the aid of daily increasing fortune and so strong a fortress, such as great princes would have found it difficult to conquer, came into the hands of this party of loyalists with little effort S Deorah was bewildered by the majesty of the Sultanate of the Shāhinshāh and fell to supplications He took refuge with the auspicious servants and made the key of the fort the means of opening the knot of his fortune, by delivering it to them Rai Rai Singh left the fort in charge of able men, and proceeded to court along with the Rai of Sirohi

One of the occurrences was the sending the army of fortune to Khāndesh Rajah 'Ali Khān, the ruler of that country, being backed up by the other rulers of the Deccan, was remiss in his obedience and service The world's lord, in his abundant graciousness which shows itself to high and low, appointed on the day of 198
Bahrām 20 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, a suitable army under the charge of Shihābu d din Ahmad Khān, to proceed to that province Qutbu d-din Khan, Shuj'aāt, Bāqi K, Naurang K, M Nijāt K, 'Ali Dost K and many others were appointed to this service The order given was that they were in the first instance to address awakening words to the slumbrous in the desert of folly and to bring them to the city of truth, and make them flower-

[1] B 358 n 1 and J II 251 It is Mount Abu

gatherers in the garden of good service If from an evil star they remained in slumber, the troops were to exert themselves to clear off the rust from those darkened ones by the flashings of Indian swords They were to make over the country to just and disinterested men, and to protect the subjects generally, who are a trust from God

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal was despatched to the province of Gujarat When it came to the august hearing that that territory was in a disturbed state owing to the carelessness of Wazir K he bade skilful and trusty men to go there quickly and endeavour to put it into order with the aid of the officers of the country He hastened there and showed the jewel of his abilities to mankind The inhabitants and the visitors to the province enjoyed prosperity

One of the occurrences was that Shāhbāz K came to Dipālpur from the eastern provinces with the success due to his good services, and did homage When the capture of Rohtas, his victory over Gajpati and his other good services became known to H M, an order was issued that he should make over Rohtās to Muhibb 'Alī K, and come to court On the day of Ashtad 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month he rubbed the forehead of devotion on the threshold of fortune, and was exalted and encompassed by royal favours As H M was desirous that the world conquering armies should proceed with all expedition to the Deccan, and make that land a station of peace and a centre of justice, he signified to him that he should see to the equipment of the army and put it on a proper footing He performed this service in accordance with the order and made the *kornish* when H M was at the capital

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Īdar It has already been mentioned that when the star of the Rai of that country sank into the horizon of ruin H M, by constraint of the principle that just princes are the physicians of the world, and the *halīms* of horizons, sent thither an army of strenuous men If *conciliatory language had no effect they were to erase the picture* of his existence from the page of creation The ignorant man in his baseness and wickedness made the admonitions a cause of obstinacy When Qulij Khān was called away to the ports of Gujrat, he (the Rai of Īdar) indulged in worse thoughts, and by his own efforts became stained with the dust of dishonour The brief account of

this heavenly aid is as follows The Rai made those two things 19
(the admonitions and departure of Qulij K) a cause of increased presumption, and let a veil fall over his vision In a short time his senselessness became intoxication, and from his not seeing the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune (of Akbar), Āsa Rawal collected some daring men and came out of the defiles to deliver battle The imperial servants went to meet him On the night of Gosh 14 Isfandarmaz, Divine month, they left Sher K with a body of troops to guard the camp and proceeded to the field of battle Khwāja Ghiāsu d din 'Ali Aṣaf K commanded in the centre Timur Badakhshi commanded the right wing, and Mir Abu l Lais the left wing M Muqim Naqshbandi, Nur Qulij, Dhira Parmān, Mir Ghiāsu d din and others were in the van Shimāl K, Gadā Alī and others formed an ambush (kamin gāh) The enemy formed two bands and came on quickly M Muqim and some of the azis of the van displayed activity, and Moẓaffar advanced from the centre The brave men of the victorious army loosed their rein and rushed to do battle The daring Rajputs made ready their spears and encountered them There were wondrous hand to hand combats The jewel of courage was brought to the test and acquired fresh brilliancy

Verse

Drums thundered, the battle began,
Swords were drawn, heroes strove
Blood flowed like wine, then cries were the orchestra,
Daggerhilts were the cups, arrows the dessert (naql)

In spite of being wounded in the arm Nur Qulij did not restrain his hand from battle Moẓaffar fell to the ground from the onset of the Rajputs, but was rehorsed by brave men Dhira Parmān behaved courageously During this contest the van was put into disorder, but the abovenamed preserved their honour and stood, sacrificing their lives M Muqim drank the wholesome sherbet of death, and Quṭb K one of his companions also played away the coin of his life At the time when the van was discomfited the victorious troops pressed forward The foe did what they could, but had to fly The imperial servants, by the blessing of daily increasing aids, 20
became successful in the midday of despair, and exulted joyfully

When the news of victory reached the august ear, he returned thanks to God. The courageous servants were distinguished by royal favours

CHAPTER XXXV

BEGINNING OF THE 22ND DIVINE YEAR, VIZ THE YEAR DAI OF THE SECOND CYCLE

The justice loving sovereign performed the devotions of the solitary and the social state in the vicinity of Dipâlpur under the veil of hunting and produced harmony between the material and the spiritual life He gave inward rank to what was external The joyousness of the equable spring disclosed the face of delight, and the courts of bliss were thrown open The time of largesses received new lustre On the night of Monday 20 Ẕi l-haja (11 March 1577) after seven hours, twelve minutes, the sun cast his rays upon Aries

Verse

By the writing of power the world became like the picture
gallery of Mânı [1]
The garden by wisdom's light became like the thought of
Avicenna,
You d say the earth from joy was like the sky
You'd say the sky bloomed like a garden

One of the occurrences was the departure of Mâhı [2] Begam to the spiritual world That nursling of the rose garden of the Caliphate was the grand child of Râwal Harıaj the ruler of Jaisalmır Regarding the dust bin of the earth as a granary of grief, she on 18 Farwardin, Divine month (28 March 1577), turned her face from the outer world and did not gather flowers in a fading garden for a 201
longer space than a year

[1] The painter and heretic There is an account of him, taken from Khwandamir, in Meninski pref, p 57, ed 1780

[2] This was a daughter of Akbar There is no mention of her in the T A Nor is the name of her mother known

Verse

Deep is the ocean round this isle,
Black the earth and dark the water
By the departure of that flower of paradise,
The boat was broke in the wave of the heart

The ladies displayed much grief and shed many tears How shall I write of the state of the world's lord? It comes not within the mould of description! From the grief which that fountain of graciousness used to feel for the deaths of the children of his servants, the acute may in some measure conjecture what he felt for the death of his own child But he infolded himself with patience, and chose the pleasant abode of composure

Verse

May the King live for ever in good fortune
May there be to him the freshness of tiara and throne

In the beginning of this glorious year the fortress of Bundi[1] was taken, and Dauda the son of Rai Surjan received his deserts Previously an army had been sent against him, but as it appeared that this force did not act honestly, Zain Khān Kokaltash was sent off on this service from Rāmpur on the day of Bahrām, 20 Farwardin, Divine month, corresponding to 10 Muharram 985 (30 March 1577) There were sent with him Rai Surjan the father of Dauda, Bhoj his brother Ram Cand Kaim Sai, and others An order was also given that the officers formerly employed in this service should co operate and exert themselves in carrying out the work In a short time the fortress of Bundi was taken, and Daudā betook himself to the ravines of the hill country When the country had obtained repose, Zain K Koka, by H M 's orders, left Bhōj and other warriors to protect it, and proceeded to court in company with Rai Surjan At the first stage he heard that there were disturbances in the country and was obliged to return The brief account of this is as follows Many of the soldiers had fallen into poverty from staying long in that hill country, and when the Koka went off, the evil disposed portion of the army raised a report that Daudā was coming, and

---

[1] Rajputana Gazetteer, I 203

t about plundering The Urdu bazār (camp-market) and much the city were sacked The officers out of fear and ignorance ere on the point of coming away The Kokaltāsh returned and ok up his quarters there By the Divine help and by wisdom he ot the upper hand over pleasure and preferred hidden service 202 personally waiting upon H M He despatched Rai Surjan to ourt with some spices[1] (*maṣāliḥ*) and set about putting the country nto order Neither outward want of equipment nor the general ant of heart affected him, and the dust of dissension was at nce laid Joy returned to the despondent, and the wicked gossips unk into contempt, while the rebellious received proper punishment On the day of Gosh, 14 Ardibihisht, Divine month, the fort of Ranthanbhor became the seat of the tents of victory The world's ord ascended the castle and reposed for a time in the palace of Rai Surjan From thence he proceeded to Fathpūr, and when he rrived there the high officers did homage, and every one was the recipient of favours On the night of 31 Ardībihisht Divine month, he city received glory from his advent

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Zain K Koka at ourt, and his communicating to H M the account of his victory It has already been mentioned that he took up his quarters in Būndī and applied himself to clearing out the places in that country Many of the soldiers had from the deficiency of means of livelihood taken to evil courses That turbulent one (Daudā) whose fortune was somnolent did not pay attention to the wondrous fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and did not take into account the victorious troops, and grew presumptuous He collected some vagabonds and raised the standard of insolence on the top of the hill of Ūntgardan (camel's neck) That is a lofty hill and one difficult to surmount His sole idea was that he might take advantage of an opportunity and do some damage to the victorious camp Zain K Koka arranged his warriors in three bands and pushed forward He inspired many warriors to advance to the heights, and he himself

[1] *Maṣāliḥ* means spices but its occurrence is somewhat curious. The word also means employments, and the meaning here may be that Surjan was sent on some business to court Or perhaps the word is used instead of *maṣāliḥguzār* and means peace makers

together with Rai Bhoj and with the assistance of the mountaineers fared bravely forward They had passed through the defiles and come near the summit, when the enemy became aware of them and made an advance There was a fire of musketry, and by the blessing of the daily-increasing fortune three noted men among the foe were slain The others gave way On seeing the glory of the Divine aid the Koka pressed on still more, and when the base
03 one (Daudâ) was with a party of audacious ones making a disturbance, he arrived at the spot, and there was a hot engagement

Verse

From the arrows and shields that were displayed,
No longer a desert, it became a flower-garden
The violet-swords gleamed,
The ensigns robbed the eye of sight

By good fortune and a happy star the foe became blistered of foot in the stony tract of failure A hundred and twenty of their noted men fell in that engagement The haughty and presumptuous mountaineer was defeated When the country was cleared of the dust of rebellion it was given in charge to Rai Bhoj Zain Khân did homage and was encompassed with royal favours

Among the occurrences was the revision[1] of the management of the treasury By the orders of King Wisdom, the care of property, and the increase of finances are, in the code of princes, a choice form of the Divine worship of the capital of the social state Though the sublime genius of the world's lord addresses itself, in consequence of his position as caravan leader of the spiritual world, to the true object of worship, and has erased fictitious pictures from the portico of his vision, yet he regards *the observance of the rules of the outer world—which are the* adornment of lofty minds—as right and proper, just as secular princes do From such practice no dust settles upon his holy environment, nor does any mist arise in the rose-garden of his One-ness Hence it is that the religion of this unique one of creation, unlike the devotion of worldly contemplators, needs no

[1] The first examination of the treasuries was made by Itmad K, B 13 and n There were no less than twelve treasuries, id 14

supplementing.[1] Every portion of the time of this celestial walker runs over with supplications and peculiar devotions, and produces in the outer world without the veil of hesitation or delay, the calm which is the proper condition of the social state. Ṣādiq K., Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr and some other honest and able men—who were abodes of trust, and balances (*qisṭās*) of knowledge—were sent from Fatḥpūr to Agra in order that they might inspect the public treasuries and test the treasurers and accountants, and custodians. On thorough inquiry the officials were found to be upright and were rewarded by favours and confidence.

---

[1] *Qaṣa nādarad.* For Qaẓā see Hughes' Dict. of Islam. It is praying or fasting to make up for omissions.

CHAPTER XXXV.

(This chapter begins with the account of the appointment of S'aīd Khān[1] to be atālīq or tutor to Sulṭan Daniel The author indulges in a page of rhetoric about the qualifications necessary for such an office He then proceeds to say, "S'aīd K accepted with thanksgiving this great boon, and made great feasts, and tendered suitable presents His quarters were made glorious by the advent of the prince")

One of the occurrences was an outbreak of pimples in the body
05 of Prince Sulṭan Selim This began on 12 Khurdād, Divine month, and was accompanied by fever The loving lord bent in meditation over the pillow of the nursling of fortune's garden and read in the pages of fate that he would be cured So also did the ascetics, the astrologers, and the soothsayers, give tidings of joy But as skilful physicians were not confident in diagnosing the disease, the ladies of the harem and the servants in general were not reassured During this state of suspense an eruption (*judari*) showed itself, and the physicians also now said that he would recover In a short time it dried up, and a feast was held in honour of his recovery The world rejoiced, and the auspicious gained knowledge about H M's acquaintance with hidden things, and made the prostration of benediction

One of the occurrences was the arrival of letters from the Niẓām-al-mulk of the Deccan along with presents from that country Bāqī[2] K had been sent to him as the bearer of valuable counsels, and he on receiving the orders of the imperial court sent his trusty servant Wafā K along with Bāqī K On the day of Dai ba mihr, 15 Khurdād, Divine month, they performed the kornish, and noted elephants and rarities of the country were produced before H M

---

[1] B 331

[2] So in text, but I O MSS and the Iqbālnāma have Ṣānī Khān, and this is probably right Ṣānī K was a Persian and a Shi a, and so likely to be acceptable to the Aḥmadnagar court, see B 476 whereas Bāqī K was a Sunnī

One of the occurrences was that Shaikh[1] Jamāl Bakhtiyār was saved from danger of his life by the blessing of the holy spirit of H M In this saltpit of a world it has long been usual that when a ruler admits some favourite to his intimacy, his real friends and well wishers assist in his advancement, while a number of ill conditioned servants, and enemies in the guise of friends, are, owing to the disease of envy, ever striving to throw down the chosen one He, however, by the blessing of his special connection (with the ruler) rejoices in the Divine protection In accordance with this blameworthy custom many narrow minded and envious ones were annoyed by the elevation of the Shaikh and took advantage of the carelessness of the butler to poison his drink As soon as he swallowed it, there was a change in his condition Dārāb[2] who was one of H M 's prominent servants, out of friendship drank some of the same fluid, and he too at once fell into a confused state They remained for a day and night in a dangerous condition When H M heard of this he employed medical remedies, and also somewhat of spiritual medicines, and by the blessing of his 208
attentions they recovered

One of the occurrences was an increase of the disturbance of Mozaffar Husain M When the world conquering standards displayed the conquest of Gujarāt, each of the Mirzas received his punishment and was an outcast in the desert of ruin Gulrukh Sultan Begam, the mother of Mozaffar Husain, by skill and strenuous exertions, carried off the inexperienced boy to the Deccan, as has already been related As he had turned away his face from the altar of fortune, the stewards of fate stained him with the dust of despair As in that country (the Deccan) the thorn of unsuccess entered the foot of his desires, he, at the instigation of some evil-

[1] B 425 B says his sister was superintendent of Akbar's Harem but the Maasir II 564 says that she was one of Akbar's wives At p 266 it says she was *sar āmad mahalāt* which probably means that she was chief wife or favourite Her name was Gohara-n nisā

[2] There is the variant Rūp and this is the name given in Maasir II 566 and in both the I O MSS, Dārāb looks like a title and an inversion of ābdār He is perhaps the Rūp Khwāṣ of Jahangir's Mem (Price's translation) p 35 He is there mentioned as a man of great courage but an incorrigible drunkard He was a Muḥammadan

disposed persons, perceived Gujarat to be vacant and proceeded thither The tongues of the praters of futilities in the by-lanes waxed long When H M heard of this occurrence, he, on the day of Mihr,[1] 16 Khurdād, Divine month, issued an order that the high officers should regard the suppression of the disturbances in Gujarāt as of more importance than the conquest of Khāndes, and should proceed to the former place That crew from their being unable to comprehend the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, considered that the performance of the service (of conquering Khāndes) was beyond their capacity and so were procrastinating Moreover, the ebullition of cupidity had come to such a pitch that they thought that they could by talking largely get money from the rulers of the country and lay foundations of a peace By such political treachery, which in fact was the digging up the foundation of their own happiness, they thought to gild the palace roof[2] of their fortunes

Verse

Aha for the vain thought, Aha for the impossible fancy !

They were whispering such disloyal things in Bijagarh when the holy mandate arrived They blessed their good luck a thousand times at having gained their object, and every one of the crew went off to his fief As their intent was polluted, the work which they had rejected[3] was successfully carried out without their assistance Why did they grieve[4] and lose courage? If grief had seized those

[1] The two I O MSS and the Cawnpore ed have Zamīyad, the 28th Khurdād

[2] Referring to the proverb about destroying the foundation and ornamenting the roof

[3] The expression *khidmat i marjū* lit the returned service, is obscure Perhaps it means the service in Gujarat, and the sense is that this work was after all done without their help It might also possibly mean that the service of returning from Bījāgarh was successfully accomplished without the assistance of Qutbu-d-dīn and the others who had gone off hastily to their fiefs in Gujarat

[4] Apparently the officers were distressed about the disturbances in Gujarat A F asks why were they distressed? They had gained their object, viz to get money from the rulers of the Deccan and there was no time for lamenting that they had not conquered the country as they could not do so then and the opportunity for the conquest had not come Moreover the failure had been

shortsighted shopkeepers because they had let drop from their hands the guiding-thread of their trade, it would have been intelligible But where at that moment was the time or the opportunity for this? The rulers of the Deccan, who had been made uneasy by the approach of the world-conquering troops, obtained repose, and from far sightedness they did not content themselves with what they had given to the officers, but also sent the rarities of the country along with diplomatic men to the sovereign court

---

the result of their own misconduct A F seems to be referring especially to Qutbu d dīn K who according to the T A Elliot, V 406, left the other Amirs and went off to his *jāgirs* of Broach and Baroda on account of the inroad of Mozaffar Husain See also Badayūnī Lowe 257 The expression Where at that moment was the time or opportunity for sorrow? perhaps means that the officers had got what they wanted, viz bribes

CHAPTER XXXVI

The glorification of the battlefield by the swords of Wazīr K. and Rajah Todar Mal, and the defeat of Mozaffar Ḥusain M

(This chapter begins with the usual reflections about the misery of every one who dared to oppose Akbar The author then proceeds to mention the case of Mozaffar Ḥusain as a fresh instance of this)

The brief account of this event is as follows Wazir K was
7 not efficient in the matters of organizing the soldiers, comforting the weak, and extirpating evil doers Before this catastrophe (of Mozaffar H) occurred, H.M had sent to this province Rajah Todar Mal who was one of the unique of the world for ability, service and courage He was to exert himself in the task and was to compose the distractions of the province The Rajah quickly arrived there and strove in a laudable manner to give the country repose He first went to Sultānpur and Nadurbār and made proper arrangements After that he settled the affairs of Surat Then he transacted the affairs of Broach, Baroda and Campanir and came to Ahmadabad He was, in conjunction with Wazir K, engaged in administering justice there when the tumult of disaffection rose high Mihr Ālī Kulābī, who was a servant of Ibrāhim Ḥusain, joined with some other evil disposed persons like himself and brought that inexperienced youth from the Deccan to Gujarat They kindled the spark of sedition in the neighbourhood of Sultānpur Some of the comrades of 'Ārif and Zāhid, the sons of Sharīf[1] K, placed the stain of infidelity on their foreheads and joined Mihr 'Ali When he came to the neighbourhood of Baroda, the *darogha* (police officer) of the city lost courage and left the place, and that great city was lost without a battle Bāz[2] Bahādur came out with a force, but owing to the baseness of his servants he could effect nothing Wazir K was preparing to shut himself up in Ahmadābād, but

[1] B 383 Bāz Bahādur is the only son of Sharīf mentioned by B

[2] B 465

Rajah Todar Mal with the help of the Shāhinshāh's fortune exerted himself to clear up affairs He came out of the walls and prepared 20
for battle He marched towards Baroda, and when he encamped within four kos of the town (*qasba*), the enemy lost heart and went off towards Cambay without giving battle The victorious army slowly followed them The enemy learned the state of affairs and recovered courage and halted near Cambay and raised a disturbance Saiyid Hāshim[1] the Khālṣa 'āmil came out at first and showed praiseworthy vigour, but on account of the great number of the enemy he had to take shelter When the imperial forces approached, the enemy abandoned the siege and hastened to Junagarh On the day of Zamiyād, 28 Khurdād, Divine month, the officers arrived in the territory of Dulaqa and adorned the battlefield Wazir K commanded the centre, Khwāja Yahyā Naqshbandi, Wajiha-ul mulk, and others ornamented the right wing, Rajah Todar Mal, Rup Rai Gujrāti, Shaikh Wali, Bipāk Dās and some brave men were on the left wing As cowardice and double-facedness darkened the condition of the army, the enemy turned, and planted the foot of courage Their whole idea was that as soon as the forces were face to face, most of the imperialists would join them, while some would take to flight, and that Wazir K, and the Rajah, and some others would be killed Their great endeavour was to dispose (*d ir cara-gari*) the Rajah, for they knew that in his force there were men who were enemies of their own lives, but friends of their honour Accordingly the Mirzā proceeded in a languid manner against Wazir K, while Mihr 'Alī, who was the substance of the sedition, went against the Rajah with the cream of his troops

Verse

When army encountered army,
The combatants advanced on each side
So hot was the fire of battle
That sparks came from the horses' hoofs

The Rajah stood firm and showed the countenance of victory. The heroes displayed devotion and thanksgiving to God Eighteen

---

[1] B 419

noted men among the foe went to annihilation, and after much fighting the enemy cast away his honour at the "Avaunt" of the Shāhinshāh's fortune He was defeated in the most shameful manner The soldiers of the right wing had fled without making a proper fight Most of the centre behaved in the same way Wazir K with a few loyalists exhibited devotion, and his life was
09 nearly ended in good service Suddenly Rajah Todar Mal arrived with a thousand hearts after having defeated his opponents All at once the woof and web of the presumptuous evil doers were severed. Many were killed and many were caught by the lasso of disgrace Moẓaffar Husain M hastened away to Junagarh with a few men of ruined fortunes.

Verse

Whoever survived retired in such fashion
That he must needs be sorry that he lived

There was a great victory, and much plunder fell into the hands of the victorious officers (Here follow some twelve lines of rhetoric about the advantages of fidelity) They sent reports to H M together with choice elephants along with Dhāru [1] There was much thanksgiving to God after receiving the news of this great boon, and there was general rejoicing At this time also there arrived the ambassador of Sultan [2] Husain M from Qandahar They performed the prostration The gist of the embassy was the renewal of the bonds of friendship and service The appreciative sovereign granted the desires of the ambassadors and gave them leave to return

One of the occurrences was the sending of soldiers to guide aright Rajah Madhukar [3] It is a rule of administration and world-government that the infatuated and presumptuous should be brought to their senses by reproof and chastisement, and be guided to the path of service, and that the garden of sovereignty should be made

[1] Todar Mal's son B 352 and 465

[2] Son of Bahrām M and nephew of Shāh Tahmāsp B 31° who says he died in 984 Apparently this should be 985 984 is the date given in the Maaṣir, III 296

[3] B 356 and 488 R Madhūkar was a Bundela and chief of Undcah (Orcha) He was the father of Bir Singh the murderer of A F

verdant by increasing the honour and dignity of the awakened-hearted, so that both the obedient and the recalcitrant may receive their deserts, and that supplication and thanksgiving to God may 210 be properly performed Accordingly, as at this time the afore said zamindar had, owing to the extent of his country, the number of evil and daring dependants the inaccessibility of his territory, the want of wisdom and the friendship of flatterers, deserted the highway of obedience, and become a traverser of the desert of destruction, Ṣādiq K, Rajah Askaran,[1] the Motha Rajah,[2] Ulugh K[3] Habshi and other heroes were on the day of Ormuzd, 1 Tir Divine month, nominated to arouse that haughty highlander from the sleep of ignorance

One of the occurrences was the sending of Dastam K to the government of Ajmere H M perceived in him the indications of subject cherishing and justice, and so increased his dignity He assigned the Sarkar of Ranthambor to him as his fief, and sent him away to protect the province

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Rai Lonkaran[4] and Rajah Birbar It has been mentioned that these two trustworthy servants had been sent from Dibālpur to do honour to the Rai of Dungarpur On the day of Rām 21 Tir, Divine month, they returned and conveyed the chaste pearl to the holy harem Society was adorned, and the spiritual world ornamented The unique pearl arrived at the treasury of truth and a great support was provided for the family

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassadors of Shahrukh M That cupola of chastity the Khānim, who was the Mirzā s mother, had from farsightedness and intelligence perceived

[1] B 458 He was an uncle of Bhagwān Dās

[2] The fat Rajah His name was Udai Singh and he was a son of Māldeo B 429

[3] B 437

[4] This is a nickname meaning the salt-maker because he was Rajah of the Sāmbhar lake They had gone to bring the Rajah of Dūngarpur s daughter to Akbar to become his wife

the characters of spiritual rule, and the letter of the enlightenment of the outer world on the holy forehead of the Shāhinshāh, and had formed a close intimacy with him from her early years But she was terrified on account of the proceedings of M Solaimān, and did not know what impression he might have made on H M or what representations word spinners might have made to him She thought that anything which had displeased that material and spiritual ruler would injure the honour and life of Shahrukh M
211 She thought also that if H M considered her to be the cause of the disturbance she would be disgraced for ever In the bottom of her heart too was the idea that the world's lord might take the Mirzā for his son[1] and exalt him 'Abdu r-Rahmān Beg and M Ashaq conveyed her and her son's petitions on 1 Amardād, Divine month, and H M in his abundant gentleness and old affection graciously received her excuses He made the envoys joyful and then dismissed them Also at this time Hakīm 'Ain al-mulk arrived from the Deccan He had been sent to guide 'Ādil Khān of Bījāpūr. He performed that service and tendered 'Ādil Khān's supplication Rashīd al-mulk who brought the petitions and the rarities of that country, was duly honoured

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of 'Abdullah K the ruler of Tūrān with a friendly letter and noble presents On account of the daily-increasing fortune of H M there had previously been an endeavour (on 'Abdullah's part) to establish friendship (lit there had been a shaking of the chain of friendship) but because H M had thoughts of conquering his ancestral[2] territories, and on account of the revelation of his ('Abdullah's) proposals, H M had not paid much attention to the ambassador For a long time he was busy[3] in camp For instance, there was the turmoil of the victorious army during the first expedition to Gujarat The masterpiece of Sarnāl astonished the ambassador, and when H M returned victorious, he, at the request of the officers of state,

---

1 Farzandi sonship Her idea was that he might make him his son in law as indeed afterwards happened for Akbar married him to his daughter Shukru nisā

2 This refers to Akbar's idea of reconquering the countries which had belonged to his grandfather

3 Takāpūī dāsht Possibly this means that the ambassador had gone about with Akbar in his expedition

wrote a reply and sent him off In order that the correspondence might be severed, no one was sent from the court along with him When he returned to his country, he reported the wondrous fortune of the spiritual and temporal king of kings The ruler of that country had regard to final consequences and had recourse to entreaties, and wrote warmer expressions of supplication, and exhibited the appearances of sincerity The gist of his language was that the world conquering sovereign should make an expedition from India to Persia in order that they might by united efforts release 'Irāq, Khurāsan and Fārs from the throne occupant thereof The world's Khedive in his liberality and gentleness received the envoy graciously and dismissed him after making him happy He sent M Fulād [1] with him, along with some of the rarities of India, and so soothed the Turanians The reply he wrote was that the dynasty in question (the Persian dynasty) was specially connected with the family of the Prophet, and that on this account he could not regard a difference [2] in law and religion as a ground for conquest He was also withheld from such an enterprise by old and valued friendships As in the (i e 'Abdullah K's) letters (lit nosegay) of friendship the 212
ruler of Iran had not been mentioned with honour, H M conveyed to him valuable admonitions in reproof thereof

---

[1] This is the M. Fulād who was afterwards put to death for murdering Mullā Aḥmad of Tatta a Shia and one of the authors of the T Alfi B 206 See the account of the murder in the A N III, 527 Badayūnī, Lowe 278 mentions M Fūlad Barlās' being sent on an embassy to 'Abdullah K along with Khwāja Khātib but he puts it into the year 987 i e the 24th year of the reign Perhaps this was a second embassy See, also Elliot v, 413 who puts the embassy into the 25th year Elliot has here a reference to A F s letters, Daftar iv but there is no Daftar iv, and the letter conveyed by M Fulad does not occur in A F's correspondence The remark however about the king of Persia s being connected with the family of the Prophet occurs also in the letter conveyed by Hakīm Humam in the 31st year, A N III 499

[2] From the tenor of 'Abdullah s proposals it looks as if he had been under the impression then that Akbar was a good Sunnī Probably Akbar did not undeceive him

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Another visit of Akbar to Ajmere

As the expeditions of just rulers are a source of soothment to mortals, and are market-days of justice, H M. always was disposed to travelling and hunting (*sair u shikār*), especially when in this way he could make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some great ascetic Hence he every year visited Ajmere On the night of Bād 22 Shahriyūr[1] (about 2nd September 1577), Divine month, he mounted his horse and proceeded to the holy place On the day that he halted at the stage of Karoha[2] he calmly mounted the elephant Ran Sangār, whom experienced men would not approach on account of his being violently *mast* That riotous one submitted to the might of H M's fortune, and the spectators were filled with astonishment The superficial were astonished, but the farsighted and clear of heart rejoiced in accordance with their knowledge Some learnt one of the thousand laudable qualities of H M., and some emerged from the ravine of denial and entered the rose-garden of devotion. Wonderful acts were always oozing forth from the great man Among them was that during this campaign Fath[3] K. the leopard keeper was in despair about an illness of his eyes Becoming hopeless about physicians he had recourse to supplications, and H M cured him by breathing on him with his Messiah-like breath Ostensibly he cured him by using the lancet, but the physicians did

[1] Nizamu d dīn says Akbar started at this time as the month of Rajab was at hand in which was the anniversary of the saint's death In 985, Rajab began on 14 September 1577 A F states below that Akbar reached Ajmere on 4 Mihr, which about corresponds to 14 September.

[2] Badayūnī text, ii 243, calls it Mahal Karoha and a dependency of Basawar It was here that a theft of books, described by Badayunī, occurred In A N II, 350, Karoha is mentioned as the 2nd stage from Fathpūr and before Basāwar

[3] B 523

not set up their acquired knowledge against the wisdom that was the gift of God, and performed the prostration of supplication.

One of the occurrences was the coming to an end of the life of Shaikh Ahmad[1] the second son of S Selim of Fathpūr He was distinguished among the men of the world for many exquisite qualities He did not speak ill of people, nor was he made melancholy by beholding so much improper conduct His walk and conversation were modest and sedate From his fidelity and good service he was ranked among the Amirs, and was appointed guardian of the eldest prince He caught a chill in the Mālwa campaign Owing to carelessness and not listening to advice he came to the capital, and there his illness ended in paralysis In this year, when the world conquering standards were proceeding towards Ajmere he was brought before the world's lord, and after making the prostration he took his final leave When he arrived at his house he expired Hurrah for the fortunate one who 213
rendered up his unstable life at the feet of his teacher and king! If he had staked that precious coin (his life) in carrying out the service of dominion he would have brought the jewel of manhood and right thinking to the court of manifestation At any rate the veil over his reputation for good service would have been rent Inasmuch as the prosperity of double-faced ones and of fair-weather friends is great this positive statement does not suit every ear But that great knower of unity, the fortunate one and appreciative of fidelity—whose name forms the title of this book—has gathered up the tricklings from his clear soul and expressed his approval[2]

---

[1] B 475

[2] A. F became more and more tortuous and enigmatical as he revised his history. These reflections do not occur in the Cawnpore edition and so, I presume, they were added in one of the revisions I am doubtful if I have understood the paragraph, and I think the text must be corrupt In one place I have followed the I O. MSS and deserted the text This is at the sentence beginning *u garna* "otherwise" and which I have taken along with *bārī* and rendered 'At any rate' The text has *darīda amida* as if the meaning were that if S Aḥmad had lived the veil of his honour might have been rent, i e he might have behaved badly or been disgraced But both the I O MSS have a negative *nyāmida*, and I think the meaning is that whatever happened, Aḥmad would never have behaved badly, or been exposed Then I think A F goes on to say, this is

One of the occurrences was the elevation of Saiyid Hāmid Bokhāri to the government of Multan H M gave him leave after communicating to him valuable instructions about protecting the helpless and punishing the wicked He on receiving these exerted himself to carry them into practice

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Rajah Todar Mal from Gujarat, and his being received with royal favours When the royal cortege was at Bisāwar[1] the Rajah and many of the chief officers kissed the threshold The Rajah told a thousand stories of the wondrous fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and produced many of the evil doers—of whom Dauda Beg was the ringleader—in chains As they were not worthy of life, they were capitally punished In accordance with former arrangements the settlement of the affairs of the Viziership was made by him (Todar Mal) Good laws were introduced by the blessing of H M 's paying attention to the subject[2]

---

a bold statement to make when there are so many two-faced people about but I am supported by the approval of Akbar In this paragraph there occurs the curious phrase *ash nayan* i *sirpūl* which I have translated as fair weather friends It literally means acquaintances of the Bridge-end (or head) *Sirpal* means to stumble but the Bib Ind points the word as *sirpul* *Sirpal* also means faithless

[1] This was on Akbar's way to Ajmere According to the T A Abū Turab came there too

[2] Though the chapter ends here the arrival of Akbar at Ajmere is described in the next chapter A great part of chapter 38 is a parenthesis about the affairs of Gujarat occasioned by the arrival of Todar Mal when Akbar was on his way to Ajmere

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The stirring up of strife by Mozaffar Husain M for the second time, and his failure

May Almighty God not bestow a depraved intellect, for a thousand evils are engendered by it, and the ruin of the world results from it! And if one would be protected from this evil, he must abstain from the society of the wicked for many who are sensible and far-sighted are changed from good to evil by the companionship of those disordered ones, so that peace ends in discord The wise have called the nature of man "A robber in secret" Involuntarily he assumes the character of his companions, and approves in himself what has excited disgust when seen by 214 him in his contemporaries The case of Mozaffar Husain M is a new instance of this as he, though of noble nature and clear soul, wrought his own downfall by association with the wicked Inasmuch as there was something auspicious in his constitution he saved his life, while the evil thoughted went to the pit of destruction At the time when that happened to his father and grandsire, which has been described, it was fitting that he should not slumber in the hot abode of insouciance But from the pressure of turbulent and unwise men, among whom Mihr 'Ali was the ringleader, he dropped the reins of good guidance, and stirred up the dust of strife By the Divine help this was laid in a short space of time When Rajah Todar Mal went to the threshold of fortune from Gujarat, those evil-disposed men did not take a warning but again made the Mirzā a pretext for wickedness First they opened the hand of oppression against the traders of Cambay, and got possession of a great deal of property Wazir K[1] in reliance on the Divine power marched out of Ahmădābad and hastened to that district In Pirpur[2] his confidence was shaken by the disgraceful conduct of

[1] B 353 (Vair K)

[2] There is the variant Bīrpūr, and apparently this is correct J II 253

the comrades of Bāz Bahādur He marched out of Sarnāl in order to fight Most of his base servants were slaves of gold and left him and joined the enemy Wazir K on seeing this became very meditative, and as the notes of disloyalty appeared on the forehead of his servants he turned back and shut himself up in Ahmadābād On the day of Dibāzar 8 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the illfated scoundrels commenced the siege Many of the waiters upon events joined the enemy and eagerly prosecuted wicked ideas The condition too of the fly-natured garrison was also perverted Wazir K with distinguished loyalty endeavoured at an improvement in the position He put some into chains, and others he encouraged to do battle When he despaired of visible help, he resolved upon dieing and awaited the wondrous fortune (of H M) As he was apprehensive about the two facedness of the garrison he changed the guards of the bastions every day At the time when things had become difficult on account of attacks by day and night, the light of heavenly aids shone forth, and the enemy became stained by the dust of failure The brief account of this is that on 15 Shahriyur, Divine month, the enemy plotted with the men inside and made an assault They placed ladders and were about to succeed Many of the self opinionated obtained (they thought) their desires and opened the hand of plunder, and others were on the point of doing so A musket ball from the house of fate reached Mihr 'Ali and all at once that ringleader of the turbulent passed to the silent abode of annihilation On beholding this wonder of the daily increasing fortune that dishonourable crew lost courage at the very crisis of their activity In great confusion they fled to
15 Nadarbār But none of the garrison came out as they feared that *there was some stratagem When a watch of the following day had* passed the truth of the world's lord's good fortune was impressed upon all far and near Mankind hastened to supplicate the Almighty, and prayed for the eternity of the unequalled dominion

Verse

For ever, whilst by the influences of sun and rain,
The zephyr causes the mouth of the rosebud to smile

May the lips of thy desire ne'er be closed against smiling,
May thy fortune bring thy adversary to punishment.

Two things are the source of prosperity and auspiciousness One is a wise heart, and the other an eye which accepts warning Whoever from an inverted fortune is void of those two precious things will soon descend into the pit of annihilation, and become disgraced for ever and ever The case of Mihr 'Ali shows this He did not perceive the glories of the Shāhinshāh's fortune and stirred up a disturbance In a short space of time he was smitten by the archers of destiny, and took his place in eternal destruction If he who is in reality of auspicious mind fall for some days into the desert of wandering owing to bad companionship, he is melted in the crucible of failure so that the evil alloy may be removed and he be tested Accordingly the adventures of Moẓaffar Husain M illustrate this At the instigation of small minded, evil persons he went a wrong course, and blistered his feet in the stony tracts of despair But as he was constitutionally good the Divine protection took charge of him and made him the subject of princely favours—as will be related in its place

One of the occurrences was that Moẓaffar K was exalted by prostrating himself at the holy threshold. It has been stated that as a retribution for his actions he had been kept at a distance Owing to his happy star he in the dreadful wilderness of disappointment addressed prayers to H M, and with energy, service and obedience united intellect and valour When the jewel of his good service had been submitted to the assayers of the Caliphate, a ray of kindness fell upon him and he was summoned to court On 29 Shahriyūr Divine month he came from the province of Bihar, and did homage at Hāns Mahal He presented as peshkash the rarities of that region and distributed four lacs of rupees The throne occupant exalted him by kindness and increased his dignity, and issued an order that he should minutely inquire into the affairs of the empire, and observe the rules of justice Rajah Todar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Mansur were to perform their duties in consultation with him On 4 Mihr, Divine month, the delightful city of Ajmere was brightened by the arrival of the royal standards H M hastened to the holy shrine and worshipped the incomparable Deity Those who waited for his holy advent gained their wishes. 216

Also at this auspicious time the officers of the court weighed[1] the sovereign against gold and other articles, and satisfied men by abundant gifts. First that river of bounty distributed heaps of gold and silver, and afterwards the officers in accordance with an intimation from him made donations of money. Also at this time on account of the enlightenment and truthfulness of Muhibb Ālī K., the son of the Mīr Khalīfa, he bestowed on him a glorious robe of honour, and gave him permission always to present the petitions of the people and also to communicate what occurred to his reflection as proper to be done

Although the constant alertness of mind of the world's lord is such that he transacts all the business of the empire with the same completeness and efficiency, that lofty geniuses and farseeing and laborious men carry out one item of work, yet he from abundance of wisdom and knowledge of mankind and for behoof of the general public walks warily in this fashion Seemingly it is an injunction of King Wisdom that just rulers and other great ones who have a multiplicity of engagements should not be contented with their own acumen and ability, but should also permit some prudent and well-conditioned man to make representations to them, so that at a time when there is press of work, or when wrath is in the ascendant—which sometimes causes the foot of the wise to slip—he may lay before them suitable considerations O God, grant that while sun and shade exist and while there are rain and verdure this chief of Solitude and Society may shed his light on the spirits of men and on the horizons!

Verse

O God, while the heavens exist,
Do not empty the world of this king,
Let the spheres be as the seal of his ring,
Let the key of the universe be in his sleeve

One of the occurrences was the death of Mujāhid Beg the grandson of Khwāja Kalān Beg He had been appointed to be

[1] This was the weighing which took place on 5 Rajab, the anniversary of Akbar's birth according to the lunar calendar B 266 It nearly coincided with the 'urs or anniversary of the death of the Ajmere saint which occurred on 6 Rajab J III, 362

thana dar of Mohi in the province of Ajmere Kuar Mān Singh and many brave men had gone into the defiles of the hills In the beginning of Mihr, Divine month, the Rajputs of that quarter had come and plundered some of the protected[1] settlers on the newly cultivated lands On hearing of this insolence he had become vexed and gone out rapidly and without sufficient equipment After behaving with Rustum like courage he travelled to his final bourne, and gained an everlasting name

On 17 Mihr, Divine month, H M. ascended to the summit of the fort of Ajmere and dispensed his graciousness to the sleepers 217
there[2] Near the tomb of Saiyid Husain Khangsawār he halted and paid his devotions On that night, he, until sunrise, kindled the lamp of truth and guided the auspicious ones of the holy throng The fortunate and enlightened listened to many physical and spiritual truths As the architecture loving heart of the Shāhinshāh perceived substantive defects in that celestial fortress he directed the officers to exert themselves to repair it In a short time the work was completed in a most excellent manner On 22 Mihr he left that bounteous place and proceeded towards Mirtha Ostensibly he was recreating himself with hunting, but in reality he was dispensing justice and acting according to the Divine Will

While there he considered the appointment of a caravan leader for the pilgrims, and on 2 Ābān he appointed Mīr Abu Turāb to that select service He belonged to the Salāmī Saiyids of Shirāz His grandfather Mīr Ghiāṣū-d dīn—May God establish him—who was known as Saiyid Shāh Mīr and who was fully possessed of the acquired sciences, came (to Gujarat) in the time of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn the grandson of the Sulṭān Ahmad after whom Aḥmadābād is named, and then returned to his own native land[3] He came again to Gujarat to the dominions of Sulṭān Mahmud Begarha at the time of the commotion of Shāh Ism'ail (Ism'ail I) He was accompanied by his two sons Mīr Kamālu-d dīn and Mīr Quṭbu d-dīn, and

[1] *Zinhārīān* "Persons under protection But there is also the reading *dihahāī* villages

[2] Apparently what is meant is that he said prayers (fātiḥa) for the repose of the souls of departed men It was Taragārh that he visited The shrine of the martyred Saiyid Husain is still there See Rajputana G II, 16

[3] Blochmann 506

settled there and died there, after leaving a good name Mīr Abu Turāb the son of Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn[1] obtained reputation in that country, and when Gujarat came into the possession of the imperial servants he was distinguished by favours from the shadow of God (Akbar), and had the bliss of becoming a disciple When he obtained this service (that of Mīr Hāj) five lacs of rupees and 10,000 Khilats were made over to him for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hijāz I'tmād K Gujrati, who had for years desired to visit those shrines, also got permission to depart Owing to the outpourings of the river of kindness large numbers of men joined the pilgrimage with proper equipment To the sharifs of that land—who had always sent representations, and the rarities of the country—there were sent a lac of rupees and splendid goods[2]

One of the occurrences was the committing the government of Gujarat to Shihabu-d-dīn Ahmad K As it became known that Wazīr K did not observe the laws of equity and that the country was suffering in consequence, he was superseded, and the post was conferred on the aforesaid Khān who was distinguished for his knowledge of affairs, industry, justice, and tenderness to the subjects and he was transferred to this great office from Malwa A rescript was issued, and it was accompanied by sage instructions Qāsim K, Tāhir K, Saif al mulk, Mīr Ghiāsu-d-dīn 'Ali Naqib K, Qamar K, Fīruz, Shaikh M'uāzzam, Shaikh Junaid and other servants of the Presence were sent, in order to promote the tranquillity of the country An order was issued that when the new governor arrived in the country, the Wazīr K should come to the borders of Idar and take charge of affairs there,[3] and that the rest of the former officers should proceed to Court

---

[1] According to Abu Turāb's own history, p 17 recently edited by Dr Denison Ross his father's name was Qutbu d dīn and Kamālu d dīn was his uncle See also Rieu's Persian Catalogue III 967b

[2] In the first book of A F's letters immediately before the letter to Goa, there is a letter to the Sharīfs of Mecca But it was written several years after this time, and mentions the year 989

[3] The text is obscure but the Iqbāl nama says that Wazīr was to come to Īdar and control the borders The same authority adds the epithet Kabulī to the name of Fīruz mentioned in text Perhaps the meaning of the passage about Wazīr is that he and Shihābu d dīn were to meet at Īdar and hold a conference

One of the occurrences was the sending of troops to extirpate the Rānā As the most choice form of devotion in the social state is to cause the obedience of the proud and stiff necked by suitable admonitions and vigorous plans, and if advice and rebuke are no successful, to remove such from existence so that there may be no crevice in unity, and that the pleasant abode of the world may not be stained by the confusion of plurality, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kanwar (Kuar) Mān Singh, Payinda K Moghul, Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Rāju, Ulug Asad Turkamān, Kajra Cohān and other loyal warriors were in the year and month above mentioned despatched to carry out this great work Shahbāz K Mir Bakhshi was appointed to command the force, and the execution of the task was committed to him

Under the guise of the enjoyment of hunting a successful termination was put to the distractions of the province (Rajputāna), and enterprises which in former times had not been accomplished after thousands of endeavours were now achieved by H M 's giving a slight and subsidiary attention to them

(The chapter concludes with a rhapsody about Akbar's graciousness, and how even wild animals were conscious of his benignity But the only instance given is that a deer used to eat grain out of his hand Observing that his courtiers marvelled at this, Akbar remarked that it was not extraordinary if such things occurred, if one did not ill treat animals and spoke kindly to those dumb creatures Such behaviour was an attractive force which caught the heavens and the stars in the noose of love !)

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Concerning the education of H M 's auspicious sons

219 The just world's lord continually exercises far-sightedness in judging of the grades of mankind, and so keeps the garden of promotion fresh and verdant He knows the tests for men and bestows power upon them in accordance therewith Just as it is indispensable that the cupbearer of the royal feast should judge of the drinking capacities of men, and distribute the man trying world's wine in proportion thereto, so does the ruler of the age in the plenitude of his perspicacity carry out this principle in the most choice manner Some he raises to dignities step by step and some whom he has found worthy of greatness are at once raised by him to the pinnacle of honour As at this time, which was the beginning of the spring of daily increasing fortune, he perceived in the characters of his sons the rays of intelligence and of apprehension of truth, he disregarded the tenderness of their years and raised each of them to a lofty dignity As the household cavalry numbered 12,000 and were known by the name of Ahadis, and as no commander or *amīr* had a higher rank than that of 5000, the rank of Sultan Selim was fixed at 10,000, and H M said that from observing the obedience, good disposition, prudence, and endurance of this nursling of dominion he made over the whole of the army to his charge Prince Sultan Murād was made a commander of 7000, and Prince Sultan Daniel a commander of 6000

Though the sovereign went on, stage by stage, in the enjoyment of hunting, yet all his energy was devoted to the capture of hearts Spiritual and temporal ministrations issued from time to time from the fount of enlightenment, and good actions adorned the age At the stage of Bamri[1] (?) which is a dependency of Mirta[2] it was brought to his notice that the country was lying waste

[1] There is the variant Māmrī I have not identified the place It is perhaps *Bārmer*

[2] I G and Rajputana Gazetteer II 261 also Tod's Rajasthan It is in *Jodhpur* *In J II 277 it is*

owing to the bad condition of the reservoirs In his abundant graciousness he visited the neighbourhood, and distributed active workmen among the officers By one day's digging moisture was bestowed

Verse

The tanks shone like hearts' tablets,
They appeared like mirrors of wisdom,
Their limpid waters were like eyes,
Every drop was a hundred pearls

One of the occurrences was the sending of a body of brave men to the province of Ajmere When Shahbāz K's report was read and it appeared that he wanted some experienced men to take charge of the passes, Shaikh Ibrāhim Fathpuri was sent there with troops in order that he might take post in the territory of Lādlāi[1] and reduce to obedience the recalcitrants of that country, and that Shahbāz K might exert himself in suppressing the Rāna

spelt Meiath and placed in Sarkār Nāgor

[1] B 403 The text has Lawalālī Maaṣir II 571 in its account of S Ibrāhīm has Lāḍlāī Perhaps it is the Laroālah of J II 203 and if so was on the Betwa and in the Sarkar of Canderī and province of Mālwa But the context implies that it was in Rajputana S Ibrāhīm was the nephew (sister's son) and son in law of S Selīm who gave his name to Jahāngīr See Ṭabaqāt A, Newal K ed, 485 Lawalāli occurs again at p 236

CHAPTER XL

Expedition of H M. to the Panjab, the appearance of t[he] comet, etc

When the affairs of this part of the country (Ajmere) had b[een] properly disposed of, H M resolved to march to the Panjab, [and] while enjoying hunting to compose the distractions of that provi[nce]. On 9 Ābān, Divine month, he encamped at Māhrōt[1] From a de[sire] to cherish the lowly he visited the dwelling of Nārāyan Das
221 brother of Rūpsi On the 27th he encamped at Amber,[2] and [on] the same day the ambassadors of Quṭb al mulk[3] produced cho[ice] presents Among them was the elephant Fath Mubārak who [was] renowned for his violence so that professional drivers were afraid [of] mounting him When he was brought before H M, he quic[kly] mounted him, and made him obedient The spectators were amaz[ed] and were almost ready to vacate their bodies on beholding the mig[ht] and majesty of the sovereign What is wonderful in his perfor[m]ing such marvels, or what extraordinary in his subduing such w[ild] animals?

One of the occurrences was the guidance given to Rajah Tod[ar] Mal Just as he was one of the unique of the age for practi[cal] wisdom, and trustworthiness, so was he at the head of mortals i[n] superstition and bigotry His rule was that until he had pe[r]formed in a special manner his idols worship, and had adored th[em] after a thousand fashions, he would not attend to business nor eat [or] drink Suddenly, in the turmoil of moving the camp the idols [of] that simpleton were lost In his heartfelt folly he abandoned sle[ep] and food H M had compassion on him and administered consol[a]tions to him He recovered somewhat and addressed himself to h[is] duties

---

[1] In Ajmere J II 273

[2] The old capital of Jaipūr

[3] The title of the Golconda Sultans The Sultan here mea[nt] was Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh who di[ed] in 1581

One of the occurrences was the laying the foundation of the fort of Mūl-Manahar-nagar. Inasmuch as H M. is disposed to cultivate the soil (*gil*) as well as to civilize the soul (*dil*), he continually decks society and solitude by building up these two great places of worship At this time, while he was at Amber, it came to his hearing that there was an old city in the neighbourhood, the ancient greatness of which was now recorded by a mound of earth He resolved upon reviving it, and on 29 Ābān he, in an auspicious moment, laid with his august hands the foundation of that fortress He nominated several officers to execute the work, and in a short time it was completed in an excellent manner He associated it with Manahar[1] Dās, the son of Rai Lonkaran, the Zamīndār of the place, and gave it the name of Mūl-Manaharnagar[1]

One of the occurrences was the appearance of a comet[2] after the sun had sate on the throne of the West

Let there be a description of this phenomenon for the purpose of feeding the lakelet[3] of discourse!

When the rays of the world-warming sun fall upon moist earth, heat is generated by that great luminary, and particles of the water become light and float upwards They mix with the atmosphere and rise high Such mixture is called vapour (*bukhār*) When the dry ground becomes heated by the sun, the supply of moisture which is hidden therein becomes united with the dryness, and from the influence of the heat the earthly particles get burnt 222

[1] He was a poet and wrote under the name of Tausanī (a mettled steed) He was also called Muhammad Manahar See Badayūnī III 201 For Manoharpūr, see I G XVII, 200 It is 28 m N N E Jaipūr Tiefenthaler I 323 mentions a town called Monoarpur 15 leagues N Jaipur, and calls it a "ville de marque and says it had a fortress See also B 494 n 2 Lowe 238 and Elliot V, 406, and Errata vol VIII Perhaps it is the Manoharnagar of J II 277 There is a reference to Rai Manahar in Price's Jahāngīr 33 and in the Tūzuk, p 8 See Rogers' translation, pp 17 and 321

[2] *Zū zanab*, lit possessed of a tail This is the comet of 1577 described by Cornelius Gemma who was a professor of medicine at Louvain, and published his book at Antwerp in 1578 He died of the plague in the following year His engraving of the comet has been reproduced by Guillemin It passed its perihelion on 26 October, 1577 (B B R A S J XXI, 146)

[3] The text has *dibāca*, preamble but the variant *daryāca* is supported by the I O MSS

and so their levity is increased They then mix with the atmosphere and ascend This mixture is called smoke (*dukhān*) Each is of two kinds One becomes fixed in the ground and produces founains, cavities (*kanha*) and earthquakes The other spreads over the surface of the earth and ascends From it are produced clouds, rain, storms, thunder, lightning, and the like Treatises on natural history describe these things clearly I now proceed to refresh the garden of my discourse with an account of the production of those wonderful phenomena (comets)

Be it not concealed from the listeners to knowledge that whenever Mars is predominant in a country, the latter becomes arid, and thick vapours and smokes rise up in it Especially is this so if Mars be in the tenth house of the horoscope of the year or season, and if that house be windy, or fiery and malific, and the moon, or Mercury, be windy, so that he (Mars) may regard them with a glance of affection

Assuredly the crops will then become bad, and there will be the elements of a famine There will also be sicknesses, predominance of wrath, and the snapping of the thread of inquiry (Wisdom-seeking)

In fine, when the viscous and hairy vapour first rises from the ground and joins the first stratum[1] of the atmosphere, viz that which is mixed with fire, it assumes beauty, just as the smoke of an extinguished lamp becomes illuminated when approached by a lighted candle It is then called a meteor (*shihab*), also a shooting-star, and when it descends towards the earth, the vulgar think that a star is falling It its beauty does not become so great, it, on account of grossness, does not flame, but still it is consumed On account of the varieties of the atmosphere it assumes various forms Thus it becomes hairy, or it acquires a tail, or it holds[2] a spear, or resembles a horned animal, etc

[1] It is stated in the Ain J III 38 that Fire is the first elemental sphere, and that its convex adjoins the concave of the sphere of the moon

[2] *Neza badast* Cf J III 38 n 3 The word used in the Ain is *nayāzak* the pl of *nezak* a short spear or javelin and J translates this as the Zodiacal light But A F is there treating of the notions of the Greeks not of the Hindus and it does not appear that the Greeks had observed the Zodiacal Light

According to differences in its quality, it is either quickly consumed, or it lasts a long time. Occasionally terrible red or black appearances are observed in it If it is dense, the red appearances excite dread, and if it become yet denser then black appearances inspire fear. Such forms were called in ancient language ẕawābī[1] i-najūm and ẕūāt al aẕūāb[2] Each one of them had a different name in accordance with its difference in form For instance, they called the hairy one ẕū-ẕūāba and the tailed one zū-zanab In Hindi (i e. Indian) books they reckon the number of forms as more than one hundred.[3] In Greek treatises seven kinds are enumerated, and they are all regarded as of the natures of Saturn and Mars The *ẕū-ẕūāba* (possessed of forelocks) and the *zū-ẕanab* (the tailed) are regarded as the most malefic Ptolemy says that the ẕū-zūāba and the sun are eleven Signs apart Some of the Greeks are of the opinion that the zū-ẕūāba show themselves in the morning towards the east, and that the zū-zinab appear at evening towards the west Seemingly, this idea is the result of repeated observations The sages of India have divided them into 223
two classes, according as they are benefic or malefic. All agree that their influence affects the country across whose zenith they pass, or where they are visible to the inhabitants, and that it depends on the

Probably then all that A F means by *nīyāẕik* is spear-shaped comets The next word, which Jarrett translates by luminous streams, is *umidha* أعمدة in the original, and this is the plural of عمود pillar The next expression is ẕūāt al qarūn, lit possessed of horns, but which J. renders "meteors " This corresponds to the *ke shākhhā dāshta bāshad*, "which possess horns," of A N III 223, eight lines from foot In a MS of the Ain in my possession there is no conjunction between *umidha* and *ẕūāt-ulqarūn*, so that the phrase reads ' horned pillars ' There is an account of a comet in the Tūzuk Jahāngīrī 250, Elliot VI 363

[1] *Ṣuwābet* is given in Meninski as meaning a shooting star (stella volans), and this seems to be the meaning here It therefore cannot be derived from *Ṣābit* •fixed It is perhaps derived from the root *ẕaub* and means retributory The expression then may mean the retributory stars, comets being regarded as sent as punishments The I O MSS have *ẕuanī*, *ẕawānī* ثوانی which is the plural of *ẕāniyat* a second (of time) (seconds)

[2] Possessed of forelocks

[3] In the Ain it is stated that the Hindus reckon the number of comets, meteors, and the like, as a thousand (see text of Ain II 24, and J III 38).

nature of the Sign in which they appear They move according to the rapidity of the fiery sphere Their effects depend upon the length of their appearance Their wondrous[1] influences are detailed in old books in a manner which cannot be described here Among them was the hairy comet which appeared in the Hijra year 662,[2] when the sun was in the Sign Leo On that night there was a lunar[3] eclipse to the extent of eleven digits 11/12 More extraordinary still it was as large as a man's head, and smoke issued from the top of it It passed to the countries of Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kashghar, Farghana, Transoxiana, and Khurāsān, and was visible for eighty five days There were disturbances in all these countries In Transoxiana and Khurāsān the events connected with Qāid[4] and Borāq and others illustrate this subject Accordingly for a long time people reckoned their years and months[5] from it In 803 (1400) a tailed comet appeared in the zenith of Asia Minor (Rum) Maulāna 'Abdullah Lisan, and Muhiu d din[6] Maghrabi and other astronomers of the time represented to Sāhib Qirān (Timur) that it appeared from the sayings of the wise that an army from the east would conquer that country and capture its monarch That brightener of the face of Fortune had always meditated a campaign into that country, though his feeble minded companions did not approve of it He proceeded thither and impressed on the minds of high and low the brilliancy of his design, and the deep discernment of the astrologers In the year 837 (1433) a tailed comet appeared in the

[1] *Nairangi-asar* Cf B.B R A S XXI, 146 n where the word *nairang* is taken to mean incantations

[2] 1263 64 It appears from Pingre's Cometographie I 406 ed Paris 1783 that this comet belongs to 1264 It appeared in France in July of that year

[3] *Kusuf* This is usually applied to eclipses of the sun but as this occurred during the night I suppose the moon is meant Perhaps how ever zer i zamin means the under world

[4] The Kaidu and Borak of Ney Elias introduction to the T R pp 34 35 Kaidu was a grandson of Oktāī and Borak a great grandson of Caghatāī He died in 1270 See also Vambéry's History of Bokhara 152 153

[5] *Sal u mah i derin* I O MS 236 has *salmah* The expression means a date and also perpetually

[6] An anachronism unless there were two persons of that name Muhiu d dīn Maghrabī lived in the time of Hulagū (1260) See D Herbelot's article Mohieddin and J I[1] 19 N 1 I cannot find Maulāna Abdullah Lisān i

first degrees of the Sign of Libra near the Northern Crown. It used to rise and set there When some days had elapsed a singular movement of it took place It became spear bearing (*nezadar*) and went off to a distance from the Northern Crown, and in eight months it disappeared A great pestilence occurred in Herat and its neighbourhood Every day more than a thousand persons died M Ibrâhim,[1] the ruler of Fars, M Baysanghar Arghun[1] the Shâh of Badakhshân and S Zainu d din Khâfi[1] died during this calamity The contest between M Shâhrukh and Sikandar the son of Qarâ Yusuf was also a result Those acquainted with the mysteries of the heavens are agreed that if a comet appear in the angle of dominion the sovereign of that country will die, and if it incline towards that angle, the possessions of that prince will depart from his hands, and if it occur in a falling angle (saqit-i watad) sickness and pestilence will increase, and there will be sudden destruction among the people A thousand thanks to God that by the blessing of the holy personality of the world's Khedive, the malefic influences passed away from his empire If from time to time such a terrible phenomenon occur, no great misfortune befalls this country Still 224
in spite of such Divine protection, that prudent partaker of the banquet of enlightenment ordered the distribution of abundant charities according to the rules of Muhammadans and Hindus Worlds upon worlds of men were made joyful

The brief account of this great phenomenon[2] is as follows On

---

[1] Both were sons of Shâhrukh but according to Beale Ibrâhim did not die till 1435 or 839 A H Baysanghar died in 837, but I do not find that he was ruler of Badakhshan The I O MSS have Shâh Badakhshânî and I suspect that a conjunction has been left out and that Shâh Badakhshânî is a different person from Baysanghar and one of the Shâhs of Badakhshân Neither does it appear that Baysanghar was an Arghûn Probably then we should read M Baysanghar and Arghûn Shâh of Badakhshan This view is corroborated by I O MS 23 which has the conjunction u before Arghûn But I cannot find who the Arghûn Shah was who died in 837 Of Baysanghar there is a notice in D Herbelot, and Babur also refers to him in his Memoirs Zainu-d din Khâfi was a famous saint He died in Shawâl 838 April 1435 B 592 note

[2] *Mauhibat* which means a gift Either this is an euphemism or it refers to the circumstance that the comet did not injure India I.O

the day of Arid 25 Ābān (5 November 1577), Divine month, at the time when the sun was auspiciously placed in Scorpio, this celestial sign appeared in Sagittarius, in the west,[1] but inclined to the north It had a long tail, and in some countries it was visible for five months Astrologers and those acquainted with the secrets of the upper world represented that in some of the inhabited parts of India grain would be dear, and they mentioned the particular places where this would occur They also said that the ruler of Persia would die, and that there would be the dust of confusion in Irāq and Khurasān As they said, so did it come to pass without defect or diminution About the same time a caravan arrived from Persia and some able and truthful men reported to the august court the passing away of Shāh Tahmāsp, the putting to death of Sultan Ḥaidar and the arrival at power of Shāh Ism'ail The brief account of this is that the Shāh—the cupola of paradise—died in Qazwin on 5 Khirdād Sultan Haidar, his third son considered the sovereignty as his right, and by the efforts of some of the grandees fancied himself to be secure He was put to death by the exertions of his unkindly (*namihrban*) sister Pari Khanim,[3] and Ism'ail[4] M, the second son, who had been imprisoned for 22 years in the fortress of Qahqa,[5] was placed upon the throne He, from wickedness, sent many of his brothers and cousins to the abode of annihilation In one day he killed Sultan Ibrāhim,[6] together with eleven[7] of his own brothers

M S 235 seems to have moibat موبت, which means a country visited by pestilence

[1] *Bakhtarrui i māil bashimal* J remarks II 278, N 3 that though bakhtar is often incorrectly used A F invariably uses it for the West I am not sure if A F does not mean to connect the length of the tail with the fact that it was visible in various countries

[2] Or 15 May 1576 At p 590 of A N it is stated that he died on 4 Khirdād

[3] See details further on A N III 591

[4] According to Olearius translation 1662 p 346 Ism'aīl was imprisoned for having made war on the Turks without authority

[5] A fort in the district of Ṭūs Malcolm Hist of Persia I 514 ed 1815 says he was told that Kakha is the modern Sheshah Kahka is however mentioned by Reclus as being a large town

[6] Son of Bahrām M and cousin of Ism aīl

[7] According to Olearius Ṭahmāsp had only eleven sons The word *baradar* evidently here includes cousins See the list at p 591 of A N

When the events of Persia were related to H M he remarked that the people of that country were beholding the retribution for their ingratitude, and that this gloomy and blood shedding young man would fill up the measure of his days without moistening his lip (*lab tar nagushta*) with the wine of the world, for the spirit of the age could not endure infatuation What appeared on the tablet of the tongue abounding in pearls came to pass There was another proving of H M's knowledge of mysteries and the celestial phenomenon revealed its qualities both as regards the past and the future First Shah Ṭahmāsp went to the holy world before the appearance of the marvel (the comet) and after it had appeared, Shāh Ism'ail went to annihilation He died after having spent one year and five months in bloodshed, dishonour and lust (*ba listhri*) Many are agreed that he was poisoned by Pari Khānim[1] During the lifetime of Shāh Tahmāsp she was the centre of affairs, and she expected to have still more authority during the rule of this ill fated and noxious one (Ism'ail) He from presumptuousness and conceit dismissed her (lit drew the writing of dismissal on the page of her position), though he had come to the rank of Shāh by her efforts That foolish one[2] (Pari Khānim) plotted with the mother of Husain Beg Halwāci Oghli from whose hands he (Ism'ail) took his mixtures 225
and electuaries On the night of Bahman 2 Āzar, Divine month (November 1577), of the following year (985) some horses had come as a present from the ruler of Gurjistan He went to the polo ground to see them As the comet cast its baleful shade and as the astrologers of Persia agreed with the sages of India, they read to him the celestial message, and begged him to put off his visit They were not successful From the ground he went to the quarters of Husain Beg which were close by Sharif Qazwini brought to him

[1] Malcolm calls Parī K the favourite sultana of Ṭahmāsp and this error is repeated by Oliver J A S B 1887 p 42 She really was S Ṭahmāsp's second daughter and was betrothed to Badī uz zamān son of Bahrām M See the Alam Ārāī and A N III 590 91 A F there gives a h story of the Safavī family

[2] Cf Lowe 248 where she is called Parī Jān Khān m The expression is *kota i khirad* and possibly it refers to Ism'ail in that case the word *hamdastan* must be taken to mean "associated with and not plotted

from the house the accustomed intoxicant and remarked that the seal on the box (*huqqa*) had been removed As the inevitable time had arrived he lost the thread of intelligence and made answer that if he had got it from the hands of Husain Beg's mother there was no fear He took some of it, and gave some to Husain Beg It has been heard from the secret knowers of Persia that when a portion of the night had passed away, Pari Khānim, whose house was in the neighbourhood of that confectioner's son's house, sent Shāh Wardi[1] with some men dressed up as women They squeezed the throat and other vital parts of that infatuated madman and so killed him As the heat of madness and his apprehensions kept him in solitude, his real well-wishers—who are the guardians of realm and religion—had not access to him Indeed the servants generally could not set foot there By the evil effects of such conduct—which is the worst of behaviours in the generality of those living in a state of association, then what must it be in the case of rulers—these things happened to this confused and presumptuous one The door of that house of terror was closed and nothing transpired from it At last, night turned to day, and day had almost turned to night No one had the courage to make a search By the exertion of great courage M Sulaiman the Vizier and M Muhammad Hakim and some others of the nobility came there They read the inscription of hopelessness on the portico and broke open the door and found him lying dead The little finger of the right hand was broken, and the skin of the forehead and nose scratched (here follow some lines of rhetoric)

The condition of this inwardly disturbed one is impressed upon
6 all He began by vexing his father, and benefactor, and sovereign The latter from affection and foresight and in hopes of curing him put him into prison When by heaven's decree he became the ruler of Persia, he extinguished the lights of wisdom and settled down in the indulgence of lusts He choked the fountain of wakefulness and engaged in killing friends and cherishing foes He did not appreciate the dignity of sovereignty, and was active in ruining the foundations of dominion, Apparently it is the wondrous design of the stewards of fate that the bliss, benevolence, and justice of the

[1] I O MSS Bardi

ruler of India may be proclaimed to the world, and that all the subjects of that abode of pleasantness may recognize the Imām of the time, and reposefully spend their days in the auspicious dwelling of thanksgiving

Verse

Praise be that mine of earth and water,
Which has produced such a brilliant pearl
May there be a glorious day in that sky,
Which holds such a night gleaming star
O God, preserve that dervish loving king,
Under whose shadow lies the repose of mankind
Make him rule long over the people
Keep his heart alive for the blessing of worship

In fine, after some insincere expressions of grief, and more feastings they proceeded to search for another ruler As there were no royal sons who were fit for sovereignty they turned towards Pari Khānim, but she understood the spirit of the age and refrained from the high office, and referred them to Sulṭan Muḥammad Khudābanda the eldest son of Shah Tahmāsp, and whose blindness had saved his life in the time of the bloodshedding Shāh Her sole idea was that he should nominally be the Sultan and that the real power should be with her M Sulaimān, who knew her craft and fraud and who from his good disposition was not in league with her, fled to Shirāz from fear of being made prisoner He made known her wickedness, and agreed with the mother of Sulṭan Muḥammad Khudabanda—who was the real mother of Shāh Ism ail—that they should get rid of this turbulent strife monger. When Sulṭān Muhammad Khudabanda approached Qazwin, Pari Khānim became aware of their designs and barricaded the city. Shamkhāl Carkas (Circassian) her maternal uncle with some thousand men prepared for battle By the exertions of right-minded people things had a peaceful termination The lady of Irān made her excuses and the farsighted men who were watching for their opportunity accepted them When she came near the camp, they represented that there was not an auspicious hour on that day She 227
should cause her litter to be set down near the camp, and Shamkhāl with the main body of the troops should encamp in the neighbour-

hood of a certain village In the morning before they joined the men of the camp, Shāmkhal would be exalted by doing homage (to Khudābanda) and after that there would be a review of the troops on a grand scale By such pleasing tales they (Parī K and her uncle) were lulled into security When night drew her dark mantle over the face of day they induced Amīr Aslan Afshār, who was *ostensibly a friend (az dostan rasmī) of Shāmkhāl to go and prepare* a feast of friendship in his private apartments and to kill him (Shamkhal) while he was off his guard And they arranged to give that slave of gold the governorship of Ispahan as a reward for this service He who did not understand the rights of acquaintanceship and much less did he know the mysteries of friendship spilled the cup of his existence At the same time they seized that veiled[1] one of 'Irāq, and she shortly afterwards became a curtained sitter in the secret chamber of annihilation

One of the occurrences was that on 2 Āzar, Divine month, in the neighbourhood of the town of Kotputl,[2] Mozaffar K Rajah Todar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Mansur were summoned to a privy council and there was a discussion about the affairs of the empire Many matters were disposed of The Sarkār of Bihar was assigned to Shujā'at K Mīr Mu'izzu l mulk and other servants The mints of the imperial dominions which had been under the charge of *caudha*

---

[1] A F seems to have thought that as he was telling a Persian story he could not be too flowery and enigmatical The result is that he is more than usually tortuous and obscure It appears from the Ālam ārāī B M MS Add 16 684 5b that both Parī K and Shamkhāl were put to death. The text has haqīqat guzīn i Irāq and I O MS 236 has *haqīqī gazīn* as if the passage referred to Shamkhāl but I believe that it refers to Parī K and that the true reading is that given in I O MS 235 p 510a, l 2 maqanna gazīn مقنعه گزین the veiled one" The expression 'the veiled one of Iraq thus corresponds to that used a little above where Parī K *is called the lady of Irān bānūī Irān*

[2] Text has Kothuqlī but the variant Kotputlī seems right It was in Sarkar Narnaul *Province of* Agra, J II 182 and 194 There was a copper mine near it which perhaps was the reason why the question of mints was discussed there The passage is translated in Elliot vi 57 where the town is spelt Kotpakalī Kotpūtlī is in Jaipur and about 60 m N E the city of Jaipur I G XVI 3

ris[1] were divided The directorship of this weighty business was assigned to Khwāja[2] 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Shīrinqalm in Fathpūr, the capital of the empire The mint at Lahore was assigned to Moẓaffar K, that in Bengal[3] to Rajah Todar Mal, that in Jaunpūr to Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr, and that in Gujarat to Khwāja 'Imādu-d-dīn Husain, that in Patna[4] to Aṣaf K On the same day it was ordered that square[5] rupees should be coined On 9 Āzar the victorious standards cast their shadow on the town of Nārnaul.[6] There as the holy heart of H M is impressed by the glory of searching after God he visited the abode of Shaikh Niẓām[7] the hermit and conferred eternal joy on that vaunter[8] of simplicity By the strength of his good fortune no sadness found its way into his holy heart from his not finding the marks of enlightenment (in S Niẓām). He only increased his search As, owing to his wide capacity and exceeding research, his far-seeing glance did not fall upon his own treasure,

---

[1] A Hindu title See Wilson's Glossary It does not appear that A F explains it anywhere But at B 268 he speaks of Akbar's resuming the fiefs of the Caudhris

[2] B 107 and 495 He was a calligrapher A F says he owed his perfection to a glance from Akbar

[3] A. F does not say here or elsewhere at what place in Bengal the mint was Here and at B 31 the word Bengal (Bengāla) is used as if it was the name of a city Perhaps Gaur is meant, for Tānḍa is separately mentioned at B 31

[4] This is the Patana of B P1, and is apparently Patna in Bihar and not Patan in Gujarat,

[5] These are the Jalāla rupees mentioned at B 31

[6] Nārnaul or Nārnol is described in Tiefenthaler I 212 He says it was rich and populous until Jai Singh took it from the Muhammadans It is now in Patiala, I G, XVIII 380

[7] B 538 where A F has entered him next to his own father as one who understood the mysteries of both worlds. But possibly, as B suggests, A F may mean here S Niẓām of Amethi He is described in Badayūni III, 15, while S Niẓām of Narnol is described at id., p 26 He belonged to the Cistī order

[8] *Dukkān ārāī sāda lūh*. The expression seems intended as a sneer According to the Bahār-i-'ajam *dukkān ārāī* is used metaphorically to mean boasting and the passing off things of small value as being of great price The interview is mentioned in the T A and Niẓāmu-d dīn quotes a verse apropos of it Evidently Akbar was then a keen inquirer, and Niẓāmu-d dīn says there was a mystic assemblage or dance

and as he did not find in the wearers of rags, or in the learned of the age, any notes of the spiritual and celestial mysteries which are attached to the table of the bounty of God, his thirst for the limpid waters of truth increased from time to time Hence it is that the intimates of the majestic council (of God) have described as eternal that pain of seeking after God which is the zenith of truth The incomparable Deity does not come within the field of the heart of mortals, nor does the foot of search become worn out

328 On the day of Āsmān, 27 Āzar, Divine month, the capital of Delhi was glorified by the Shāhinshāh's advent First of all he circumambulated the holy shrine of H M Jinnat Ashiyānī, and showered gifts on the custodians. Then he visited the other tombs, and was also lavish in gifts there On 3 Dai, Divine month, he visited the quarters of Shaikh Farid[1] Bakhshī Begi, who had many seats in that delightful neighbourhood on the banks of the Jumna, and had places of worship which were the praying spots of India H M went there at the request of this loyal servant and thus secured for him eternal exaltation On the 5th of the month he halted at the sarai of Bāwali[2] and spent some days there in administrative work and in hunting The needy of that part were replenished from the table of his bounty

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Ḥājī[3] Habibullah It has already been mentioned that he had been sent to the port of Goa with a large sum of money and skilful craftsmen in order that he might bring to this country the excellent arts and rarities of that place On the 9th he came to do homage, attended by a large number of persons dressed up as Christians and playing European drums and clarions He produced before H M the choice articles of that territory Craftsmen who had gone to acquire skill displayed the arts which they had learnt and received praises in the critical place of testing The musicians of that territory breathed fascina-

[1] Farīd Bukhārī, B 413 and 415, n 1

[2] Perhaps Bawal in Ṣarkār Rewārī J II, 293 Pālam, to which Akbar went afterwards according to the T.A., was in Sarkār Delhi, J II, 86

[3] Cf *ante*, text 146, and Elliot v 407, and vi 57 The organ is described by Badayūnī in an obscure passage, Lowe 299 See Vullers s v *arghanūn* It is the Greek organon

CHAPTER XLI

The defeat of Rajah Madhukar by the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh

When the star of anyone's fortune sinks and his days grow dark, the first thing that happens is that the lustre of his sense becomes obscured so that he by his own efforts flings away his honour, and becomes contemptible in the spiritual and physical world Such was the condition of this evil thoughted zamindar
9 At this time when the glory of justice had seized the world, and the eternal managers were labouring to make dominion (i e Akbar's power) resplendent, that short sighted and crookedly going man made his seeming power the strength of his country and the number of his daring followers the material of presumption and departed from the highway of obedience The world's lord nominated Ṣādiq[2] K with a numerous army to that quarter in order that if he did not accept the pleasing words of counsel, he should receive fitting punishment The victorious army went by way of Narwar and communicated the exhortations That turbulent and distracted one did not accept them They were obliged to commence the work of clearing the jungle (jangalburi) and proceeded to the town of Undcah (Orchha of I G) When they came near the fort of Karhara, Parman Parmanand Panwar, who was in league with the wretch, took refuge there The army surrounded the fort and addressed itself to the taking of it Every day some of the garrison made sallies and were defeated In a short space of time the cup of his power was ready to spill over He opened his lips in supplication and asked for quarter As the rule of the Shahinshah is to cherish the humble and to accept excuses the imperial servants observed this principle and gave him protection When they had

[1] Maasir al umarā II 131 and B 488

[2] B 300 350 The Iqbalnāma says he was accompanied by the Mota Rajah Rajah Askaran and Qasim Ali K.

untied this difficult knot, they advanced further As the country was forest, and the marching of the army was difficult, they cut down the trees one day and marched the next After this prudent fashion they advanced stage by stage till they came near the river Dhāra,[1] which is north of Und cah The wretch collected a large army and prepared for battle on the bank The braves on each side daily adorned the field of battle From time to time there were gallant hand to hand combats On 5 Dai, Divine month, it was resolved to cross the river and engage in battle Owing to the difficulties of the ground, the troops could not keep their order Sadiq K led one body and Qasim 'Ali K , Ulugh K , and S Firuz with some brave men pressed forward to cross On account of the enemy's fire the vanguard could not cross, and the work of the *ghazis became difficult At this crisis* the *royal faujdars* Kamāl K and Mahmud K pushed the rank breaking elephants into the water and crossed First, Sadiq K crossed with a body of active men and a noble engagement took place 230

Masnavi

The desert became like a river of blood,
You'd say tulips were springing up on it,
The ground became like a sea of pitch,
With waves of daggers, clubs, and arrows

Inasmuch as on the wide field of Divine aid physical resources are of no avail, and no dust of harm from crowds of wretches can fall on the pleasant abode of loyalty, the true man prevailed over the vagabond The enemy was routed, and many of them lost their lives The victorious army took possession of the Rajah's house without difficulty On account of the number of trees, and ignorance of the locality, they were unable to make out what had become of him Some thought that he was hiding and waiting for his opportunity Others suspected that he would attack the camp Ṣādiq K

[1] B 356 has Dasthārā / The Maaṣir has the river Sawā which is known by the name of Saṭdhara Elliot VI 58 who translates this passage of the A N has Satdhara and explains this as the "Seven streams and states that this is a name for the Betwa at Urcha The Iqbālnama has also Dhara

adopted the latter view and proceeded toward the camp He turned[1] the vanguard into the rearguard and sent off detachment after detachment Meanwhile that slumbrous-fortuned fool emerged from behind and stirred up strife Most of the troops gave way and turned their backs, Ulugh K. with some brave men stood their ground and fought Sādiq K arrived with an army of heroes and heartened the waverers Abū ma'āli and others grew bold. Each man left off thought for his life and stood upon guarding his honour There was a brilliant engagement Ulugh K., Abū-ma'-ālī and M Muḥammad Sildoz distinguished themselves in single combat Horal Deo, the Rajah's eldest son, was killed by a ball from a *gajnāl*[2] Khān Jahan the brother of the Rajah attacked a lofty elephant and fell to the ground He got up with agility and planted[3] his dagger in the elephant, and after prodigies of valour escaped wounded. Rām Sah, the son of the presumptuous one, after fighting and being wounded by an arrow withdrew from the battle-field The vagabond was defeated by the might of daily increasing fortune About 200 Rajputs of note were killed Some of the brave imperialists were wounded, but by the Divine protection they recovered Sadiq K. in expressing thanks for the good fortune (of Akbar) used to say, "When matters got out of hand, the holy personality of the "Shāhinshah came into my mind, and I directed my attention to the "source of blessings I made the idea of the world's Khedive the "caravan leader of the last journey, and engaged hotly in warfare
31 "Suddenly the august standards appeared and that glorious figure "presented itself For a moment that glorious apparition brightened "eye and heart I sank into a sea of amazement and did great deeds. "From time to time new strength was vouchsafed In that spiritual "and physical struggle, the lights of victory shone by the blessing of "that mysterious spectacle and dispersed the darkness In spite of "the dispersion of friends, and the multiplicity of enemies, a victory, "such as entered not into the comprehension of the ordinary man,

[1] This obscure sentence is made clearer by the Iqbālnāma. Apparently Sādiq K recrossed the river thinking his camp in danger, and then Madhukar took advantage of his departure to attack the vanguard which had, by Ṣādiq's retracing his steps, become the rearguard

[2] A gun carried by an elephant B 113 first paragraph

[3] The Iqbālnama says he killed elephant

"displayed its joyful countenance" Generally such occurrences which seem extraordinary to the clouded souls of the superficial are purposely effected by holy spirits, and are intended to guide the ignorant but fortunate But sometimes the stewards of fate cause their production without those unique ones of existence being aware of the fact, in order to indicate the purity of the jewel, so that mortals may emerge from the wilderness of denial, and enter the pleasant abode of devotion. If the hearer of this instructive story be one of the intimates of the holy banquet and of those who share in the secrets of the palace of purity, and be aware of the knowledge of Divine matters possessed by the Khedive of the world, he will regard this extraordinary apparition as belonging to the first class, and if he be one of the auspicious ones of practical wisdom, and have some knowledge of the right thoughtedness and abundant graciousness of the lord of the earth, he will regard it as belonging to the second class

One of the occurrences was the sending of Qāsim [1] K to the government of Agra Owing to the quality of the climate the general public of that place are notorious throughout India for their turbulence, courage, and recklessness They have accepted obedience on account of the Majesty of the Shadow of God, and perform service At this time, when the august cortége was away on a campaign, they had, from wickedness and irreflection on the end of things, raised their heads in sedition and oppressed the weak Accordingly the just prince appointed him on 14 Dai, Divine month, as he was the distinguished one of the age for truth, knowledge of affairs, and courage, and gave him sage advices He joined the glory of action to knowledge and tranquillized a world

One of the occurrences was the Khan Jahān's marching against Sātgāon The family of Daūd was there, and Mati [2] and Jamshīd belonging to his *khaṣkhail* (clan) and many wicked Afghans were making a disturbance there When the centre of Bengal had been cleared of the rebels, Khān Jahān addressed himself to that quarter Mati, who had brought together some of Daud's choice treasures, wished in his good fortune that he might be enrolled among the

[1] B 379

[2] His real name was Maḥmūd K Khāṣkhail See infra A N 259 He surrendered to Khān Jahān at Gwās and was put to death there

royal servants Jamshīd and the other Afghans leagued together and made war upon him After many conflicts he was defeated and had to retire into obscurity Much of his property came into their
132 hands Yusuf Balūc and Sarmast Afghan and some of Matī's friends were waiting for their revenge One day that turbulent man (Jamshīd) went to their house in order to pacify them, and they killed him By the marvels of celestial aid the ill fated enemies *fell into trouble of their own accord, and without any fighting on* the part of the imperial servants Daūd's mother and the rest of his family asked for protection and agreed that when the fortunate army went to Tānda, she and her followers would come to Court Khān Jahān accepted her overtures and went off from Sātgaon to the place agreed upon She and her party kept their promise and came to Court [1]

On the 26th of this month H M went off rapidly to the neighbourhood of *Hisār to hunt, and spread the shadow of his justice* over that city The house of Mihr 'Alī Sildoz was honoured by his presence Presents were offered and H M accepted a portion of them and made him joyful From thence he went to Hans where he alighted at the shrine of S Jamāl where he paid his devotions to God, and distinguished the attendants by great gifts He was one of the lieutenants (*jamashīnan*) of Shaikh Farīd Shakrganj and on an indication from his *pīr* had settled there in order to guide *inquirers* Whenever the Shaikh (Farīd) *read the signs of excel*lence in any man he appointed him to a particular district and told him to take his letter of appointment to S Jamāl [2] If the latter agreed, he was to enter on his duties as one of God's servants, other wise he was to endeavour to mortify (*gudā-ish*) himself until he

[1] *Apparently this only means* that she surrendered to Khān Jahān She did this at Gwās (in Murshidabad) See A N 259

[2] There is an account of S Jamāl in the Khazīna al aşfiyā I p 285 and also in J III 379 where he is called S Jamālu d dīn He was descended from Abu Hanīfa of Kūfa The story of Farīd sending certificates to him for signature is *told there and also in Ferishta's* life of Farīd (near the end) Ferishta says that Farīd at the instance of his sister twice sent him the certificate of her son and that on the second occasion Jamāl tore it up Afterwards he gladly signed the certificate of Nizāmu d dīn Auliya Jamāl is said to have died in 659 A H (1260) he is buried at Hansī

should become fit for such a high dignity Accordingly they tell that he had appointed one to Delhi, and that the latter did not get S Jamal s countersignature Afterwards he countersigned the appointment of Nizāmu d-din (Auliyā) Apparently, the object was that his integrity might be impressed upon all, and also that his own high rank might be evidenced by this exaltation of a disciple Otherwise, what reason was there for giving such authority to a subordinate, and why did he show such a procedure in enlarging the position of discipleship

Also at this time Maulānā Muhammad Amin[1] arrived and did homage He was of a noble family in Yezd and belonged to the village (*qariya*) of Aqda In Shirāz he studied in the school of that learned of the age Maulāna M Jan, and read some commentaries and books on asceticism (*tajrid*), and knew the 'Azdi[1] and for the purposes of magic he knew a little about the stars and the science of geomancy (*ramal*) and something about chronology He was an eloquent expounder of plans, and by his assurance and plausibility he sold himself at a high figure At this time he came from 'Irāq to the threshhold of fortune and by the instrumentality of court 233
intimates he was introduced The Khedive of the world from the high opinion that he had of his introducers increased his dignity, and sent him along with Prince Murād to the house of Shaikh

---

[1] This is the Mullā Muhammad Yezdī of Badayūnī and who he says got the name of Yazīdī (in allusion to the Yazīd who killed Husain) See Lowe 214 267 284 285 * He is also apparently the Maulānā Muhammad of the Ain See B 541 He was originally a Shia and in favour with Akbar who made him Sadr of Jaunpur (A N text III 281) But he afterwards rebelled and according to Badayūnī Lowe 284 issued a fatwa declaring that it was a duty to rebel against Akbar Akbar it is said, had him arrested and drowned A F does not seem to tell more about him except that at p 309 he speaks of his having been drowned and implies that this was an accident The word Azdī either refers to the distinguished men of the tribe of Azd see D Herbelot s v Azd or to the[1] work called the Muwāqif Azdia composed by 'Azdu d din Qazī of Shiraz who lived in the 14th century See Beale Apparently Mullā Muhammad wanted to make Akbar a Shia just as Rodolfo Acquaviva wanted to make him a Christian and both failed Maulānā Mirzā Jan is referred to again at vol III p 747

Abdu-n-nabī, who was the centre of *ahl-i-sa'adat* (learned men), or rather nothing important could be accomplished without his opinion, and loaded him with favours As he was not of a good disposition, and had not studied the pages of genius nor possessed a wide capacity, his counterfeit was soon detected and his veneer of gold was revealed to high and low, as will be mentioned in its proper place

One of the occurrences was the capture of Mozaffar Ḥusain M Fortune rises up to wage war on whosoever lifts up his head from submission to the God worshipping *Khedive*, and his *foot* is soon pierced by the thorn of failure If he has no lot in auspiciousness he falls headlong into the abyss of annihilation Otherwise fortune makes him foolish and delivers him into the hands of the lord of fortune, in order that he may in the prison, which is the school of truth turn to do good service The story of the Mirza is a fresh instance of this. Though evil disposed people made him a support of disaffection he soon became stained with the dust of shame and became a foot-blistered vagabond From Gujarat he again hurried off to the Deccan, and joined with some evil conditioned men in Berar The troops of that country made war upon him, and there was a hot engagement As he had turned away from the true qibla, he was defeated and came to Khandes Raja 'Ali K seized him and restrained him from plundering Though in reality he was putting down the dust of dissension in his own country, yet in appearance he was behaving loyally to the holy court When the facts came to H M's knowledge he sent orders along with Maqṣud Damba to the effect that he should be sent to Court

One of the occurrences was that a cloud came over the reliance which H M reposed upon S 'Abdunnabi The pious sovereign never considered himself and always practised equity In accordance with the dictates of wisdom, the Sultan, he made no distinction between friend and foe As the integrity[1] of the Shaikh was impressed on H M by the simple, whose ignorance was sold at the rate of knowledge, and by interested persons who posed as being candid and free from desires he raised him from the hollow of

[1] See vol II 248 where it is stated that Abdu n nabī was appointed in 972 at the recommendation of Mozaffar K

failure to the high ground of honour. In the first place the management of the learned *(ahl i-sa'ādat)* was made over to him permanently, and afterwards the glorious affairs of the State were referred to him As in the testing house of man knowing assayers the counterfeit coin of mortals does not remain current, right thinking persons 234
came to know the real facts and at this time some portion of the story of his trickery and self interestedness reached the acute sovereign From abundant vigilance, and profound meditation—for many righteous persons become stained by the suspicion of the wicked and irreverent—he personally undertook the inquiry, and went into the question according to proper rules There was no slackness in the Court of judgment, and the general public did not know of the inquiry When there had been several revolutions of the spheres, the truth of former representations was proved in various ways [1]

Verse

If a man conceal his secret for a time,
Length of time reveals his fraud

From perfect far-thoughtedness—which is indispensable in this evil world—an order was given in the borders of the town of Gohāna[2] to S Farid Bokhāri that when the august cortége should pass that way he should produce the owners of the *sayurghals* (B 268) of that country before H M in order that the position of each of them might be ascertained, and that the propriety of each of the grants might be impressed on his mind In a short time it became manifest that owing to a love of gold, and the acceptance of recommendations, the rules of sufficiency and inquiry had been neglected The world's Khedive in his abundant gentleness did not remove the veil from the face of his ('Abdu n nabi's) actions but referred the investigation [3] and criticism to prudent servants He

[1] Cf B 269 beginning of first para. Badayūnī III, 80, ascribes the downfall of 'Abdu n nabī to his having put a brahman of Mathurā to death for disrespect to the Prophet He adds that Akbar got very excited when discussing this matter, and that his mustaches stood out like a tiger's whiskers There is a full account of 'Abdu n nabī in the Darbārī Akbarī, 320

[2] Kohāna in text It is in the Rohtak district. I G XII 304, J II, 293

[3] Text has *nikohīdagī*. Is this a mistake for *nigāhīdagī*?

said, "A man cannot manage every thing on account of multiplicity of employment Especially is this great employment larger than that one person can control it It is an indispensable part of prudence that head men be appointed to each province and that this great form of worship[1] be divided so that Truth may be fixed in her centre and that the pillar of justice, i e knowledge of the truth, be exalted About this time the Ṣadārat of the Punjab was conferred on Maulānā Abdulla Sultānpuri, and it was intimated to some persons of enlightened heart that they should mention to H M the names of some trustworthy experienced and energetic men who might be fit for this work[2]

At this time the town of Sunam was[3] brightened by the glory of the royal standards He conferred distinction on M Yusuf K by addressing him (or perhaps by giving him a title) and said, 'Something tells my heart that the world surpassing[4] territory of Kashmir shall come into the possession of the imperial servants' Out of his abundant kindness that delightful country became assigned to him as his fief I laud his perception and the light of his vision! What after so many years was to show itself shone on that day in the pure temple of his soul which is a mystery revealing mirror On 21 Bahman Divine month (about 1 February 1578), he encamped at Shādiwāl, and for the guidance of those standing about the threshold of fortune he uttered auspicious counsels He let fall many spiritual and physical truths He said, "If the scarf of social life were not on my shoulder I would restrain myself from eating flesh" Inasmuch as he was aware of the wolfish[5]

---

[1] *Ibadat The Lucknow ed* has yad i e conduct or rules

[2] Ain 19 about Sayurghāls B 38 should be read At p 270 A F tells us that the Sadr was directed to consult him and to increase or decrease the grant in accordance with his advice

[3] Text Slam but there is the variant Shlam I have not however found either of these places and so have adopted the Cawnpore ed reading Sunam which also appears in I O M S 236 Sunām or Sunnam is a town in the Patiala State and is entered in the Ain under Sirhind J II 296 It is mentioned in B 286 as one of the places where Akbar used to hunt leopards Bayazid Bijāt got the pargana of Sunām in farm See his Memoirs near the end Also I G XXIII 139

[4] I O M S [illegible]

g [illegible]

curs also in the Ain B 61 which

nature of men he considered that to tame them all at once would be to distress and pain the votaries of custom Therefore the inspiration came to his holy heart that he would stretch out his hand slowly 235
and by degrees so that things might not be made difficult for followers of the truth, and that constant apprehensions might not make the general public crazy He has now for some time abstained from eating meat on Fridays[1] It is to be hoped[2] that the practice (of eating meat) will be confined to certain days

One of the occurrences was the bestowal of the pargana of Lihāra on Raḥmān[3] Qulī Qushbegi For a while he had, in virtue of his leadership of the spiritual world, while in the midst of material calculations been swimming[4] in the ocean of Vision (shahud) When he

treats of days of abstinence There is also a similar remark there about leaving off the practice by degrees Cf Akbar's saying in J III 240 "Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance I would prohibit men from eating meat The reason why I do not altogether abandon it myself is that many others might willingly or unwillingly (kām nākām) forego it likewise and be thus cast into despondency

[1] Bartoli, Missione al Gran Mogor ed Piacenza p 7, speaks of Akbar's fasting strictly on Friday and ascribes it to his contempt for Muhammadanism Akbar gave up hunting on Fridays for a reason given by Jahangir T J 249

[2] The word *umed* 'hope' is not in text, but it occurs in the I O MSS The clause is to me almost unintelligible and my translation of it is of very doubtful correctness

[3] Text رحمن Racman and there is the variant *caman* کمن But it is clear from the I O MSS and the Bib Ind. text p 196 that the name really is Raḥman or Raḥmān, i e The Merciful which is one of the names of God At p 196 Raḥman Qulī Qūshbegi (i e falconer) is described as coming from the Ḥijaz and as bringing a letter from the Sharīfs of Mecca I have no doubt that he is the Raḥmān of the passage before us Qulī means servant or slave so that Raḥmān Qulī means the slave of God Apparently he is the Raḥmān Qulī of Badayūnī III, 278 who described himself as the loving son of the poet Mulla Ishqī Mulla Ishqī was Mīr Bakhshī See B 528 and A N III, 247 Perhaps he is the same as Ism'ail K who is described as the father of Raḥmān Qulī Beg by Ma'ṣūm Bhakharī See Elliot I 245

[4] See B 106 where a similar phrase is translated launches forth into the ocean of contemplation The words which I have translated material calculations are muḥāsiba nafsānī I presume that nafsanī is used in the sense of carnal or material But I am not clear as to the meaning Perhaps the reference is to Akbar's having lately been

came out of this state (lit when he returned) he displayed this great act of liberality Some of the servants of the Court were meditative as to what could be the cause of this He, who reads the inscriptions on the forehead of the heart, had compassion on their bewilderment and said, " When that township [1] (*qasba*) came in sight whose name means "of yours," [2] it struck me that everything was a manifestation of the glory of the Holy Being (God) while this (expression, or village name) only showed external things (ṣurat-i namūdāri) My heart became lacerated by the turmoil of "We and I (*ma u man*)" and by the grasp of connexion and dependence I felt chilled by the abode of association, and my enchainment in outward things was nigh being severed When the mysterious working of Divine destiny brought me into the world of contingent existence it passed into my mind that as an act of *thanksgiving this township should be given to one in whose name* there was an allusion to the Incomparable Creator At that time this chooser of service (Rahman Quli) appeared before him, and was distinguished by the great favour

In that holy assemblage he uttered many delightful words and weighted with knowledge the brains of the awakened hearted By the sound of this awakening the slumbrous in the night of ignorance were roused and guided in the wilderness of search Glory to the sublime strength which keeps the lamp of Oneness alight in the strong wind of multiplicity, and observes solitude in the midst of society And hail to the lofty perception which keeps sovereignty shoulder to shoulder with saintship, and preserves unity of colour!

---

engaged in arranging about the mints, the division of commands etc see supra text 227

[1] It is clear from J II 115 and elsewhere that A F uses *qasba* occasionally as equivalent to pargana or district

[2] Text *azali*, i e eternity But I cannot find that Tihāra means eternity, and the two I O MSS and also a MS of my own have Az tust ازتست yours, or of you, and I believe this to be the true reading for it is stated in Forbes's Hindustani Dictionary that تهارو and تهاری tiharau and tihārī Hindi तिहार means 'your in the old Braj dialect This accords with the next sentence in which Akbar alludes to pronouns and speaks of being distressed by the ' mā u man," ' We and I Pargana Tihāra was in Sarkār Sirhind and on the Sutlej See J II 295

Verse[1]

A Shāh who by wisdom is the guide or the path to God,
An ocean which never for a moment is separated from God,
Though they call him the shadow of God,
We do not call him shadow, for he is God's light

On 9 Isfandarmaz, Divine month, a bridge was made from the neighbourhood of Lakhi[2] Qiyāmpur, and the royal standards passed over the Sutlej Worlds of troops and universes of animals crossed safely and in comfort Near this place Shāh Quli K Maḥram came from Lahore and paid his respects and was honoured with royal favours

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to Baluchistan As the leaders of that tribe owing to their innate savagery and ill fatedness had turned away their heads from obedience and had not paid proper respect, M Yusuf K, Shah Qulī K Mahram, Sáiyid Hāmid, Muhammad Zamān and other strenuous ones were 236
sent off to that country They were first to guide them by wisdom-conferring counsels, and if these were not effectual they were to enlighten their darkness by the flashes of the sword. On the 12th the cortége alighted at Patan (Pākpattan) The sovereign paid a visit to the shrine of S Farid Shakrganj[3] From the beginning of night he made the morning of truth shine, and he also spent most of the following day in that processional spot (muṭāf), and performed the duties of the primacy of the spiritual and temporal world. The attendants on the shrine and the inhabitants generally attained to high dignity and were comforted During that banquet of enlightenment Ṣufī Nāsir from Balkh and Mullā Mushfiqi[4] from Bokhara had

[1] This quatrain seems to be Faizī's cf B 561

[2] J II 332 where it is called Qiyāmpūr Lakhī There are three other Lakhīs in the Sarkār (Bet Jalandhar Doāb)

[3] J III 363

[4] B 583 Mashfiqī was a poet, and Badayūnī III 328 gives two specimens of his poetry The passage in text is corrupt and I have corrected it from the two I O MSS 236 and 235 of Ethé According to the text the wisdom of these two strangers was tested as had been that of the sages of India But in the two MSS referred to the word diyār "country" does not occur and the words are "ma'rifat-i ānrā cūn sha'ra-i-in 'iyār girifta." The expression about their coming to know that they had wasted their lives,

the happiness of presenting themselves The spiritual knowledge of the one and the poetry of the other were tested, and they came to recognize the futility of their lives, and began their work anew

---

and their commencing their studies afresh (under Akbar as teacher), is repeated with reference to 'Abdul Bāqī Turkistānī at the foot of first paragraph of p 244

CHAPTER XLII

Beginning of the 23rd Divine year from the holy accession, viz. the year Bahman of the second cycle

On Tuesday 2 Muharram 986 (11 March 1578), after the passing of 53 minutes, the sun filled with light the sign of Aries and the eleventh year of the second cycle began Mortals rejoiced in the equability of the atmosphere, and in their delight returned thanks Melody unmixed with sorrow sounded, and there was universal joy

Verse

The spring clouds made pictures in the garden,
The morning breeze shed *'aṭr* on the rosarium,
Whiles the musky gale brought perfume from hidden places,
Whiles vivifying Boreas shed jewels on the ground

In the beginning of this year 3 Farwardin, Divine month, a bridge was made over the Ravi at Khānpur, and the august standards cast their rays on that country

One of the occurrences was the appointing of S Ibrāhim to the governorship of the metropolitan province (Fathpur Sikri) He knew the outer world and was skilful in its management It was ordered that he s' uld come from the thanadāri of Laḍlāi [1] to that city and guard th ˙ of sovereignty Though the awe of majestic justice keeps t ˡ stant as well as the near in the school of service, and they recko. employment as the source of secular and spiritual bliss, yet as vigilance and forethought are the characteristics of the sitter on the throne of fortune, he useth to make over each 237
country to some prudent and active-minded person, and in a sleepless manner spreads forth the shade of watchfulness After this noble fashion did he worship the world adorning Deity

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Shujā'at [2] K to the

---

[1] Text Lawalāli as at p 220, where it is said to be in the province of Ajmere See note at p 220 In I O MS 236 it is Lāzhlāli

[2] See B 284 for an account of how Akbar saved Shujā'at from a tiger

province of Mālwa As it came to the august hearing that the officers of that country were somnolent and did not regard the afflictions of the weak, and had become worldly and had stepped aside from the highway of wisdom, he imparted counsels as regarded each of them suitable to their conditions, and sent off Shujā'at K, who together with courage, possessed knowledge of affairs and justice, to be their commander-in-chief An order was also issued that Shāh Budāgh K, Tolak K, Muttalib K, and the soldiery generally should exert themselves with one accord in composing the troubles, and should act in conformity with Shujā'at K's opinion

One of the occurrences was the stumbling[1] of H M's horse Whatever happens to him is a lesson and an ornament If by reason of human nature slumbrousness overcome him, and forgetfulness be produced by the mantle of mortality, he is awakened by what is in appearance injurious, and enlightenment is bestowed in a wondrous fashion Intimations reach the *masnad* of instruction in proportion to the slumbers of each person But the much wakefulness of a world does not come up to his sweet sleep Spectators are amazed, and as they do not comprehend the cause, they are bewildered Apparently it was in this way that one night when he was coming back to the camp from hunting, his horse stumbled He, the wise and foreseeing one, regarded this as a message from God, and prostrated himself in devotion A new foundation was laid for Divine worship May the Incomparable Creator uphold that holy personality on the pleasant spot of health and not suffer any untoward dust to settle on the skirt of daily increasing fortune!

Verse

Hail to the holder of the kingly throne!
The magazine of Divine aids,

[1] Perhaps this is the occurrence which is referred to in the collection of Akbar's sayings at the end of the Ain text II, 234 and J III, 386, five lines from foot. The words there "On the completion of my twentieth year appear to be a mistake arising from a corrupt text In two MSS which I have consulted the word is not *bist* '20 but '*asp* or "*asb* horse, and the meaning seems to be my horse stumbled. But Akbar had another fall from his horse in the 34th year at Daka in Afghanistan See A N III, 572

God be praised that in his lofty destiny,
No evil[1] comes except in the shape of rue

Simple minded, superficial persons who never saw anything but prudence and far sightedness in that Unique of the realm of being and who did not budge even half a step from the market square of ordinary causes, sought[2] out petty reasons As one of the ancients has sung —

Quatrain

I went to kill the horse with my sword, 238
He said, "First hear this my excellent excuse
I'm neither the earth's[3] bull that I can support the world,
Nor the fourth sphere that I can draw the sun

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Komulmir That fortress is of difficult access and is situated on a sky high mountain The Rana had after the fashion of his ancestors made it his residence In former times very few had succeeded in taking it On this day owing to the wondrous fortune of the Shahinshah, it became with a little effort the resting place of the victorious army When Shahbaz K proceeded thither he sent away to Court Rajah Bhagwant Das and Kuar Mān Singh lest from their feelings as landholders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber (the Rana) He himself went forward to take it, in company with Sharif K, Ghazi K, M K, and others By the guidance of the stars the troops passed over the stony tracts and easily crossed the defiles At a time, when neither resident nor

[1] *Kamāli* Perfection but I think there is an allusion to the 'ain i kamāl i e the evil eye But the meaning may also be "No perfection comes unaccompanied by its rue" (as a prophylactic against the evil eye)

[2] There are apparently various readings I O MS 236 seems to have *ba kin u sāil* 'revenge and questionings and id 236 seems to have *bakamīn u sāil* with inquiries and questionings

[3] *Gāo i zamin* The bull which bears the earth on its horns

[4] *Kohlmīr* in text, the Konbhalmīr of B It is in the Udaipūr State and 40 m N of Udaipūr The mountain is over 3 500 feet high It was visited by Tod who has described it in his Personal Narrative It was he who took possession of it in 1818 See also B 400 the Rajputana Gazetteer III, 52 and I G XVI s v Kūmbhalgarh

stranger thought of it, Shahbaz K arrived to take the fort By the might of heavenly aid he got possession of the defile of Kelwāra[1] which is such that the foot of fancy (khiyal) cannot reach it The heroes ascended the heights and prevailed The garrison lost heart on seeing the lights of celestial aid On 24 Farwardin Divine month 3 or 4 April, 1578, the fort was invested and the drums of joy beaten On beholding the might of the ghaz s, the foot of courage of the turbulent one (the Rana) slipped and he became still more dismayed By the wondrous work of fate a large gun inside the fort burst, and the harvest of his equipment was reduced to ashes. At once he dropt the thread of courage and fled to the hills[2] Many Rajputs of fame stood in front of the gate and the precincts of the temple and made a daring fight After gallant hand to-hand combats they slept in the house of annihilation[3] In the morning of dominion that celestial knot was loosed and a deed showed itself which ordinary people could not comprehend When it was pointed out that that wicked one was in the hill-country of Bānswāla, he (Shahbāz K) made over the fort to Ghāz K. Badakhshi and hastened in that direction Next day at midday he took
239 Goganda, and at midnight Udaipur The victors obtained immense booty

One of the strange occurrences was that an ascetic hermit had for a long time lived in obscurity in the first fort (Komulmīr?) Men always sought a blessing from his lofty spirit Before the catastrophe by three days he came out in the morning on the top of the Rānā s temple and sounded the *azan'* (call to prayer) and announced the coming of the king's army The govern or was astonished and questioned him He replied 'This (i e last) night I was informed that the capture would take place The slumbrous witted one was enraged and put him to death

On hearing the news of this great Divine boon H M increased his devotions and distinguished the loyal combatants by great

---

[1] I G XV 198

[2] The Maasir II 593 says the Rānā escaped in the dress of a San yāsī but perhaps this merely means that he escaped naked or with few clothes

[3] The account of the taking of Ko mulmīr is partially translated in Elliot VI 58

favours On the 31st of the month H M went near Cimot[1] towards the bridge,[2] and a portion of the great camp crossed under his inspection, and the active servants had a fresh instance of his marvels How could so numerous an army have marched if he had not been there to guide it? Who has the ability to describe the equipment? Shall I relate the passing over hills and plains? Or shall I describe the completion of the bridge and the adornment (*ain*) of the boats? Or shall I write of the passage of the elephants through the boisterous river, or tell tale of the masterfulness (*isbahbadi*) of this spiritual king? On that day, on account of the ignorance of newly-trained servants, Pundarik,[3] a special (*Khāṣa*) elephant, was lost in the depths (*z'harifha*) of the river The deep seeing (*z'harifnigah*) sovereign regarded diminution[4] of property as increase of life, and held a feast One day there was on the hunting-ground a great hailstorm The hailstones were as large as nuts.[5] H M was in a litter[6] (sukhpāl), and holding communion with his God By the blessing of the shadow of the blessing of the Shāhinshāh no harm happened to his followers in that unprotected plain.

One of the occurrences was the cessation of clouds and rain The

[1] The text has *janūb*, south The Iqbālnāma enables me to correct this to Cimot I G. X 285 Akbar was in Lahore when he heard of Shahbāz K s success On 31 Bahman he went to Cimot on the Cenāb See J II 320, 21 and R A S J for 1899 p 132

[2] The sentence is obscure and the Lucknow ed and some MSS have *khabar* ' news instead of *jisr* a bridge Perhaps it is the name of a place e g Jasroya or Jarrota J II 320 Apparently H M marched from Lahore

[3] Sanskrit, Pūndarīka, a lotus

[4] This does not refer I think to the loss of the elephant It is merely A F's round-about way of saying that Akbar gave a banquet Akbar considered, he says the consumption of property involved in giving a banquet as a means of increasing life There is also a play on the double meaning of the word *kāhish* It means both "diminution' and the disease of phthisis A F also travesties a couplet of Niẓāmī quoted by Vullers s v which says that *kāhish* (the disease) soon produced *kāhish* diminution of life

[5] *Jauz* We are not told the kind of nuts, perhaps A F. as an Indian means cocoa nuts, but more probably he refers to walnuts or *supārī* nuts

[6] Perhaps Akbar was in a litter on account of his recent fall from his horse *Sukhpāl* seems to be the same as *sukāsan* mentioned at p 130, top line, as used by Munim K

account of this marvel is that for some days there was constant and unseasonable rain The campmen and the generality of the subjects were distressed and complained The wonder worker emitted his glorious breathings[1] on a mirror and then put it into a fire From the wondrous effect of the breath[2] of him whom the spheres obey the celestial turbulence ceased

Verse

When energy assists the brave,
They raise the Earth above the sky,
By energy accomplish deeds,
That difficulties may be easy to you

One of the occurrences was the forgiveness of the offences of the Balūcis It has been mentioned that the leaders of that tribe had from darkness of understanding and slumbrousness of fate
140 cast their eyes on the remoteness and strength of their country and taken the path of ruin As the world adorning sun of Divine[3] light exists for the casting down of the wicked as well as for the cherishing of the good, an order was given that some of the Panjab officers should proceed to the abodes of the tribe and inflict proper chastisement on them The sound of the approach of the world conquering troops aroused the slumberers and guided them to good service From dread and from farsight they sent prudent men and sought for forgiveness H M accepted their excuses[4] and received the entreaties of those tamed ones of the desert of ignorance at the

[1] See B 164 where Akbar is described as breathing on cups of water and placing them in the sun Perhaps *dar ātish nihād* means "he placed the mirror in the sun

[2] *Damgīrāī* It also means assistance, or power See J III 366 where the original of the words "miraculous powers is *damgīrāī* A.F plays on the double meaning The miracle is described in a MS of the T A in my possession The account occurs near the beginning of the 24th year and says that Akbar called for a mirror breathed on it three times and then put it in the fire The mirror was probably of metal The story does not seem to occur in the Newal Kishore edition

[3] *Shamsah i-peshtaq* The sun picture of the portico See B 50

[4] The Iqbālnama gives the names of two of the B lūcī chiefs who came to sue for grace Hājī K and Jihat K A F also mentions them in the following chapter

rate of chosen service He issued an order that the troops should return For his whole thought is to accept the obedience of mortals so that multiplicity may become unity, and that mankind in general may have repose He does not act like the rapacious and greedy who make stumbling an excuse for subjugation, and do not rest without shedding blood and heaping up wealth

One of the occurrences was the composing of the distractions connected with the *sayurghals*[1] (rent-free lands) Many recluses suffered from their feebleness because they had not their land in one place, and sometimes were tormented by the exchequer-officers and the agents of fief holders Also avaricious and shameless people fraudulently laid hold of lands in several places They looked upon the differences in localities as a means of fraud, and so fell into eternal ruin The just lord of the earth ordered that the *Aima*[2] lands should not be mixed up with the exchequer and jagir lands He also abolished the plurality of situations and assigned to each in a particular place his *tankhwah*[3] Able men were appointed to every province and *sarkar* and made justice resplendent By the holy orders the lamp of satisfaction was kindled for the recluses, and the evil doers were guided aright The work was done from the beginning, and by wise regulations the revenue was preserved, which is the highest form of worship in the social state The light of justice also diffused new radiancy over the world

One of the occurrences was the amazement of the superficial at the knowledge of mysteries possessed by H M One day he heard in his privy chamber the beating of a drum Though those who had access there searched for the drummer, they could find no trace of him It fell from the mouth full of pearls, "Something tells me that it is the admirable work of Yar Muhammad"[4] When

[1] Cf B 268 and Lowe 261 and 282 It was Qāzī 'Alī of Baghdad B 528 who was appointed to re adjust the rent-free tenures

[2] See Wilson s Glossary and cf B 269, first para

[3] His pension (lit body satisfying), the Tuncah of Warren Hastings time See Wilson's Glossary s v Tankhwah

[4] Perhaps the Yar Muhammad Yas āwal of text III 475 Or he may be the son of Sadiq K B 357 499 The story is told in a MS copy of the T A near the beginning of the 24th year It says Akbar remarked It is Yār Muhammad Naqārcī (drummer)

they searched they found it to be so Such far views were continually appearing for the guidance of the fortunate A day did not pass that the various writings on men's hearts were not read by him as if they were inscriptions on a portico If I were only to record the instances that had come to my own knowledge, a
241 separate book would be required, then what question can there be of the instances that have happened to others?

CHAPTER XLIII

THE ENJOYMENT OF H.M. IN A QAMARGHA[1] HUNT, AND HIS CAPTURE OF THE PREY OF HIS DESIRES.

The sublime thought of the wise Khedive in the enjoyment of hunting is that he may, without the awe inspired by royal majesty and without the intervention of prattlers—whose skirts are mostly stained with self-interest—acquire a knowledge of the events of the world, put down oppressors, and exalt the good who sit in the corner of contempt. His holy heart also always longs for an opportunity of receiving spiritual influence, and thinks that perhaps he may in the fields of unconventionality fall in with some good man and thereby lay a fresh foundation for wisdom's palace. Or perchance the tongue of some silently eloquent one may communicate religious knowledge to him, and by his inward attractions (*kashakashhā*, lit "drawings") H M's heart may be at rest from the questions of the Why and Wherefore, and may become fixed and pledged in one place, so that in this arid desert of self-confidence he may attain a spot of repose and may breathe freely in a holy mansion While thus spiritually hungered in the struggles of search he on 12 Urdibihisht, 22 April 1578, resolved upon having a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood of Bhera[2] He crossed the Bihat (Jhelum)

[1] According to some copies of the T A Akbar had come from Pak Pattan where he had been visiting Farid's shrine The account of the *qamargha* and of Akbar's "attraction is omitted in the Lucknow lithograph, and the account in B M M S Add 27, 247 is very differently worded from the text of the Bib Ind The verbose preamble is omitted, and the wording of the narrative is different Add 27, 247 is useful as it gives the corresponding Hijra dates Thus it gives 12 Urdibihisht corresponding to 14 Safar (986) i e 22 April 1578, 15 Urdibihisht corresponding to Friday 17 Safar, 25 April It also adds the epithet *kuhna* "old" to the name Bhera In fact there are two Bheras, the old and the modern, and the first apparently lay on the right bank of the Jhelum

[2] In the Shāhpūr district of the Panjab, Badayūnī says, "near Nandana," and a M S T A. in my possession has Nandana Rohtās

and gave orders to the great nobles and officers that they should according to excellent methods enclose the wild beasts from Girjhāk[1] to Bhera, a distance of twenty-five *kos* They zealously applied themselves to the task and formed troops (*qushun, qushun*) and bands At this time *Ḥājī K*[2] *and the other Biluci leaders came with* a thousand feelings of shame and did homage Inasmuch as the observance of promises is at the head of the deeds of the social state, he forgave their offences and raised them from the ground of disgrace At a sign from H M they obtained a place in the company (for hunting)

The zealous strivers of the domain of enlightenment had fulfilled their orders, when the bird of desire fell into the net, and the tongues[3] of eloquent silence obtained the joy of deliverance That seeker after truth (Akbar) was putting forth the foot of search in that wide wilderness and was holding self-conflicts in the pleasant place where the quarry had fallen The glory of unity was bestowed by him on the pure spots and pleasant precincts of the temple of his supplications As attainment follows upon search, the lamp of vision became brilliant A sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame The attraction (*jazaba*)[4] of cognition of God cast its

[1] Kirjhāk in text J II 324 and n 6 It is the Hindu name for Jalālpur I G and is said to be the Bucephala of Alexander It is on the right bank of the Jhelam Add MS 27 247 says that the arrangements for the *qamargha* were carried out during ten days It gives the date of the attraction as the day of Dīn 24 Urdībihisht corresponding to Sunday 26 Safar 4 May 1578 It mentions M Yusuf K Naurang K and Aṣaf K as employed in arranging the hunt It also speaks of Akbar's leaving his main camp on one side of the river and of his crossing over In this MS the expression *jazaba qavī* a strong attraction is used as in the T A

[2] B M MS gives 17 Urdībihisht as the day of their coming and adds the name of Jīta K or Chēta K as a variant

[3] Apparently this refers to the animals who were freed from the enclosing nets

[4] The jazaba is described by Badayūnī Lowe 261 and by Niẓāmu d dīn at the beginning of the 24th year but the passage is omitted in Elliot V 408 It seems to have been a remarkable occurrence and Badayūnī speaks of it as having led to disturbances in the eastern provinces Perhaps it caused Akbar's mother to come at this time to visit him Niẓāmu d dīn says Akbar distributed money to faquirs under the tree where he had experienced the attraction and ordered a house

ray. The description of it cannot be comprehended by the feeble intellect of common-place people Nor can every enlightened sage 242
attain to an understanding of it. A few of the farsighted ones of the illuminated spot of spiritual knowledge understand a little out of much of it by help of the ecstacy of vision (*shahūdī*) Until the boon companions of the banquet of Majesty (i e Akbar's companions) have drunk the clarified wine, what do they know of religious experience? And without tasting that inspiring wine, who among the topers in the tavern of Unity has the strength of vision to perceive from what jar this intoxication comes? The belief of one party of keen-witted men who were admitted to an audience was that the decorators of the court of creation had observed the world illuminating beauty of his understanding There[1] had been a marvellous intercourse with the mystery-knowing heart of the holy sanctuary

A number of clear-sighted ones of the holy assemblage thought that he had met in these inspiring fields one of the pious anchorites and had gained his desire Another set thought that he had met in with one of the holy spirits, others were convinced that the speech of the silent ones of the wilderness had conveyed a message to him Others thought that the beasts of the forest had with a tongueless tongue imparted Divine secrets to him When he had for a long time received the Divine rays, the blissful servants came and in proportion to their capacity carried[2] off the fragments of the feast. When the stewards of the hidden chamber of the Divine decrees had for the sake of the government of the world brought down again him who had obtained his desire in the spiritual kingdom, he in thanksgiving for this great boon set free many thousands of animals Active men made every endeavour that no one should touch the feather of a finch and that they should allow all the animals to depart according to their habits The

and garden to be made there The preparation for the *Qamargha* had gone on for four days, and the enclosing circle was nearly completed when Akbar stopped the hunt See D A 86

[1] I am exceedingly doubtful of the meaning of this sentence Perhaps it means that the opinion just stated is that of the ladies of Akbar's court

[2] This phrase is repeated at p 245, last line

caravans of animated beings had fresh life The dumb of this world hastened to the rose garden of joy As his pure heart is free of sensual pleasures, and he ever desires asceticism, the thought of this boiled over in his soul and the desire for one ness prevailed He was nearly abandoning this state of struggle, and entirely gathering up the skirt of his genius from earthly pomp But in obedience to the orders of Wisdom—the Shāhinshāh—he passed from this desire, but conformed somewhat to the practices (of the ascetics) He shortened his hair which was long and beautiful and entrancing, and many of the lovers of the order[1] voluntarily imitated him Stranger still, some time before this he had said that in the beginning of his reign he had, from sympathy with the natives of India, and in opposition of his ancestors cherished the hair of his head, but from the wonders of Divine power would it be surprising if he should change his mind and bring some inhabitants of this country to our custom ' On the same day he crossed the Bihat and came to the camp, and gave up the thought of advancing
43 further At this time[2] Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Man Singh arrived on the bank of the river from Ajmere and did homage

One of the occurrences was the arrival at the camp of H M Miriam Makani At the time when the camp was on the bank of the Bihat, it was announced to H M that her litter was near at hand, and that she was very anxious to see him He was much delighted, and made arrangements for doing her honour First an order was given that the prince Sultān Selim should go to meet her and that many officers should accompany him After that H M went on horseback and made the reverence to his visible God (his mother), an act of worship of the true Creator He at once acted according to etiquette and also exalted the rank of his knowledge of God

Verse

It belongs to a knowledge of rank to adore rank,
God does not give rank, save to him who appreciates it

---

[1] *Silasil* Apparently the order of the Divine Faith But perhaps the word means locks or curls and the translation should [illegible] of such chains (curls)

[2] Add 27 246 says Bhagwan Dās

One of the occurrences was the arrival of presents from Bengal and Koc[1] (Koc Behar) At the time when the camp was by the river Bihat the bearers of reports from Khan Jahān arrived at court The gist of them was that the eastern provinces were tranquil by the blessing of the ruler of the age Rajah Māl Gosain, the zamindar of Koc, also again made his submission First of all the rarities of Bengal, including 54 noted elephants, were produced, and then the presents of the landholder Partāb 'Pāi Feringi, who

came on the day of Mār Isfandār 29 Urdibihisht corresponding to Rabī al awwal On 1 Khurdād or Monday 4 Rabī'al awwal news came of the arrival of Miriam Makānī Though Nizāmu d dīn puts the occurrence in the 24th year he means 986 as A F does Elliot s correction to 987 is wrong

[1] There is an interesting account of Kūch Behar in A N III, 716 The Rajah himself did not wait upon Akbar It was only his vakīl who came At p 716 A F gives an account of Rajah Māl Gosain He says he was the grandson of Bishna (or Bisa, and the Visu of other authorities) and was an ascetic and did not marry till he was fifty B J A S B for 1872, 100 n, says he is the Nara Narain of Kūch Behar annals. See also Gait J A S B for 1893 301 n It is unlikely that an ascetic would develop into a great conqueror, and apparently the real warrior was his brother Sukhla Deva Sīlārāī as indeed the temple inscriptions say A F 716 calls Sukhla Dev the elder brother of Māl Gosain, but the inscriptions quoted by Gait, id 295 show that he was the younger brother Māl Gosain is more likely to be right than Bāl Gosain, as the first agrees with the Mallā Deva of the inscriptions Mal Gosain wrote a book or a letter in praise of Akbar and sent it to him along with some fine silks Presumably this was part of the present sent on the occasion mentioned in the text In the 50th year of his reign he made his nephew his heir-apparent, but after this either he or his brother Shukl (Sukhla) Gosain married and had a son called Lacmī Narain See Glazier s Rungpore p 12 B M Add 27 247 calls Rajah Māl Gosain the Rajah of Kāmrū (Kamrup)

[2] Cf Elliot VI, 59 Partāb Bār is in the Cawnpore ed p 128 Partābā Bār though at p 182 id we have Partab Bā As remarked in Elliot the names of Partāb and his wife are very doubtful In the two I O MSS the name is Partab Baz Partāb is mentioned again in the Bib Ind ed III, 320 corresponding to Cawnpore ed 182 where we are told that M Najāt K took shelter with him after having been defeated by Qatlū in Selīmābād (or Sulaimān ābad) in Bardwan and Hugli, see B Geography of Bengal A S B 42 p 218 B id calls him Partāb the Portuguese governor of Hugli, p 440 and in all probability Partāb is the Tavares mentioned by

is one of the officials of the merchants of the ports of Bengal, had the bliss of an audience. He and his wife Nashūrna were from their happy star amazed at the laudable qualities of the sovereign,

---

Manrique see Murray's Discoveries in Asia, Vol II, 99 Sebastian Manrique was an Augustinian monk, and his book Itinerario, etc, was published at Rome in 1649 See also Bartoli, Missione al Gran Mogor, Piacenza, 1819, p 5, who mentions Pietro Tavares as being a military servant of Akbar and also as captain of a port in Bengal According to Bartoli it was Tavares who induced Akbar to send for Egidio Anes Pereira the priest of Sātgaon The latter in his turn induced Akbar to send for priests from Goa See also the Calcutta Review, vol v, for June 1846, article "The Portuguese in North India, p 257 Apparently this article is the authority for the statement in Toynbee s Sketch of the administration of Hugli, Calcutta, 1888, p 3 Partāb Bār does not bear much resemblance to the name Tavares Perhaps it was his Hindustani title, or it may be that the first syllable is a corruption of his Christian name Pietro The Darbār Akbarī, p 67, has Tab Barro which comes nearer Tavares The author does not, apparently, read the second name as that of a woman The excellent I O M.S old No 564, new do 236, has p 317b, four lines from foot

پرتاب بار فرنگی که از اعیان بازرگانان
بنادر بنگاله است سعادت بار یافت او
باالسوربا زن خود از نیک اختری حیرت‌زدهٔ

خوبی ستودهٔ شهریار گشت و با راستگی عقلی
و شایستگی حال در نظر اکبر آن گیتی
خداوند اعتبار یافتند •

Thus the name of the wife appears to be Ulsozba, and she as well as her husband were received by Akbar, for the plural *yāftand* is used I cannot make out what the name really is, though possibly it is Louisa or Isabella The author of the Darbār Akbarī has Bāsubaian باسوبارن That is, he has *ran* instead of *zan* (wife), and he seems to regard the name as that of a man The other I O M S No 235, p 516a, has, instead of a woman's name, *ba sūd u ziyān khud* " with his own profit and loss!" and has *yāft* instead of *yāftand* (according to the English numbering the page is 518a) The lady's name also appears in MSS as Nashūrnā, Nasūrtā and Basūrbā The Roman Catholic Bishop of Agra writing to Dr Wolff in 1832, told him that a lady named Juliana, an inmate of Akbar s seraglio, was instrumental in procuring the presence in Agra of the Jesuit priests See Wolff s Researches, etc, p 303; and Col Kincaid, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol III, p 164 speaks of a Juliana as having married John Philip Bourbon, and as having been the sister of Akbar's Christian wife. Possibly all this is merely a distortion of the story of the Donna Juliana who was at the Court of Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shah

and from their good sense and propriety of conduct they found favour in the testing eyes of the 'world-lord Also at this time Abdul[1] Bâqî Turkestânî acquired bliss by doing homage H M in his abundant quest of truth gave every one access to himself, and listened to the tales of plausible persons, as possibly his soul might be refreshed by them In this abode of search (the world) the 244
unique pearl of enlightenment does not come into the hands until after hundreds of disappointments, and without having an open countenance for the various classes of mankind, nor can knowledge (of God) be attained Many lights of the firmament of holiness remain hidden in the dark places of ignorance, and many, on the other hand, make a boast of themselves From seeing such tumults, the questers in the wilderness of search withdraw their hearts from inquiry They withhold their foot from endeavour, and choose the corner of apathy (*afsardagi*) But the far-seeing sovereign (Akbar) becomes more earnest in his striving when he does not get the right gleaming jewel! By his orders the stewards of the holy banquet bring every sect before his noble glance, and accordingly at this time, by the direction of some courtiers, this man who had trodden the desert of exile, and who had come from the Hijâz, was brought into the enlightened assembly For a time he discoursed pleasingly and with a fluent tongue, and communicated some of the things about religion and creed that he had acquired from learned Christians It soon became evident that he had not examined into the matter with a discriminating eye, and that he had not penetrated to the pure temple of devotion (*riya at*) From his good disposition he became conscious of his empty handedness, and of the waste of his life, and took up the matter anew

One of the occurrences was the sending of Sakina Bânu Begam to give counsels to Hakim M One of the secret thoughts of H M during this expedition was that he would hasten to Kabul and arouse the slumbering Mirza by advice, and compose the distractions of Zabûlistan and cause all the people thereof to sit in the shade of

---

[1] Probably he is the Maulânâ Abdul Bâqî who became a Sadr B 272 528, 541 The words at the end of his description are similar to those used at p 236 of text to describe Mullâ Mashfiqî and Sûfî Nâẓir Add B M 27 247, calls him Martâẓa Bâqa

justice When the mysterious[1] revelation which loosed the knots of difficulties came to him, that design became erased from his heart, and he said, "My sole wish is that the Mirzā may emerge from the defile of savagery and be encompassed with princely favours Inasmuch as he is young and inexperienced, and is associated with persons of small capacity, perchance he may on our approach turn away from the altar of fortune and go into exile[2] Though able and farsighted persons have regarded a younger brother in the light of a son, yet something tells me that the existence of a dutiful son is doubtful, and the meeting of the brothers impossible It is far better that I hearten him by good counsels from a distance It may be that his somnolent fortune shall awake and that he shall take the path of obedience, cease to stray, and become a traveller to the abode of bliss! If through converse with evil thoughted ones he has hurried away from the high road of obedience and the pleasant abode of service, and has fallen into the thornbrake of ingratitude, it becomes a magnanimous nature, and is suitable to a wide tolerance to act contrary to the opinion of the short sighted, and to take that unfortunate wanderer and stumbler
245 by the hand, and to cure him by various instructions" On this account he nominated that veiled one of the palace of chastity who was the Mirzā's full sister,[3] for most men listen to the words of friends and near relatives, and do not accept the advice of well meaning strangers, nor take their words into account If they had a clear judgment and seeing eyes and an awakened heart, they would distinguish between the pearl and the glassbead like experienced jewellers of the market-place who test everything small or great, and they would cast out of view the speaker and regard only the intrinsic beauty of the speech! It was also in his mind that if the Mirzā should hearken to what was said, a fresh relationship might be established which would encourage and comfort him Though in the opinion of the wise the intermarriage of near re-

[1] The vision during the hunt

[2] The Iqbālnāma adds he might take refuge with the Uzbegs

[3] Sakīna was given in marriage by Akbar to Naqīb K s son Shāh Ghāzī K She died in 1014 (1605) A N III 839 Sakīna means tranquillity and also the Shechinah or Holy Spirit She is mentioned by Gulbadan B as Mah Cūcak s second daughter

latives be not approved, yet the far-seeing hold it to be right under certain considerations, and regard it as a slight evil for a great good Hence he ordered that if the veiled one of chastity saw purity (lit crystal) in the forehead of his disposition, she should rejoice him with the tidings that Prince Sultan Selim might become his son in law She left on 19 Khurdād from Sidri[1] (?) and went off in company with Mir 'Ali K Sildoz and Mir Abu Isaac[2] Ṣafvi

At the same time the ambassadors[3] of Shāhrukh M obtained leave, and 'Abdulla[4] K and 'Ābdi Khwāja were sent off to encourage and soothe the Badakhshis It has already been mentioned that the Khānim had sent, on beh lf of the Mirzā, skilful persons, and apologized for the disorders of that country (Badakhshān) When the facts were known, the disturbances created by the Mirzā were seen to be the result of his youth, and of ill advice, etc and the excuses were accepted The hearts of the distressed were comforted by various favours and it was announced that when the veiled chaste one should come to court her countenance would be brightened by glad tidings

NOTE —See Akbar s opinions on this subject in J III, 397, 398 He regarded the marriage of cousins as a survival from Adam's time when such connections were necessary

About this time the primacy of the spiritual world took possession of his holy form, and gave a new aspect to his world adorning beauty In the pleasant abode of hunting the magical musicians[5] came forth with their melodies, and for a time his august heart was engaged by this On hearing this exorcising spell of the woof and warp of association, or rather talisman of the perception of the treasury of truth, that[6] cavalier of the plain of vision experienced a trans

[1] Or Sahidri ?

[2] B 523 He was the son of Rafi u d-din Ṣafavi who was connected by marriage with A F s father See J III, 423

[3] 'Abdu r raḥmān Beg and M Āshiq See text p 211

[4] They were sent with the ambassadors and probably Sakina went off in the same party B M M S Add. 21 247 says Abdullah was son of Mu. Ghauṣ of Gwalior See B 457

[5] Apparently this is allegorical but see B. 611 for A.F's account of the influence of music

[6] The text has the word gusekhta "loosed" but it is not in the I O MSS and seems out of place here

formation. What the chiefs of purity and deliverance had searched for in vain was revealed to him The spectators who were in his
346 holy neighbourhood carried away the fragments of the Divine bounty In a short space of time he by God-given strength turned his face to the outer world and attended to indispensable matters If the tale of such spiritual things were to be unfolded and written down, volumes would be required, and the moving foot of the travelling pen would be worn out at the first advance My whole energy is engrossed by recording the glorious occurrences of the outer world Inasmuch as spiritual reflection has broken the rein of my heart I have through helplessness recorded something of the holy world of holiness

At this time a fresh benevolence was exhibited. An order was issued for the taking of measures to fill the Anuptalāo [1] with money In the special apartments (courtyard?) (*daulat khana i khaṣ*) of Fatḥpur there is a reservoir twenty by twenty (yards) and twice a man's height in depth It is paved with red stone and is an object of admiration to the critical Before the august expedition (to the Panjab) had taken place there had trickled from the fountainhead of bounty the statement that "For some time the participators in the holy banquet have had their eyes and ears gratified by the clearness of the pearling waters and the prattling of the fountains Now let it be filled to the brim with various coins so that the great treasures may become visible and the general public may receive an abundant share of the sublime bounty, and the necessitous be freed from the anguish of expectation" At this time the arrangers of the banquet of sovereignty set about filling the reservoir Rajah Todar Mal reported that it would be filled by the time the royal standards arrived, that seventeen krors of *dams* had been counted out, and that it was estimated that this quantity [2] would suffice to fill it

[1] The tank or reservoir (*hauẓ*) was made or completed in 983 (1575 76) Lowe 204 Badayūnī after mentioning the tank, goes on to speak of Jalāl K Kūrcī, and we know that he was killed at the end of 983 B 476 Anūptalāo means "the unparalleled tank

[2] *Mul-i-an* I am rather inclined to think that A F means by this expression that another seventeen krors would be required This would make the amount agree with the statement in Jahangir's Memoirs T.J 260 that it took thirty four krors forty-eight lacs and 46 000 dāms

One of the occurrences was the coming of Shahbāz K to court, and the bringing with him of Daudā the son of Rai Surjan. It has been mentioned that he had been sent to that country to subdue recalcitrant ones of the province of Ajmere and to punish the wicked there He had done excellently there and had slain many of them. Some had saved themselves by submission, and rested in peace The Rānā had his residence plundered, and had gone into obscurity in the defiles Daudā, who had always been prominent among the turbulent had repented and become submissive

---

to fill it He calls it the Kapūr tank and says it was 36 by 36 cubits and 4½ cubits deep The B M M S Add 27, 247 has *hamīn qadr dīgar khwāhid gan*ī*d* "another equal amount would fill it, and the Iqbāl nāma says that Todar Mal reported that seventeen krors had been used and that there was still space, and that Akbar ordered it to be filled to the brim Elliot V 409 says the reservoir was filled with gold silver and copper, and that the amount came to twenty krors of *tanks* Badayūnī, Lowe 272 73, says twenty krors of copper coin were used He also says that a ḥakīm undertook to build a subaqueous house in the tank and failed and that the contents of the tank were distributed in three years An account of the inauguration of the reservoir and the distribution of the money is given in A.N III, 257 See also D A 125 This last gives an account of an old picture of the distribution In the report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol XVIII, Architecture of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī 1894-98, Chapter I, there is an account of a Ḥauẓ or tank in the Maḥāl i Khāṣ which presumably is the Daulat Khāna Khāṣ of A F The name of the tank is not given, but the dimensions 95 ft 7 ins square agree fairly with those given by A.F and Jahangir, if we take his *dara*' or *sara*' to be yards The tank may also have been increased in size There is also a tank known as the Sweet Tank, at the back of the Dīwān-i-Khāṣ The tank in the Maḥāl i Khāṣ is also shown in the plan in *Keene's Agra* It is crossed by four causeways meeting in the middle There is also a tank in the large square in front of the chief mosque According to the Iqbālnāma it was this tank which burst in the 27th year and did considerable damage See A N III, 392

Jahangir speaks only of silver and copper coins being put into the tank whereas A F speaks of *muhrs* According to Jahangir, Tūzuk 260, thirty-four krors and forty-eight lacs odd of dāms (i.e copper money) and sixteen lacs and 80,000 rupees in silver were poured in, making a total of one kror, and three lacs of rupees or three lacs 43 000 tūmāns In this estimate the dām has evidently been taken as the fortieth part of a rupee, and the Persian gold tūmān as worth Rs. 30

Shahbāz K took that suppliant with him to court. On 5 Tīr, Divine month, he had the *honour of saluting the threshold in the* village of Tihārah, and was received with princely favours. His miserable condition was brought to the august notice and he was admitted to an interview. H M observed that eternal ruin was written on his forehead, and the draught of kindness did no good to the wicked. Inasmuch as the keeping of one's word is an essential part of rule, he was forgiven and allowed to sit in the shade of
347 tranquillity. When the royal standards proceeded to the capital he was left in the Panjab. Shortly afterwards he absconded,[1] and H M's knowledge of hidden things was again illustrated. On the 9th of the month a bridge was ordered to be made over the Cenāb near the town of Kahlūr,[2] and the army crossed, on the 21st a bridge was made near Kalānūr, and the army crossed the Rāvī. From there an embassy was dispatched to the ruler of Kashmīr. As 'Alī K.[3] the governor (*hākim*) of that country had not hastened to the highway of obedience, H M sent on the 24th Mullā[4] 'Ishqī of Ghaznī and Qāẓī Sadru-d dīn[5] of Lahore in order that they might guide that sitter in the hills to obedience. *Next day he halted in that* pleasant spot (Kalānūr[6]) and stayed in the garden of that city of fortune in whose rose-like land the accession of the Unique one of creation took place. He gave a feast there. On 4 Amardād, Divine month, he crossed the Beah (Beas) by a bridge near Khokhrowāl.[7] At this place S'aīd[8] K was sent to the government of the Panjab. When the royal cortège first arrived in the province a large number of suppliants for justice had come and complained that Shah Qulī Mahram did not attend to the punishment of oppressors, and that in consequence the administration of justice

---

[1] B 410

[2] One of the Simla Hill States capital Bilāspur I G VIII 234.

[3] Alī Cak J II 330 father of Yūsuf Shah

[4] He was a Bakhshī and also a poet B 528 and Badayūnī III 277 The dispatch of the embassy is noted in the T.A., Elliot V, 411 For its return see Badayūnī Lowe 276.

[5] B 545 He is there described as belonging to Jālandhar But this is explained by Badayūnī III 84 where he is described as of Jāland har and afterwards of Lahore. He is also called al Lahorī in T A in the list of learned men

[6] In Gurdāspūr Panjab

[7] J II 319 where it is Khokowāl or Ghoghowāl

[8] B 331

was not in a good state H M censured him and quieted the grieved hearts The wicked went into the corner of contempt From that time H M meditated that a just and able man should be sent to watch over matters. At this time, when his intention was to proceed to the capital, he entrusted the duty to the skill of that able and just man (S'aid K.) and gave him wise directions He also sent along with him to Lahore abundance of money for the poor and the empty-handed He observed to Rajah Todar Mal that he had learnt that many Afghans had settled in the towns and villages of the Panjab Though some professed to be traders and some to be husbandmen, yet there were signs of their being wicked From time to time it appeared that they oppressed the weak, and that such things were not promptly inquired into, also the weak were unable to produce evidence It appeared to H M that this body of men (Afghans) should be scattered and be sent in detachments to different provinces, so that the people might obtain relief from the burden of oppression, and also that the Afghans might not become vagabonds At this time Rajah Birbar and 248
Saiyid Mozaffar were sent to Jālandhar in order that for some days they might serve at a distance and gather bliss by sympathy for the helpless Every one who was looking for a holding (*madad m'aash*) and could not get it was to be sent to court He would get one sufficient for him from the crown lands

One of the events was the appointing of Muhibb 'Ali K the son of Mir Khalifa to the governorship of Delhi From his early years he was an intelligent companion (of Akbar) and one who regarded his ability as a ray from loyal devotion The wise sovereign offered him his choice of four great employments, 1st—The office of Mir 'Arẓi at court 2nd—The charge of the harem [1] 3rd—The governorship of a remote province 4th—The governorship of that blissful city As his strength of body was not great, he rightly preferred the last employment

On the 26th of the month H M ordered a bridge of boats to be placed over the Sutlej, and the army crossed On this day Hājī K

[1] *Darbār i shabistan* Presumably this is the appointment formerly held by 'Itimād K in the 20th year text 142 where it is called the *darbar i mashkūī* He must have vacated it when he went on pilgrimage

and the other Bilūcī chiefs from ignorance and savagery ran away They had not beheld[1] the majesty of the great camp, and they did not choose to be far from their own homes lest court service would fall upon them! At the time of crossing they searched for a wrong path Kuar Mān Singh, Zain K Koka and Khwāja Ghīāṣu d din 'Ali Āṣaf K were sent after them Owing to their being late in getting intelligence they were unable to come up with them Evil tale bearers represented that they had not been active in the search, and for some days they were excluded from the bliss of the Presence and were in disgrace

One of the occurrences was the leaving of Rajah Todar Mal in the province of the Panjab When H M went off to Fathpūr, he was sent off in order to arrange the *jagirs* of the officers of the Kachwāha family He was also ordered, with regard to some of the cultivated lands of the northern hill country, whose rulers were not obedient to leave them in peace, if, on receiving advice they laid upon their shoulders the burden of submission Otherwise he was to extirpate the thankless crew, and to make over their lands and residences as the *tankhwah* of the combatants for dominion (Akbar s officers) In a short space of time the order was carried out Many of the hill proprietors became ashamed and apologised and attached themselves to the saddle straps of fortune, and some were punished and banished At the time when the royal standards cast the shade of justice over the centre of the Caliphate, Rajah
19 Bhagwant Das and he (Todar Mal) came and did homage

One of the occurrences was the sending of Fath K to the government of Bhakar During the Mālwa expedition news had come to Dibalpur that Saiyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl had died H M sent them I tmad K the eunuch, who was distinguished[2] for justice and ability He in an able manner conducted an army to Sehwān[3] and after being successful returned after making peace

---

[1] Apparently A F means that the Bilucis were so ignorant of the splendour of Akbar s court that they thought they would be impressed and kept as his servants

[2] B 428 says he died in 985 or 98● but at p 490 he thinks that the date given by M aṣum Shabān 984 or Oct 1576 may be more correct The T M aṣūm says he was succeeded by his son Abul Fazl Fll ot I 243

[3] The text has Sahsawan but the variant Sehwan seems right

Inasmuch as most men drop from their hands the thread of wisdom and become presumptuous when they have been successful, and do not respect their subordinates, and lose sight of the attracting affection which is the greatest of Divine gifts, this prudent man was caught by this evil quality In his conceit and negligence he did not recognize friend from foe, nor separate the flatterers from the speaker of bitter seeming truths The wicked and evil-minded were trusted while the right-thinking and right-acting were disregarded In addition to this he used harsh and insolent language to his servants He called craft circumspection and did not act justly At the time when H M was in the Punjab he was about to convey his soldiers to the holy court in order that their horses might be branded From somnolence of intellect he thought that the loans which he had formerly made to his men would supply[1] him with the means for his expenses Though they declared their poverty, he paid no heed and did not act justly by them One morning Maqṣud 'Ali, a servant joined with some scoundrels and killed him Many of them were seized, but some escaped to Qandahar H M appointed Fath[2] K, who was distin-

[1] The meaning appears to be that he called in his loans This is how B has understood it, for he says, 13 note, In order to equip his contingent he collected his rents and outstandings as it appears with much harshness The Iqbālnāma puts it somewhat differently saying that I timād s men asked for the expenses of the journey and for help and that he would not give them any money, and abused them Perhaps then the meaning is not that he called in his loans (and surely he would not do this when they were about to undertake an expensive journey) but that he would not give them any help as he thought that the loans he had already made them were sufficient The Maaṣr I 90 says that when Maqṣūd, who was blind of an eye represented his poverty to Itimad the latter told him that he deserved to have his blind eye pissed upon and that Maqsūd drew his dagger and killed him The Maaṣir also remarks in the biography that castration tames animals but makes men more fierce See also B 13n and 428 and Elliot I 244 where there is a translation of Māsūm Bhakharī s account of the matter It appears from this that the murder was committed at Bhakhar and on 10 Rabī al awwal 986 or 17 May 1578

[2] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that this is Fatḥ or Fattu K Masnad Ali B 502 523 and 531 He was an Afghan and perhaps he was sent in pursuance of Akbar s scheme of

guished for his observance of justice, to take charge of the country On 5 Shahriyur, Divine month, the royal cortège passed near Sirhind, which received the freshness of spring by his advent The great officers, and the doctors of poetry[1] and proof, and other special members of the holy feast were eloquent and acute according to their degree The ocean of the lord of oratory swelled up, and the thirsty-hearted ones of the desert of ignorance were saturated with knowledge

One of the occurrences was H M the Shahinshāh's proceeding by water Owing to the largeness of the crowd, it occurred to him that the camp should go by land and that he himself and some special courtiers should go by water On the 14th he set out from the ferry of Sultānpur Khizrabād The select ones accompanied him while the great camp and the common soldiers went by land On the 19th he reached the environs of Delhi and visited the tomb of H M Jahānbani Jinnat Ashiyāni Then after a time he re entered the boat and weighed anchor As the peasantry of that neighbourhood complained of the revenue officers (*'amalguzaran*) he left Mozaffar K and Shāh Manṣur there to dispense justice to them, and then join him

---

removing the Afghans from the Panjab In the T Masumi Elliot I 244 he is called Fatḥ K Bahadur

[1] *Hukamāi nala u istidlal* Perhaps *hukamāi nala* means Musicians

CHAPTER XLIV.

The rapid journey of H.M. to Ajmere, and his return to the Capital.

It was a rule that he should go every year in the beginning of Rajab to the holy shrine, and distribute gifts In this way he worshipped God But from the view that Divine worship is not restricted to any one place, and that speciality of locality does not befit universal bounty, he had the inspired thought that the chain of "use" and "wont" should be broken, and that there should be a wider sphere for the reception of the truth This view, however, was not carried into effect in this year Suddenly his heart was inflamed by the thought that he should rapidly go to the holy spot and return Accordingly on the 24th he in the neighbourhood of Muttra mounted on a swift steed, and proceeded thither A few intimates accompanied him On that day he sent off Khwaja Fath Ullah, who was one of his servants, to Gujarat to bring Quṭbu-d din K to Court From the time that M Koka, in full reliance on the Shāhinshāh's kindness, had gone into retirement, the secret[1] wish of H M's loving heart was always the desire to enhance the glory (bahrūzī) of that seeker after bliss From this thought he sent for him upon this expedition, in order that if he had got rid of his ill-humour he might come to Court and be encompassed with royal favours. Owing to his being full of fancies, and not listening to

[1] I have only guessed at the meaning of this clause for the word bahrūzī بحروزي is unintelligible to me Bahrūz means a transparent blue crystal and it also means Indian frankincense, but its meaning here I do not understand I presume that the expression Sāādat pazhūh refers to Akbar for I do not see how M Koka could be described by A F as a seeker after auspiciousness Literally, the clause seems to mean "hidden in the loving heart was the crystal of auspicious search But I suspect some corruption of the text though the I O MSS agree with the Bib Ind Bahrūzī occurs again at p 320 and seems used there to mean victory It is apparently a form of fīrūzī both meaning a blue crystal See also p 394, where we are told that Akbar exerted himself anew to develop (dar bahrūzī) Sulṭan Selīm

advice, he remained in the same disturbed state. *Accordingly* Qutbu d din K., who was his uncle, and in the place of his father, was sent for, as perhaps his advice would put him on the road of happiness H M *travelled so rapidly that he went more than a* hundred kos in four days He made his first halt in the house of Dauda in the town of Hājipur Next day he reached Mūl Manaharnagar[1] and after that he came to Sāmbhar

1 On this day the eye and heart of the writer of this noble *chronicle were glorified by a special view of* H M The brief account of this is that every day two especially devoted followers were appointed to collect cows for the use of the blissful young[2] children, whom H M took with him after quieting their mothers and grandfathers On this occasion when the standards of fortune had advanced beyond Mul Manaharnagar, my elder brother S Abū faiz Faizi and myself were chosen for this important service In the beginning of the month my noblest of brothers was in attendance on the august stirrup and discoursing eloquently This inexperienced one (himself) had to attend to the business alone As the place is the abode of savage hill men, the dust of disturbance arose in every place where I searched for cows Most people did not believe that the king would pass by that way For a time I was lost in bewilderment, but by my good star I came to my senses My soul was troubled thinking that if the orders were not properly carried out, what would happen? And that if from excitement I got confused I would be a byword for stupidity "Perhaps I shan't be *able to* manage the thing alone" Suddenly, a secret message of joy came to me in that hopeless place, and the star of fortune shone I called to mind H M and he opened the knot of difficulty All at once I in that burning *spot of* heat[3] and in the coldness of search, hastened to a little hill, and there a number of cows were seen They drew near of their own account and separated two of their number By the marvels of Divine assistance about 20 others followed those two A difficult task became easy, and my heart had fresh glory The rosebush of devotion was irrigated anew!

---

[1] See above p 221 of text

[2] I presume this means Akbar's children

[3] Apparently the heat of the air is contrasted with the coldness, i.e. the ill success of the search

On the 27th Shahriyūr, Divine month, Ajmere was brightened by the Shāhinshah's advent The circumambulation was performed, and the expectants had their desires fulfilled Next day, when midnight had passed, H M and nine followers mounted swift steeds and proceeded rapidly towards the capital (They were) Naurang K, Shiroya K, Husain K Maqbūl K Fath Ullah the sherbatdār, 'Abdulla Biluc, Hilal Aftābcī, Shākir K Ābdār, Mahmud K Khawās They travelled 120 kos in two days [1] and reached the capital in the end of the month

Also at this time a report came from Gujarat from the imperial 252
servants to the effect that the caravan [2] of chaste ladies had traversed the dangers of the ocean and reached Gujarat When the preparations for a land journey had been completed they would proceed to the Presence H M was delighted on hearing this news and sent an order to Shihābu d din Ahmad K to expedite the noble caravan, and to dispatch it to the Kaba of fortune (Fathpur Sikri)

---

[1] The I A Elliot V, 408 says Akbar left Delhi on 1st Rajab and travelling 30 kos a day reached Ajmere at the end of 6 Rajab the saint s anniversary Next day he returned and travelling 50 kos a day reached Fathpur in the evening of Friday 9 Rajab According to this account he took four days The statement in Lowe 262 ' at day break, is wrong He reached Toda then B M MS Add 27 247 which often differs from the Bib Ind text says that Akbar left for Ajmere on the day of Dīn 23 Shahriyūr or Friday 2 Rajab and arrived on the day of Marisfand 29 Shahriyūr night of 8 (should be 6) Rajab which is that of the anniversary and arrived at Fathpur on 30 Shahriyur or Friday 9 Rajab But these dates seem wrong and Dīn is 24 not 23 Shahriyur

[2] This must have been some of Gulbadan Begum s party She and Selīma did not return till 1582. A N 385

CHAPTER XLV

The increased splendour of the 'Ibādat Khāna from the brilliance of the acuteness of H M the Shāhinshāh

Although God given wisdom and the science of Divine knowledge (theology) adorn his holy personality and illumine his actions, yet, owing to the utter marvelousness of his nature, he every now and then draws a special veil over his countenance, and exercises world sway and speaks and acts in accordance with the requirements of the time At the present day, when the morning breeze of fortune is blowing, and the star of success is continually acquiring fresh radiance, he, by his practical knowledge and farsightedness, makes external ability the veil of spirituality and appraises the value of the mortifiers of the passions and the calibre of scientists It has been mentioned[1] that he, in his ample search after truth, had laid the foundation of a noble seat for intellectual meetings His sole and sublime idea was that, as in the external administration of the dominion, which is conjoined with eternity, the merits of the knowers of *the things of this world had by profundity of vision, and observance* of justice been made conspicuous, and there had ceased to be a brisk market for pretence and favouritism, so might the masters of science and ethics, and the devotees of piety and contemplation, be tested, the principles of faiths and creeds be examined, religions be investigated, the proofs and evidences for each be considered, and the pure gold and the alloy be separated from evil commixture In a short space of time a beautiful, detached building was erected, and the fraudulent vendors of impostures put to sleep in the privy chamber of contempt A noble palace was provided for the spiritual world, and the pillars of Divine knowledge rose high

At this[2] time, when the centre of the Caliphate (Fathpur Sikri)

[1] See text 112 and Elliot V 930 A F puts the building of the Ibādat khāna into the 19th year and the T A into the 20th

[2] The translation in Elliot VI 59 begins here

was glorified by H M.'s advent, the former institutions were renewed, and the temple of Divine knowledge was on Thursday[1] nights illuminated by the light[2] of the holy mind On 20 Mihr,[3] Divine month, 3 October 1578, and in that house of worship, the lamp of the privy chamber of detachment was kindled in the banqueting-hall of social life The coin of the hivers of wisdom in colleges and cells was brought to the test The clear wine was separated from the lees, and good coin from the adulterated The wide capacity and the 253
toleration of the Shadow of God were unveiled Sūfī, philosopher, orator, jurist, Sunnī, Shīa, Brahman, Jatī,[4] Sīurā[5] Cārbāk,[6] Nazarene, Jew, Sābī (Sabian[7]), Zoroastrian, and others enjoyed exquisite pleasure by beholding the calmness of the assembly, the sitting of the world lord in the lofty pulpit (*mimbar*), and the adornment of the pleasant abode of impartiality The treasures of secrets were opened out without fear of hostile seekers after battle. The just and truth perceiving ones of each sect emerged from haughtiness and conceit, and began their search anew. They displayed profundity and meditation, and gathered eternal bliss on the divan of greatness The conceited and quarrelsome from evilness of disposition and shortness of thought descended into the mire of presumption and sought their profit in loss Being guided by ignorant companions, and from the predominance of a somnolent fortune, they went into disgrace The conferences were excellently arranged by the acuteness and keen quest of truth of the world's Khedive Every time, eye and heart gained fresh lustre, and the lamp of vigils acquired new glory The candle of investigation was

[1] Friday in text, but as B explains this means Thursday The account in the T A Elliot V, 391, shows that Thursday night is meant, for it goes on to say that the meetings sometimes lasted till past midday on Friday

[2] The meaning is that Akbar was present at the discussions

[3] End of September 1578 Add 27, 247 has day of Bahrām 20 Mihr =Friday 1 Sh'abān (3 October 1578)

[4] For Yati, the clergy or ascetics among the Jains J III, 205, and note

[5] Sīūra A general name for the Jains See translation I 147 and note B 164 spells the word Sevrā.

[6] For Chārvāka They are the Nāstiks or infidels of Hindu philosophy A F is severe upon this sect in the Ain J III, 21 There is an account of them in the Dabistān.

[7] Sabian Also called the Christians of St John See D Herbelot s v

lighted for those who loved darkness and sequacity. The families of the colleges and monasteries were tested The handle of wealth and the material of sufficiency came into the grasp of the needy occupants of the summit of expectation The fame of this faith adorning method of world bestowing made home bitter to inquirers and caused them to love exile The Shāhinshāh's court became the home of the inquirers of the seven climes, and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect The veneer and the counterfeitness *of all those who by feline tricks and stratagems had come* forth in the garb of wisdom were revealed A few irreverent and crafty spirits continued their old tactics after the appearance of Truth and its concomitant convictions, and indulged in brawling Their idea was that as in the great assemblies of former rulers the purpose of science and the designs of wisdom had been but little explored owing to the crowd of men the inattention of the governor of the feast, the briskness of the market of praters, etc so perhaps in this august assemblage they might succeed by the length of their tongues, and a veil might be hung over the occiput (*fararu*) of truth The Khedive of wisdom by the glory of his mind carried out the work to a conclusion deliberately and impartially, and in this praiseworthy fashion which is seldom found in the saints of asceticism,—how then is it to be found in world rulers?—tested the various coins of mortals Many men became stained with shame and chose loss of fame, while some acquired wisdom and emerged from the hollow of obscurity to eminence Reason was exalted, and the star of fortune shone for the acquirers of knowledge The bigoted 'Ulama and the routine lawyers, who reckoned themselves among the chiefs of philosophies and leaders of enlightenment, found their position difficult The veil was removed from the face of many of them The house of the evil thinking comers became the abode of a thousand suspicions and slanders Though the
254 wicked and crooked minded and disaffected were always speaking foolishly about the pious Khedive, yet at this time they had a new foundation for their calumnies and descended into the pit of eternal ruin Inasmuch as the warmth of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness increases daily, and he was aware of the ignorance of those turbulent ones, he did not proceed against them with physical and spiritual vigour and with external and internal majesty Rather, he re

strained his heart and tongue from uttering his disgust, and did not allow the dust of chagrin to settle on the skirt of his soul In a short space of time many of these fortunately fell into fatal evils and suffered losses and died, while some who were of a good sort became ashamed, and took up the work (of study) anew From a long time it was the custom that the dull and superficial regarded the heartfelt words of holy souls as foolishness They recognized wisdom nowhere but in the schools, and did not know that acquired knowledge is for the most part stained with doubts and suspicions Insight is that which without schooling illuminates the pure temple of the heart The inner soul receives rays from holy heaven From eternity, the ocean of Divine bounties has been in motion, and the cup of those who are worthy of the world of creation is filled to the brim therefrom Always have the magnates of Use and Wont in spite of their great knowledge sought the explanation of wisdom and ethics (*ilm u 'amal*) from this company of the pure in heart, and have waited in the antechamber of the simple and beautiful[1] of soul, and have gathered bliss there from Accordingly histories tell of this, and it transpires in biographies (?)[2] God be praised for that at this day the Lord of Lords of inspired (*laduni*) wisdom is represented by the Holy Personality of the Shāhinshāh The difficulties of sect upon sect of mankind are made easy by the flashings of his sacred soul The attainment of enlightenment is not the first[3] robe of honour which the eternal needle sews. He who knows the secrets of the past, and the reader of ancient stories is well aware of this Still more is it known to the awakened, the truth-choosing and the acute! May the Almighty God ever keep verdant and watered this tree which is rich in spiritual and material fruit!

Verse

Lord so long as the world hath glory and colour,
Heavens, motion, the earth, stability,

---

[1] Cf Akbar's remark J III 385 that the prophets were all illiterate and his *suggestion that therefore all* believers should keep one of their sons uneducated

[2] *Ba siyar* But text is *basyar* many and perhaps the meaning is only that there is much evidence of this in histories.

[3] Apparently the meaning is that

Make the world the possession of this lord of conjunctions,
Make the spheres friendly to this world-conqueror.

One night, the assembly in the 'Ibādatkhāna was increasing the light of truth. Padre Radif,[1] one[2] of the Nazarene sages, who was singular for his understanding and ability, was making points in that feast of intelligence. Some of the untruthful bigots came forward in a blundering way to answer him. Owing to the calmness of the august assembly, and the increasing light of justice, it

---

possessors of enlightenment came late, and perhaps also that awakened souls came late, and acute truth-choosers still later.

[1] Rodolfo Acquaviva. B. 168, n. 1, says that the word in the MSS. is ردلف Rodolf, and not رديف, and that the letter *lām* has been mistaken for a *yā*. Cf. Elliot VI, 60, n. 2. The Bib. Ind. text has رديف and gives the variant رویق Raviq. The Lucknow and Cawnpore ed. want the passage, and so also does B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247. I.O MS. 564 or 236, 321b, has ردلفو Rodolfū, the points and the sākin being carefully marked. I.O. MS. 235 has 522a رديف. B M. Add. 1116, p. 153a, has رونق Rautaq.

The subject of the Jesuit missions to Akbar has been admirably treated by General Maclagan in a paper in J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 38 *et seq.* It appears from it, and from Bartoli (reprint of Del Majno, Piacenza 1819, p. 26) that Acquaviva did not arrive at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī till February 1580 (on the 18th according to Maclagan, and the 27th according to Bartoli). There is then an anachronism in A. F.'s placing the event in the annals of the 23rd year, i.e. 986 or 1578. It is noteworthy that the account of Acquaviva appears to be a subsequent addition to the Akbarnāma, as otherwise it would have appeared in the MSS. used for the Lucknow ed. The story about Acquaviva's proposal to submit to the ordeal of fire does not seem to be true. Badayūni, Lowe, 308, says S. Quṭbu d-dīn of Jalesar, proposed the ordeal to the fathers and that they refused. This was in the end of 989 (B 199), or A.D. 1581, and consequently at a time when Badayūnī was at court. Bartoli also, p. 31, says it was a Muḥammadan who proposed the ordeal to Acquaviva. See also a pamphlet published at Bombay in 1894 called "The Blessed Martyrs of Cuncolim," p. 6, which however adds that Rudolfo did offer to throw himself into a fire. Bartoli adds that the Muḥammadan knew well that he would not have to undergo the ordeal, and probably this is true, for Quṭbu-d-dīn was a drunkard as well as an enthusiast, and according to A. F. III, 309, he was convicted of fraud and misrepresentation. According to B.M. Add 27, 247, it was S. 'Abdu-Nabī who refused the challenge.

[2] There is no pronoun *ke* after Rudolf in the I.O. MSS though there is in the text.

became clear that each of these was weaving a circle of old acquisitions and was not following the highway of proof, and that the explanation of the riddle of truth was not present to their thoughts The veil was nearly being stripped, once for all, from their procedure They were ashamed, and abandoned such[1] dis course, and applied themselves to perverting the words of the Gospels. But they could not silence their antagonist by such arguments The Padre quietly and with an air of conviction said, 255
"Alas, that such things should be thought to be true! In fact, if this faction have such an opinion of our Book, and regard the *Furqan* (the Qoran) as *the pure word of God, it is proper that* a heaped fire be lighted We shall take the Gospels in our hands, and the 'Ulama of that faith sha'l take their book and then let us enter that testing place of truth The escape of any one will be a sign of his truthfulness" The liverless and black hearted fellows wavered, and in reply to the challenge had recourse to bigotry and wrangling This cowardice and effrontery displeased his (Akbar's) equitable soul, and the banquet of enlightenment was made resplen dent by acute observations Continually, in those day like nights, glorious subtleties and profound words dropped from his pearl filled mouth Among them was this "Most persons, from intimacy with those who adorn their outside, but are inwardly bad, think that outward semblance, and the letter of Muhammadanism, profit without internal conviction Hence we by fear and force compelled many believers in the Brahman (i e Hindu) religion to adopt the faith of our ancestors Now that the light of truth has taken possession of our soul, it has become clear that in this distressful place of con trarities (the world) where darkness of comprehension and con ceit are heaped up, fold upon fold, a single step cannot be taken without the torch of proof, and that that creed is profitable which is

---

[1] *Beshtar* but perhaps *peshtar* (which however I do not find in the MSS) would be a better reading as meaning that formerly he (Akbar) from association with conformists persecuted etc This passage may be compared with that in the Ain 3 III, 384, para 2 There the word *peshtar* is used see Ain text II 231 It seems doubtful if by the phrase *Khud musulman nashud* Akbar meant to avow that he was not a Muhammadan Possibly it means if a man is not of himself a Muham madan he should not be forced to be one.

adopted with the approval of wisdom To repeat the creed, to remove a piece of skin (i e to become circumcised) and to place the end of one's bones on the ground (i e the head in adoration) *from dread of the Sultan, is not seeking after God*"

Verse

Obedience is not the placing of your forehead in the dust.
Produce[1] truth, for sincerity is not situated in the forehead

The first[2] step in this perilous desert is with a high courage, and an exalted determination to rise up and do battle with the protean and *presumptuous* carnal soul, and by rigorous self *examination to* make Anger and Lust the subjects of Sultan Reason, and to erase from the heart the marks of censurable sentiments Mayhap the Sun of Proof will emerge from behind the veil of Error and make one a truth-worshipper, and afterward[3] he may by secret attraction draw to him self one of the inquirers after the Path Such load stones are produced from the mine of asceticism (*riyāzat*) Or it may be that by virtue of talisman and the might of fascination he may bring him into his circle[4] Should the latter go astray and fall into the pit of not doing God's will, yet shall he not be stained with the dust of blame He also said, "We blame ourselves for what we did in accordance with old rules and before the truth about faith had shed its rays on our heart"

The fortunate and auspicious, on hearing these enlightening words, hastened to the abode of the light of search and set themselves to amend their ways, while the somnolent and perverse were full of disturbance Inasmuch as the fierce winds of indiscrimination had laid hold of the four corners of the world, he mentioned the rules of

[1] There is a play on the words *pesh ār* 'produce and peshānī 'forehead'

[2] cf J III, 384 "The first step in this long road is not to give the rein to desire and anger, but to take a measured rule and align one's actions thereon' Also, *ibid*, "Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islām As I grew in knowledge I was overwhelmed with shame Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion

[3] Both the I O MSS have *āngah* "afterwards" here

[4] *girāu* in text but apparently *gird* in I O, 236

various religions, and described their various excellencies The acute sovereign gave no weight to common talk, and praised whatever was good in any religion He often adorned the tablet of his tongue by saying "He is a man who makes Justice the guide of the path of inquiry, and takes from every sect what is consonant to reason Perhaps in this was the lock, whose key has been lost, may be opened " In 256
this connexion, he praised the truth seeking of the natives of India, and eloquently described the companionship of the men of that country in the day of disaster, and how they played away for the sake of Fidelity (lit in the shadow of), Property, Life, Reputation, and Religion, which are reckoned as comprising the four goods of the world's[1] market He also dwelt upon the wonderful way in which the women of that country become ashes whenever the day of calamity arrives

This bliss collecting class has several divisions Some protagonists of the path of righteousness[2] yield up their lives merely on hearing of the inevitable lot of their husbands Many sensualists[3] of old times were, from ignorance and irreflection, unable to read such exquisite creatures by the lines of the forehead, or the record of their behaviour, and entered with loss the ravine of experiment, and cast away recklessly the priceless jewel! Some deliberately and with open brow enter the flames along with their husband s corpse, or with some token of him who hath gone to the land of annihilation

---

[1] It is *daniya* 'the world in text but the I O MSS have *dīnī* belonging to faith' See Badayūnī Lowe 299 for a reference to the four degrees of devotion

[2] *Rāh i nekāndeshī* 'the path of right-thinking But the I O MSS have *ikāndeshī* 'oneness of thought.

[3] The meaning is that some husbands were so gross minded as not to believe in their wives virtue and so tried them by causing them to receive false reports of their death thereby losing the priceless jewel of a virtuous wife This meaning is made clear by B M MS Add 27 247 which has the words *khabar-i-guz ishtan khudra badarogh rasanīda* spread a false report of their own death The same MS, says 'Abdul Hai Feringhi spoke of the Christians practising monogamy There are some remarks on *sati* by Akbar in the collection of his sayings at the end of the Ain J III 398 and at p *322* of the same work we have the statement that Hindu women may be divided into five classes with regard to their methods of expressing grief for the death of their husbands The first class is of those who die as soon as they hear the news and so have to be burnt by the relatives (after death)

Verse

Being saturated with love, they burn together,
Like two wicks caught by one flame

Some whom sacrifice of life and fellowship do not make happy, yet, from fear of men's reproach, observe the letter of love, and descend into the mouth of the fire

He said[1] to the learned Christians, "Since you reckon the reverencing of women as part of your religion, and allow not more than one wife to a man, it would not be wonderful if such fidelity and life-sacrifice were found among your women The extraordinary thing is that it occurs among those of the Brahman (i e the Hindu) religion There are numerous concubines, and many of them are neglected and unappreciated and spend their days unfructuously in the privy chamber of chastity, yet in spite of such bitterness of life they are flaming torches of love and fellowship" On hearing such noble recitals those present remained silent in the hall of reply, and their tongues reddened with surprise The Divine message filled with joy all the seekers after wisdom in the august assemblage

One of the occurrences was the division of his time Though H M watches over his being and cherishes his time, nor spends any portion of it idly or uselessly, *yet at this auspicious period he discussed* the subject for the guidance of the fortunate, and by apportioning day and night gave a lesson to mankind Though in every act of movement or repose he is cognisant of the Almighty, and assiduous in doing His will, as befits obedience to Sultan Wisdom, yet when he arises from sleep he withdraws his attention from everything else, and makes his outward accord with his inward conditions and practises devotions and makes his heart a memorial of the Creator He returns
57 thanks for his existence and commences his good works In this holy employment he spends not less than five gharis, i e two astronomical hours, and he regards it as the key of the gate of successes (*muqaṣid*)

---

[1] B M, Add 27 247 p 299a makes the remark about Christians having only one wife as having come from Abdu l Hai Feringhi It also gives here Akbar's opinion about the difference between Manṣūr (Hallaj) and Pharoah See Jarrett III 394 Abdu l Hai Feringhi is casually mentioned by Jahangir in his Memoirs p 324, S Aḥmad ed annals of 15th year

Inasmuch as God has made us complex, it is fitting that some attention should be paid to the body He therefore pays some regard to the clothing thereof and to his toilet Not more than three *gharis* are spent on this occupation After that he opens the gates of justice and holds open Court In the investigation into the cases of the oppressed, he places no reliance on testimony or on oaths, which are the resource of the crafty, but draws his conclusion from the contradictions in the narratives, the physiognomy, and from sublime researches and noble conjectures Truth takes her place in this centre In this work he spends not less than 1½ pahars As it is the social state, it is indispensable that he devote some time to food, and to offices of decency He does not spend more than two gharis in these things As rulers are bound to make lofty the hall of justice, and to seek enlightenment from the tongue of the dumb and helpless, they must necessarily spend some time with elephants, horses, camels and mules and the like So he takes note of their food and forage, and pays attention to the grooming of this homely crowd He sets four *gharis* apart for this work He also spends two *pahars* in the female apartments in the affairs of his secluded wives, and of the other chaste ladies who make petitions to him It is necessary that he give his mind to these matters that there may be equality in his treatment of them (the women), and that equity be preserved As the foundation of the house of bones rests upon sleep he from motives of health, which is bound up with thanksgiving, spends 2½ *pahars*[1] in sweet slumbers From this account those who have the honour of attending the court will reap bliss, and receive into their hands the laws of good fortune

One of the occurrences was the sending of truth speaking, acute persons to examine the treasuries Some interested, evil-minded persons represented to H M that the treasurers of the capital had become dishonest and had opened the hand of fraud Inasmuch as the management of the minutiae of administration, what need then to speak of the generalities, rests on the genius of just

[1] The total of these spaces of time comes to six *pahars* and 14 *gharis* There are 8 *pahars* or watches in the 24 hours, but the number of *gharis* in a *pahar* varies from 9 to 6 J III 16 If we take 7 as the average the 8 *pahars* are accounted for The account here given of Akbar's distribution of his time may be compared with that in the Ain B 153

rulers, H M nominated Moẓaffar K, Khwāja Shah Manṣūr, Qāsim K, and some other experienced and intelligent persons to examine into the matter They in a short space of time inspected the money in the treasury and tested its amount and quality The mischievous storytellers met with their deserts

One of the occurrences was the commencment of the opening of the treasury of the Anuptalāo Already an order had been given for filling it with various kinds of coin When by the labours of energetic and honest workers it had been filled to the brim, the
58 bounteous sovereign on 23 Mihr, Divine month (beginning of October 1578), established his divan on the bank and began his gifts He commenced by supplications to the gracious and incomparable Deity After that he lifted out one by one a mohar, a rupee, and a dām A similar amount was given to several of those who were admitted to the presence The writer of this noble volume also participated in this favour After that, crowds of men received gifts, handful by handful, and skirt by skirt He addressed the first set and said with a mystery revealing tongue that each one should out of loyalty regard the royal gift as an amulet of Reason's arm, and should for the sake of the stability of the dominion (Akbar's),[1] and the attainment of desires, make a vow to the effect that he would bestow a specific portion of whatever of the world's goods he amassed on the poor and needy, so that he might in a short time attain eternal joy The fortunate and auspicious regarded this speech as a Divine message and succeeded in opening the knot of their desires The evil and blackhearted regarded it as fiction and broke (i e bent or left it in) the thorn of failure in the foot of fortune The inquiring heart brought a close scrutiny to bear on men's careers and continued searching for a sign of the wonders of miraculous[2] aid In a short space of time those who hearkened to the Divine message reached the lofty position of Amirs, and those who from somnolent fortune did not regard it did not attain such a position What do I

[1] I adopt the reading *pāībandagī* of the I O MSS in preference to the *yābandagī* of the text

[2] *damgīrā* This word is not explained in the dictionaries but means help, especially of a miraculous kind See its use in this sense in the 'Aīn text II 216 where in the account of Jalālu d dīn Tabrīzī we are told that he was saved from the effects of an accusation by the *damgirāī* of S Bahāu d dīn

say! They then lost the position they had, and were spiritually and materially ruined. The exposition of this wonderful circumstance is a long story. Whom shall I eulogize, and from whom shall I strip the veil? I shall write a brief account of what happened to myself, and this will help to make the matter comprehensible. I set myself out of loyalty to preserve the gift, and by the blessing thereof I became a flower-gatherer in fortune's garden. Inasmuch as good fortunes repose in time's ambushes and seek for assistance, and as the wonder-workers of destiny conduct the new travellers in the land of assiduity and application into narrow defiles in the beginning of their career, so was I at the first stage of the long road of social life brought into a bitter country. By dint of a right intention and the strength of an awakened fortune, I went on with an open brow and a determined step. By the guidance of celestial aids I closed the tongue of desire and confiding my ear to the pleasant abode of content I made the threshold of the world's lord my resting-place, and gathered bliss. The vicissitudes of Time cast no dust of instability into that pure temple, and the narrow path of guidance became a wide plain of joy. My fellow-travellers dispersed on account of the darkness of fortune's face and the difficulties of maintenance, but some of them from fidelity and nobleness bravely footed the path along with me. They got expansion by my expansion. One day they were empty-handed and in difficulty, and endeavoured to spend that capital of fortune (the Anūptalāo gift). The reply from my nature's antechamber was, "It will not be sufficient for two days, practise now whatever remedy you would employ (after the two days), and be patient. If this (the gift) be a surety for eternal life, refrain from folly and let not go the skirt of the vow." As fate was propitious, they accepted the celestial counsel, and there was no stirring of the dust of distress. In a similar manner from the ascent and descent of the spheres the multiform, presumptuous spirit rose up several times to contend and was defeated. In a short 259
space of time, by the blessing of the holy spirit (Akbar's), Fortune's door opened, and without the labour of search or the recommendation of man, the Shāhinshāh's favour raised this obscure sitter in the dust to celestial dignity. Silver or gold had no weight or value in thought's balance. Many great men of the age fell into the thornbrake of envy. I hope that by gaining the spiritual kingdom my

countenance may be made joyful, and that the little of the impulses or desires which remain may disappear Do you suppose I am writing a panegyric? I am only recording in a thanksgiving manner something about favours that have been received The glorious qualities of God's chosen One are more than the capacity of the vulgar of the age can comprehend The abundant kindnesses which I have enjoyed prompts me to impress on the hearts of the exoteric something of my own adventures May it be eyes to the blind, and a collyrium to the seeing, and may they continually garner bliss in the palace of Truth!

Among the occurrences was the arrival of a report from Khān Jahān When by the glory of activity and skill the delightful country of Bengal had been cleared of the weeds and rubbish of the ingrates, Ibrāhīm Naral[1] and Karīmdād Mūsāzai waited for an opportunity of making a disturbance in the country of Bhāti[2] 'Isā[3] the zamindar of that country spent his time in dissimulation Shāh Bardi also the admiral (*mīr nawara*) raised the head of presumption The able servant (Khān Jahān) led an army thither In the neighbourhood of the town (qaṣba) of Gwās,[4] Naulaka[5] the mother of Daūd, and her dependants and also Mahmud K Khaṣkhail commonly known as Mati, and many disaffected Afghans presented themselves with offers of submission Much property was obtained and choice collections were made A dispute arose between Naulaka and Mati Khān Jahān who wanted to send him to annihilation, put him to death, ostensibly in order that he might be punished for the charge of fraud which was brought against him, but also that the properties seized might remain concealed Shah Bardi, who was a vagabond[6] in the desert of insubordination, accepted good counsels and became

[1] Variant Taral and this is supported by Iqbālnāma MS

[2] See B 342 n 1, and J.A S B for 1873, p 226 J II 116 and n 3 The word seems connected with the Bengali *bhata* ebb-tide

[3] J II 117 and B 342 and n A N III 432

[4] Khāṣ in J II 137, and in text of Ain but in Index this is corrected to Ghās It is properly Gawas or Gwās as in A N It is in Murshidabad district and is a very large and well known pargana

[5] Meaning apparently Nine lacs I O 236 has Lonā.

[6] āwāra A F apparently uses this word because it jingles with Shāh Bardī s title of Mīr Nawāra

loyal When the town of Bhāwāl[1] became the station of the army, Ibrāhīm Naral, Karīmdād and other Afghans of that country brought forward propositions of obedience and used the language of harmony 'Isā however sate in the ravine of disobedience, and was presumptuous A large force was sent against him under Shāh Bardī and Muhammad Qulī It proceeded by the river Kiyāra[2] Sundar, and a hot engagement took place on the borders of Kastal ?[3] 'Isā was defeated and fled, and much valuable booty fell into the hands of the warriors for dominion Inasmuch as pride increases the blindness of the heart and eyes, Majlis Dilāwar and Majlis Pratāp,[4] who were landholders in that part of the country, suddenly 260
brought out a crowd[5] of boats from the rivers and channels and kindled the flames of contention The warriors of the victorious army lost courage and turned to flee, and in that encounter some of the voyagers left their boats and fled Muhamād[6] Qulī in his activity and courage threw himself upon the enemy's boats and carried on the fight He contended as much as he could and then was made prisoner One of the wonderful results of daily-increasing fortune was that when the army was retreating, Tila Ghāzī, a landholder, came and opened the hand of courage so that in despair's midday the lights of victory revealed themselves to the imperial servants Together with abundant booty they gained their object The black-hearted foe fell into the billows of despair Just then Ibrāhīm Naral sent his son with choice products of the country and

[1] This is Bhāwāl or Ran Bhāwāl in the Dacca district It was in Sarkār Bāzūhā J III, 137

[2] Kinara in text, but both the I O MSS have Kiyāra or Giyāra. In the Aīn, Kiyāra Sundar is mentioned as a large reservoir in Sonārgāon J II, 124, and Aīn text I, 390 Jarrett remarks that Gladwin adopts the variant of Katara, and the Riyāzu s salāṭīn has Kathora Sundar Possibly the river meant is one near Egara Sunda or thana Niklī in the Maimansingh district

[3] Variant Kaithal I cannot identify it

[4] Can this be the Rajah Pratāpaditya of Jessore?

[5] Kundilān This is the same word that is used in A N II, 39, two lines from foot I take it to be the *kundala* of the Burhān Qāṭī and Vullers In the Newal Kishore lith of the B Q the word is wrongly printed kundana, but the description says there is a lām in the word. It means gathered together, congested

[6] Identified in Index with the M Qulī of pp 433, 585, etc Perhaps the M Qulī Toqbāī of B 434, and the Maaṣir III 204

asked for protection The general (Khān Jahān) accepted his excuses and returned He proceeded to Sihhatpur which he had founded in the neighbourhood of Tanda, and then reported the celestial aids to the august court

At this time of joy a musician named Gadai was brought before H M, and it appeared that he had twenty-five children from one wife Apropos of this H M said, "A Biluci had twenty children from one wife and he came to the court and petitioned saying, and people say this chaste matron has become forbidden to me (harām) on account of the numerous births 'What remedy have I, and what cure is there for my wretchedness?' We bade him be comforted and observed that such a saying had not the appearance of truth Wicked story tellers must have invented it If any matrimony (*kesh*) produced such a good result (as so large a progeny) it was an honour to the parties, and not a case for abstension (*hurmat*) Let him then go on to display his own virility, and the fertility of his spouse" H M told this lively story, and the hearts of the auditors had a fresh entertainment

One of the occurrences was the flashing of the light of truth from his sacred soul Though H M from his wide capacity and splendid genius knows that multiplicity is the veil of unity, and keeps such ward and watch that every one of the enlightened men of the world and (also) of the swift goers of the spiritual court regards that royal cavalier of insight as his own leader, yet as the thoughts of solitude have been kneaded into his constitution, the threads of the exquisite veil become occasionally broken Accordingly, at this time, Bakhshu Qawwāl[1] recited before him two heart ravishing stanzas in a pleasing manner That Syllabus of the roll of recognition (of God) displayed a countenance flashing with Divine lights Those whose vision did not extend beyond the plain outward appearance received spiritual delight (from the singing) Much more
31 then was the state of the internally farsighted! When H M returned from that wonderful condition, he gave thanksgivings to God, and filled the hope skirt of the songster with rich coin

[1] *Qawwal* means a story teller a singer, or improvisatore The name is apparently Bahjuī in I O MS 236 There is the variant Bachhuī Perhaps he is the famous minstrel of Bahadur Shāh of Gujarat whose singing had such a wonderful effect on Humayūn Bayley's Gujarat p 388 et seq

One of the occurrences was the emerging of M. 'Aziz Kokaltāsh from the narrows of exclusion From association with ignorant flatterers, and the tumultuousness of youth, he had fallen into the thornbrake of evil desires The justice loving sovereign had from his abundant kindness and wisdom excluded him from the bliss of doing homage, and sent him to school for increase in sense When there appeared signs of repentance on his forehead, and the light of service revealed itself, H M brought him on 12 Ābān, Divine month, out of the gloomy abode of melancholy, and bestowed various favours on him, and he proceeded to redeem past times by the performance of service

One of the occurrences was the coming of Rajah Madhukar to court It has already[1] been mentioned that he had stirred up the dust of battle and been stained by defeat After that he had felt ashamed, and was spending his days in distressed circumstances Sādiq K wisely took up his quarters in the country When the Rajah fell into difficulties on account of the pressure of the gallant troops he was compelled to have recourse to humility, and made his former good services his testimonials He came forward with a thousand fawnings and excuses The officers answered that if preparations for war had not been made his supplications might have been listened to The matter would now be referred to H M He also should send an able man and impress his wretchedness on the minds of the courtiers Perhaps the billows of kindness might seize him and cast him from the whirlpool of despair upon the shore of attainment of desire Accordingly he sent his brother's son Som Cand with presents to court The envoys were received at Bhera, and as H M is merciful he had pity upon him and showed him kindness When the news of the forgiveness of his offence arrived, he proceeded to court along with the officers On 21 Ābān, Divine month, Sādiq K and the other officers came and did homage, and the presumptuous one (the Rajah) gathered bliss by prostrating himself The world's lord kept his promise and exalted him by various favours

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Moẓaffar Husain M at Court in chains. It has been mentioned that at the instigation of

---

[1] See ante p 228 of text He is the Bundela chief of Orcha

asked for protection The general (Khān Jahān) accepted his excuses and returned He proceeded to Sihhatpur which he had founded in the neighbourhood of Tānda, and then reported the celestial aids to the august court

At this time of joy a musician named Gadai was brought before H M , and it appeared that he had twenty five children from one wife Apropos of this H M said, "A Bilūci had twenty children from one wife and he came to the court and petitioned saying, and people say this chaste matron has become forbidden to me (harām) on account of the numerous births 'What remedy have I and what cure is there for my wretchedness?' We bade him be comforted and observed that such a saying had not the appearance of truth Wicked story tellers must have invented it If any matrimony (*kesh*) produced such a good result (as so large a progeny) it was an honour to the parties and not a case for abstension (*hurmat*) Let him then go on to display his own virility, and the fertility of his spouse" H M told this lively story, and the hearts of the auditors had a fresh entertainment

One of the occurrences was the flashing of the light of truth from his sacred soul Though H M from his wide capacity and splendid genius knows that multiplicity is the veil of unity, and keeps such ward and watch that every one of the enlightened men of the world and (also) of the swift goers of the spiritual court regards that royal cavalier of insight as his own leader, yet as the thoughts of solitude have been kneaded into his constitution, the threads of the exquisite veil become occasionally broken Accordingly, at this time Bakhshu Qawwāl[1] recited before him two heart ravishing stanzas in a pleasing manner That Syllabus of the roll of recognition (of God) displayed a countenance flashing with Divine lights. Those whose vision did not extend beyond the plain outward appearance received spiritual delight (from the singing) Much more
61 then was the state of the *internally farsighted!* When H M returned from that wonderful condition he gave thanksgivings to God, and filled the hope skirt of the songster with rich coin

[1] *Qawwal* means a story teller a singer or improvisatore The name is apparently Babjūī in I O MS 236 There is the variant Bachhūī Perhaps he is the famous minstrel of Bahadur Shāh of Gujarat, whose singing had such a wonderful effect on Humāyūn Bayley's Gujarat p 388 et seq

One of the occurrences was the emerging of M 'Aziz Kokaltāsh from the narrows of exclusion From association with ignorant flatterers, and the tumultuousness of youth, he had fallen into the thornbrake of evil desires The justice loving sovereign had from his abundant kindness and wisdom excluded him from the bliss of doing homage, and sent him to school for increase in sense When there appeared signs of repentance on his forehead, and the light of service revealed itself, H M brought him on 12 Ābān, Divine month, out of the gloomy abode of melancholy, and bestowed various favours on him, and he proceeded to redeem past times by the performance of service

One of the occurrences was the coming of Rajah Madhukar to court It has already[1] been mentioned that he had stirred up the dust of battle and been stained by defeat After that he had felt ashamed, and was spending his days in distressed circumstances Sādiq K wisely took up his quarters in the country When the Rajah fell into difficulties on account of the pressure of the gallant troops he was compelled to have recourse to humility, and made his former good services his testimonials He came forward with a thousand fawnings and excuses The officers answered that if preparations for war had not been made his supplications might have been listened to The matter would now be referred to H M He also should send an able man and impress his wretchedness on the minds of the courtiers Perhaps the billows of kindness might seize him and cast him from the whirlpool of despair upon the shore of attainment of desire Accordingly he sent his brother's son Som Cand with presents to court The envoys were received at Bhera, and as H M is merciful he had pity upon him and showed him kindness When the news of the forgiveness of his offence arrived, he proceeded to court along with the officers On 21 Ābān, Divine month, Sādiq K and the other officers came and did homage, and the presumptuous one (the Rajah) gathered bliss by prostrating himself The world's lord kept his promise and exalted him by various favours

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Mozaffar Husain M at Court in chains It has been mentioned that at the instigation of

[1] *See ante p 228 of text He is the Bundela chief of Orcha.*

evil-disposed persons he had, in Gujarat, turned away from the court of fortune and been rebellious, and now he had become a vagabond and gone to Khāndesh Out of kindness and sympathy Maqsūd[1]
62 Damba was sent to bring him to court, along with the presents The ruler of the country made delays in surrendering him, and proposed extravagant conditions Apparently he had fallen into improper thoughts on account of the royal standards having proceeded towards the Panjab Quṭbu d-dīn K sent Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah and communicated counsels (to the ruler) The report of the return of H M towards the capital illuminated the world Of necessity he abandoned his unbecoming thoughts and sent him off along with the servants of the Court Muṭṭalib K and some soldiers from Malwa were dispatched to accompany him On 27 Āzar, Divine month, that wanderer in the wilderness of unsuccess was brought to court H M from kindness and circumspection made him over to a keeper so that he might learn wisdom. In a short space of time there appeared signs of auspiciousness in his behaviour, the pen of forgiveness was drawn over his offences, and he was distinguished[2] by the favour of the Shadow of God Next day, Quṭbu d-dīn K came from Gujarat and did homage, and was exalted by various favours from the Shāhinshāh Also about this time Rajah Bhagwant Das, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl, Jagmal Panwār and some other strenuous ones were sent off to the Panjab Each of these received weighty advices, a noble steed, and a robe of honour An order was issued that they should exert themselves in service, and not depart from the counsels of S'aīd K, and should not slumber in administering the province and in maintaining their own preparedness

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K to Ajmere When it became known that the Rāna had raised the head of turbu-

[1] The I A Elliot V, 410, and Badayunī, Lowe 274, calls him Maqṣud Jauharī i.e lapidary, so perhaps he was the engraver B 499 Maqṣūd of Herat of B 27 The T A Elliot V 408 says Rajah Alī was directed to send his son along with Mozaffar H On looking at the original and the statement in Khāfī K I 184 that Gulrukh B was sent to Akbar along with her son it appears to me likely that the word *mādar* mother has slipped out of the T A

[2] Akbar married him to his eldest daughter Sultan Khānim B 464

lence there, Ghāzī K Muhammad Ḥusain, S Taimur Badakhshī, Mirzāda 'Alī K and many others were sent off on 4 Dai under his command in order that the Rānā and others might be guided to good service Otherwise they were to be destroyed by the flaming sword Much treasure was sent along with them In a short space of time that blackthoughted one was disgraced, and the general public enjoyed repose, and returned thanks

One of the occurrences[1] was the laying the foundation of poor houses From abundant graciousness and kindness an order was given to the workmen that they should erect sarais in the various quarters of the capital, and make them over to benevolent and generous persons so that the poor and needy of the world might have a home without having to look for it, or to endure the pain of waiting 263
In a short space of time the orders were admirably carried out, and those without resources enjoyed the comforts of a home in a foreign land

One of the occurrences was the death of Khān Jahan When he returned successful from Bhāti he took up his abode at Ṣiḥhatpūr The sincerity of his soul had become somewhat clouded by the sense-robbing wine of self-love Fortunately,[2] the veil of honour was not rent In a short space of time he fell upon the bed of pain. The heat of fever ended in constipation (?) [3] The Indian physicians did not understand the case and gave him heating medicines, and the thread of his life was snapped He suffered pains in his belly for 1¼ months, and died on the night of Dibadin 8 Dai, December 1578 [4] H M was much grieved and prayed for the forgiveness of his soul, but in accordance with the rule of the spiritual kingdom he submitted to destiny and was patient

---

[1] See B 266 and 200 but according to Badayūnī the poor houses he speaks of were not built till 991

[2] It is this passage which has led B to say, p 331 that A F remarks that Khān Jahān's death was opportune inasmuch as the immense plunder of Bengal had led him to the verge of rebellion But A F does not, I think anywhere say that Khān Jahān was inclined to be a rebel

[3] *Shikam bastagī* Presumably this is the same as *shikam giriftagī* and means constipation But perhaps indigestion or dyspepsia is meant

[4] B gives the date 19 Shawwāl 986 which is 19 December 1578 and corresponds with the 8 Dai of the text

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Sulṭan Khwāja [1] When he was appointed to the office of the command of the Ḥāj he went off there, taking with him large presents from the Shāhinshāh for high and low, and made the natives and the strangers of that country attainers of their desires He transacted the important business he had there and then returned with a large caravan On the 11th (Dai) H.M went off to enjoy the pleasure of hunting, and Sulṭan Khwājah presented himself there He produced Arab horses and other rarities, and each of his companions enjoyed the bounty of the Shahinshah according to his degree The Khwāja related many instances of the propitious assistances given by M, and so delighted the hearts and ears of men

Among them was this, that during the voyage a youth fell one night from the ship's deck into deep water. The faster the ship moved on, the nearer sounded his cries, and they reached the ears of those on board The Khwāja made a vow to the world's lord and sent off a boat (sumbuk) with sailors in it and waited in expectation of the Divine power The crew thought this out-of-place searching to be absurd, and a long time elapsed The tongues of the fault-finders grew long, and the good man was sunk in sorrow In the midnight of despair those who had been sent brought safely him who had fallen into the water The ring of devotedness was fastened in the spiritual ear of the general public In a short time the good services of the Khwāja bestowed a new lustre on him He was made a Tarkhān [2] and was appointed to the office of Sadr At the same time an order was given that Mīr Faqiru d-din of Mashhad, who had the title of
64 Naqib K, should proceed from Ujjain to the government of Patan When he arrived there, Tarsūn K, who was governor there, came to court

[1] B 423, A N 436, and Badayūni, Lowe 351

[2] An old Moghul title conveying certain privileges, and among others that of not being punished till the commission of nine offences See B 364 and A N III 635, where A F has a long note Nūru d-dīn also had this title See Badayūnī III, 198 B M Add. 27, 247, contains some sentences about Sultan Khwāja which are not in the Bib Ind text One is that he brought greetings *taḥiyāt* from the Begams, that is, from Gul badan Begam and Selima Begam, and the other is that he stated as a wonderful fact that the Begam's ship and his ship had kept together from the time they left Surat till their arrival at Jeddah

One of the occurrences was the sending of a Mīr Hāj The sole object of the sovereign is that the empty-handed and deserving poor of every country may obtain their desires As it was manifest that on hearing the report of the distribution of money, needy persons from Asia Minor and Syria assembled in the Arab peninsula, and as the tale of the delight and the thanksgiving of the natives and foreigners in that country was reported to H M, the ocean of his benevolence was commoved, and an order was given to the officers of the Caliphate that a generous and active-minded person should be appointed to this office, and that twice as much (money) as was sent formerly should be sent Khwāja Yahyā was represented as worthy of this post, and he was accepted On 26 Dai he went off with a large caravan, to deliver the great gifts He was the great grandson[1] of Khwāja Aḥrār, and was one remove from Khwāja 'Abdullah, whom the Turanians call Khwajagān Khwaja Though he had not much trod the arena of contemplation and piety (*naẓr u ta'alluh*), yet he knew something of medicine and had read somewhat about Sufism[2] He was also one of the first of the age for truth and uprightness. At this time also Qulīj K was sent to Gujarat in order that he might help the officers there in looking after the peasantry and the soldiers, and also that he might look after his own properties Hājī Ibrāhīm was made Ṣadr of the province But he did not understand the nature of this kind of education and showed the baseness of his nature and his folly, and received punishment[3] accordingly, as will be mentioned in its proper place Also at this time Khwāja Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Asaf K. was sent to Malwa[4] and Gujarat Inasmuch as it is indispensable that a ruler should send

[1] Nabīra pisarī See Badayūnī III, 93 who says he was three removes from K. Aḥrār Apparently by "one remove" A F means that he was grandson for the Khwājagān Khwāja was Kh. Aḥrār s eldest son

[2] A. F describes Sultan Khwāja in nearly similar terms, A N III, 436 Badayūnī II, 261, says four lacs of rupees were made over to K. Yahyā and that the latter left Ajmere for Mecca in Shawāl 986 'Abdu n-nabī and Makh dūm al mulkh were sent to Mecca with this caravan

[3] See text 409 He was imprisoned in Ranthambhor and tried to escape, but the rope broke and he was killed See D.A. 702, 703, and Bādayūnī, Lowe II, 286, who hints that it was a murder and not a suicide He died in 994.

[4] The Iqbālnāma says he was sent there as bakhshī

everywhere able men so that the condition of the army may be known, that skilful and eloquent man was sent off on 20 Bahman to carry out the branding regulation in Malwa, and then to proceed to Gujarat. He was to improve the army in accordance with the advice of Shihāb-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and Qulij K.

CHAPTER XLVI

Beginning of the 24th Divine Year from the holy Accession, to wit, the year Isfandârmaz of the second cycle

At this season, when the wise throne occupant in his ample vision and with arrangements for the quest of Truth inaugurated the 265
feast of a spiritual Spring, the material Spring also spread out the banquet of joy

Verse

Grace the assembly at this season, for with joyous leaves
The rose adorns the plot and the Shâhinshâh the world,
The Alexander-like prince Akbar at attainment's feast
Like Elias drained the cup from wisdom's fountain

On Wednesday 12 Muharram 987, 11 March 1589, after the passing of six hours forty seven minutes, the brightener of the temporal and spiritual world, the unveiler of wisdom and perception, the assayer of the jewels of creation, the watchman of the visible and the invisible, cast his rays on the mansion of Aries Hearts felt the stirring of Truth, and forms received spiritual purity The reasoning powers were refreshed by the waters of wisdom, the capital of the brains was enlarged, the flashes of light gave glory to inward and outward things, the skirt and the pocket of the Age were filled with the flowers of wish Thousands of enchanting pictures robbed the critical and acute of steadiness The world's lord sate on the *diwan* of success, and opened the treasures of abundance Crowds upon crowds of men attained their desires and gathered collyrium for the eyes, medicine for the heart, and the capital of life May the Incomparable Deity keep the lord of horizons in joy in the deep shade of His permanence together with treasure showing wisdom and a jewel scattering disposition!

Verse

For ever, so long as day follows yesterday,
For ever, so long as the current year follows the passed one

May he abide, may his heart be green, and the world at his beck,
Heaven help him, dominion support him, God be his friend

In the beginning of the year Moẓaffar K obtained leave to go to the government of Bengal, and H M bade him wipe away the grief of the oppressed in that land The first du'y of just rulers is to make over countries, where tribes of mankind and various animals abound, to farsighted and just officers of wide capacity, so that the jewel of humanity may be polished and be weighed in the balance of equity, and the administration of justice and the augmentation of dominion may have their proper place

(Some three lines of rhetoric)

When Khān Jahān was dying, Moẓaffar K, who had an abundant share of choice qualities, was nominated to the government of Bengal and departed thither on 3 Farwardīn, 14 March 1579, after being loaded with salutary counsels Riẓavi K was made bakhshi The civil business (Dīwānī) was entrusted to Mīr Adham and Rai
366 Patr[1] Dās, while ḥakim Abul[2] Fath was made Ṣadr and Amin M Nijābat K, Mīr Jamālu d din[3] Husain Anju and many others accompanied them, and they were all presented with robes of honour and select horses An order was issued to Ism'āil[4] Quli K that he should make over the government to the new officer, and should himself repair to court so that the pain of his grief might be assuaged by the balsam of favour, and his disturbed heart be tranquillised Orders were also issued to Qiyā K, Bāba K, and Jabbāri and others that they should continue to look after the army. At this time also H M erased the record of Mozaffar Husain M's offences and was gracious to him He regarded his sedition in Gujarat as not having occurred Though the world's lord shrinks from taking life, and always applies the remedy of kindness to the wicked, yet,

---

[1] B 469

[2] B 424

[3] Author of the Persian Dictionary the Farhang-Jahangiri The text has A ıju but B has Inju which he says is part of Shiraz J III 423 n has Ij The Maaṣir III 358 says the Injuwiya are Saiyids of Shiraz

[4] B 360 He was K Jahān's younger brother and probably expected to succeed him

with regard to this great benefaction, it appeared to him that the simple soul (of Moẓaffar H) was not the source of wickedness, and that he had been led into strife by seditious and shortsighted persons At this time M 'Azīz Kokaltāsh retired into the defiles of obscurity on account of excessive imaginings and for some days was excluded from court He had made over Mīr 'Alāud dīn collector[1] ('amlguzār) to his servant on suspicion of his dishonesty The latter had a grudge against him and tortured him so that he died The Mirza in his extreme justice capitally punished the daring wretch who had taken advantage of his opportunity And this act of justice he performed, not at the request of anybody, but from piety to God The Mīr's father came from Persia to ask for redress, and brought the oppression that had been exercised over the Mīr to the august notice H M, who in his court makes no difference between relative and stranger, and no distinction between a chief of chiefs (beglarbegī) and a tangled haired beggar, ordered that the officers of justice should inquire into the matter and report the result without glozing over it That delicately nurtured one suspected that he had lost favour and went into retirement, and won over the father by large sums of money

---

[1] J II 43

[2] The variant *ba kamāl nā durusti* On account of complete dishonesty is supported by I O MS 236

The story does not occur in the Lucknow edition In the Iqbalnama it is entered under the 25th year The story told there is that when the Khān Aẓim was governor of Gujarat he on suspicion of dishonesty made over Alāū d dīn Yazdī his diwan to his servant named Ṭalib who beat Alāā d dīn so severely that he died Though the Khān Azim capitally punished his slave by way of retaliation yet 'Alāā d-dīn s father came from Yazd and complained to Akbar who made over the investigation of the case to Qāẓi Jalāl the s ny Qāẓī (Judge Advocate) As the Khān Azīm had punished his servant he looked upon this revival of the charge as a proof that Akbar was displeased with him He paid a large sum to the father and so satisfied him and then retired again to his garden in Agra The account of this affair in B M Add 27 247 differs from that in the text It the first place it says apparently that M Koka s conduct was the result of drinking Fazūnī khumār ḥāl are the words used Secondly it calls Mīr Alāu d dīn Tarafti (?) and Mīr Koka s Vizier and says that as he had embezzled much money the Mīrzā made him over to Ṭālib who was one of his own slaves and that Ṭālib on account of a private enmity beat 'Alāū d-dīn so that he died It does not say any

One of the occurrences was the departure of the ambassador of 'Ādil[1] K of Bijāpur. Though out of somnolent fortune he did not obey orders in a proper manner, yet like the other rulers of the Deccan he always sent prudent men and choice presents and kept himself known to the august court On this occasion also he had sent an able[2] and plausible man along with the rarities of the
267 country. H.M granted the desires of the ambassador and gave him leave to depart He sent Hakim[3] 'Ali along with him, as the bearer of salutary advices, and to warn him ('Ādil K) that if he did not hearken to them, he would be made war upon

One of the events was the putting to school of Sultan Murād Now that he had arrived at the age of eight, and had recovered from successive ailments, H M desired that he should learn his letters It was signified to S Abul Faiẓ Faiẓi, who is singular for knowledge and practice, and who is renowned by his title of *maliku s sh'arā*, that he should instruct the prince In a short time H M.'s desire was accomplished, and the spiritual and physical window was opened.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Mīr Niẓām. It has already been stated that 'Abdullah[4] K and 'Abdi Khwāja had been sent off along with the ambassadors of Badakhshan M. Shāhrukh regarded their arrival as the stock of eternal bliss As the Khānim was ill, and the star of her life was near its setting, she sent off her daughter Mihmān B, and the Mīr aforesaid who was her son-in-law (i e was married to Mihmān B), to the holy court along with the rarities of the country, in order that she might bind herself anew to the saddlestraps of fortune Several of the courtiers met them and conducted them with honour, and on 21 Urdībihisht they paid their respects On 16 Khirdād Wazīr K did homage,

---

thing about the Kokah punishing Ṭālib The father complained and Akbar made over the case to the Qāẓī

[1] Usually called 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh Also called Abul Muẓaffar murdered 10 April 1580 He reigned for about 22 years He was the husband of Chānd Bībī

[2] The T A Elliot V, 411, gives his name as Khwaja 'Abdullah, and says that he and his son Shāhī Beg received presents from Akbar

[3] A physician and engineer, B 466 He came from Gīlān

[4] *Vide* supra, text p. 245

and was well received. As the government of Gujarat had been entrusted to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., he (Wazīr) had been ordered to Īdar. In a short time the Rai of that country submitted and fell to supplications. The country was given to him (the Rai) and he came to do homage. Shahbāz K. also arrived at this time. He had 268
settled the affairs of Ajmīr, and reduced the recalcitrant ones to obedience. He did homage on the 27th of the month.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE WISE MEN OF THE AGE OF THE SPIRITUAL PRIMACY (*ijtihād*[1]) OF THE WORLD'S LORD

The profound and judicious had perceived, from the dawning of the Shāhinshāh's personality, that he was the epitome of the volumes of perfection and had recognized him as akin to the spirit of holiness and as a gatherer of wisdom of the Divine school From the beginning of the flashings of his intelligence up to his being seated on the throne of the Caliphate, and from the commencement of his daily-increasing fortune, those who could read the forehead of circumstance and were acquainted with mysteries, received fresh consolation, and, while congratulating themselves on their perspicacity, they redoubled their supplications and thanksgivings Inasmuch as the increase of temporal duties had thrown a veil over his world-illuminating spiritual beauty, it was not every one who could bring far-sighted intelligence to the point of understanding His Majesty, and there was a brisk market of inappreciation Especially this was so with paper worshipping scholiasts, sunk in the mire of routine, and recognizing no knowledge except the garnering of old materials and market worn beads of small value and writings in black and white on ancient folios which had been fabricated by servile decorators

Without indulging in the excessive panegyrics of professional encomiasts, verbal lapidaries[2] who sell words at the rate of precious stones, whoever casts a glance at the great diurnal of events, or looks with honest eyes into this jewelled volume, knows that those

---

[1] See Hughes' Dict of Islam, s v Ijtihād

[2] *lafzī tarashān i khamāhan furosh,* lit word cutters who sell agates For *khamāhan* see Vullers s v It is an exceptionally hard stone and according to some is agate Being so hard it is presumably difficult and costly to cut, and apparently rhetoricians or word cutters are represented as selling their words as if they were precious stones

glorious works (Akbar's) are above human comprehension, and that they furnish a splendid[1] spectacle to readers of the lines of the forehead From the time that chooser of one ness, adorner of multiplicity, turned his attention to scientific subjects, and to the varied pursuits of mankind, and when, by removing some of his veils, he allowed his profundity and farsightedness to deck the bridal chamber of manifestation, he scattered from his ocean heart such sublime words concerning the mysteries of vision and piety, and the apices of theory and practice, that the scorched hearts of instruction's fur nace fell into amazement, and the crew of the schools sank into the abode of astonishment It is not the case (dāstān) with revelation and vision that holy thoughts, lofty genius, sublime energy acquire by learning and e)erience clearness of heart, step by step Such a the case[2] with the er and eloquent To them these things come not without the alloy of effort But those who by happy fortune obtain Academy of God the marks of things Divine and human without any intermediary, peruse the documents of Primary Reason and the Astrolabe of the heaven of holiness It was fitting that 269
formalists who dwell within the four walls of routine should enter the defiles of amazement, and that the mental foot of the superficial and short sighted should stumble, that the wide space of ignorance and little vision should be filled, and that the dustbin of their inward darkness should discharge black waters Those who did not under stand the case imagined that the whole life-time of the sovereign had been spent in study, while many in their blackheartedness and perversity plunged into the saline waste of envy, and were spiritually and physically ruined A few, by a happy star and auspicious disposition, were guided to the forum of enlightenment and satisfied their eyes

---

[1] *Ābādserāī* But the reading seems doubtful, for if Akbar's deeds were incomprehensible by the human intellect they could not be a splendid spectacle to the readers of his fore head I O 235 has *bādserai* "cloud land," or something invisible or non-existent, and this seems a preferable reading The Lucknow ed omits many lines here But abādserāī may mean place of purity and there may be a reference here to the Abād Ians who were a sect of the Parsis See Dabistān, Calcutta ed of 1809, p 11, where the word abādī is defined as a place of purity (*yāīpāk*)

[2] *Guftugoī* Perhaps ' Such is the remark of the learned 'Without labour no learning'

and their ears Some open eyed[1] ones who for many years had painfully striven in the quest of knowledge and were now watching in justice's portico held a meeting to expound[2] the mystery, and after exchanging many extraordinary experiences, they all joined in saying "It is the glory of the holy spirit which has come to the kindling point On this day the light of saintship is casting a ray on his inner soul It is from the right thinking of the world's lord that this great rank has been bestowed on him Or has he in the pure temple of privacy kept burning the lamp of study, and now by the goodness of God is he exhibiting it? Or is it the result of magic and enchantment that the drum of enlightenment beats high and that the wondrous workings have shown themselves?"

Those who have by dint of auspiciousness and a happy star abandoned the following of routine, and opened the eyes of vision, and kindled the lamp of understanding, recognized the unique one of horizons as the leader (*peshwa*) of the spiritual world, and rubbed off the rust of astonishment Nay, a set stained with the dust of routine (*taqlid*) received a whisper of just appreciation by virtue of ancient records[3] and took the road of right thinking "When the matted haired of the desert of vagabondage, and the heavy footed[4] ones of the abode of vertigo obtain such high rank in fortune's *diwan*, why should we be astonished at the success of a just and right thinking king?" By the guidance of an open browed fortune they became believers and made an active market for the new institutions (Āin)

Verse

Those cognisant of the final result of things
Made a new prayer about the sovereign

---

[1] *Zāhirnigahān* which generally means superficialists but seems here to have a good sense

[2] The text has *sharh goī* ژاژ گوئی foolish talking" but both the I O MSS have *raz goi* راز گوی discourse about secrets and this seems a preferable reading

[3] I presume the reference is to some old prophecies which pointed to the coming of Akbar See Lowe 295 where reference is made to a pamphlet by the Sharifs of Mecca Perhaps too the reference is to the accounts of former kings having preached

[4] Perhaps the reference is to stationary ascetics such as Simeon Stylites But the I O MSS have for *diwār deosār* ' demon haunted

"So long as the revolving sphere be full of stars,[1]
And matter be composed of those two things,
May the Shāh's personality be the world's lamp,
May his cheek be brighter than the moon!"

When the sublime meetings were brightened by the lights of the Unique one of Truth's banquet and of intellectual power, and the luminary of recognition shone for the distant as for the near, the acute and awakened of heart, and the wisdom-choosing seekers after knowledge, who were stayed in various religions and divers paths[2] of the ancients, and in the winding-back alleys and ruined bye-paths, and were seeking for relief from their confusion,[3] held a conference[4] with the blissfully wise and the right thinking (They said), "Assuredly if the rank of 'Ijtihād,' which is lower than the dignity of a pure soul (*nafs i qadsi*), be a dispeller of the darkness of doubts, a wise sovereign shall by choice institutions become the pacifier of disturbed hearts But[5] every one does not know the latter, while 270
every one is familiar with the first It is fitting then that the happy hivers of wisdom should come together and refer the old, heart-gnawing pain to this new physician The medicine suitable for the age is to address the king by the style of 'Ijtihād,' and then to represent to him the confusion of religions and creeds and to beg him to untie the knot"

When their ideas were brought to the sacred hearing, the world's lord for a while, from his love for a veil, did not accept the proposal, and the enlightened body had to have recourse to entreaty. Inasmuch as the granting of desires forms a part of the laudable character of that circumspect Seer (Akbar) and his profession is

---

[1] Stars and space Apparently the meaning is that substance (*gohar*) owes its existence to the stars and space

[2] I O MSS have the conjunction *wa* here

[3] Both the I O MSS insert the word hairat "astonishment" here

[4] *Jirga* But the I O MSS have *jablar* "an assembly of men convened for some important purpose

[5] The meaning is that every one knows the powers of an *Ijtihād*, but every one does not know the powers of a just king or of one of a holy spirit B M Add 27, 247 says that some right thinkers who had studied the *Muzahib Khamsa* (the five religions?) said that the rank of a *Nafs qudsī* was higher than that of the office of Ijtihad but that he first was not generally known

that of a Healer, it flashed upon the vision portico of the farsighted one, the understander of beginnings, the attainer of ends, that to come forth from the position of commander in chief of the spiritual world to this office and to apply his mind to it, was, in reality, an adorning of the veil and a choosing of a screen. He therefore rejoiced them by fulfilling their desire On 20 Shahriyur,[1] Divine month, there was an assemblage of the enlightened, and the thoughts of the wise unanimously agreed upon this, "The world's lord is the Imām of the Time, and the Mujtahid[2] of the age" When the rest of mankind accept whatever he selects from out of the co adictions of the ancients, and from the sects upon sects of eloquent truth-

[1] Shahriyūr is the 6th month, and corresponds here nearly to 12 August to 12 September 1579 Thus the 20th would be about 1 September 1579 Add 27, 247, has 20 Shahriyūr Wednesday 10 Rajab (987) This would make the date 2 September 1579 In the T A and in Badayunī the date of the declaration is given as Rajab 987, i e between 24 August and 23 September 1579 But it must have been before 16 Rajab for on that day Akbar started for Ajmere and as that corresponds to 8 September the latest date for the declaration is the 7th id As the meetings in the Ibadatkhana took place on Thursdays the document was probably on the first or second Thursday of Rajab i e the 4th or 11th Rajab corresponding to 29 August or 3 September 1579 From the chapter which describes Akbar s visit to Ajmere we learn that he left his capital on 26 Shahriyūr and this therefore must correspond to 16 Rajab the date mentioned by Nizāmu d dīn and Badayūnī, consequently 20 Shahriyur, the day of the declaration must correspond to 10 Rajab—2 September 1579 From what the MS. Add 27, 247, states it appears that the document was executed one day before the meeting, viz on a Wednesday The document has been translated by Blochmann 186 It will also be found in Lowe 279 (same translation) and in Persian in the T A Curiously enough, this important paper is not translated in Elliot V, 413, where there is merely the entry A legal discussion It will be seen also that the T A puts into this year (the 25th according to the calculation there) the embassy of M Fulad which A F puts into 22nd year unless indeed the T A s is a second embassy The reference in Elliot V 418 seems wrong The letter sent with Fulad does not appear in the Insha I am not sure if Lowe s translation 278, of the corresponding passage in Badayūnī is right It rather looks as if the meaning was that Abdullah in this year sent back M Fulād and Khwāja Khatīb with him See text 270

[2] See Hughes Dict of Islam s v Ijtihād and Mujtahid

seekers, they will gather the Divine favour" To this statement they attached their seals, and a record of enlightenment was executed Maulānā 'Abdullah Sultānpuri, who had the lofty title of Makhdum-al-mulk (served by the country), Shaikh Abdu n nabi the Sadr, who was celebrated as the Shaikh-al islām, Ghāzi K Badakhshi, Hakim almulk, and other great sages signed[1] and sealed it Those who were giddy and straying in the desert of doubts, put the bridle of fixity on the neck of discipleship and the sitters in darkness received the light of certitude The lamp of knowledge lighted up the interior of ignorance, and distracted hearts received new comfort

Also at this time the pulpit was honoured by the sky-touching feet of the Shāhinshāh, and the palace of wisdom received a fresh exaltation and a new heaven was revealed to the age Inasmuch as the endeavour of H M is to carry out proper actions where possible and various good things were accomplished by the exertions of that unique one of the banquet of enlightenment, every choice act which represented itself to his mind, or which he heard of as having been performed by God worshippers in old times, was regarded by him

[1] It is curious that A F does not mention his father Mubārak as one of those who signed. According to Badayūnī, Mubārak was the chief contriver of the affair, and the one who drafted the declaration. Nizāmu-d-dīn also mentions Mubārak as one of the subscribers It evidently was the result of a compromise and is a document capable of various interpretations It declared that a just Sultan (Sultān i adil) was higher in rank than a Mujtahid, that Akbar was the Sultan al islam' *Kahf al anām* (the Sultān of Islam and the Refuge of mankind) and a just prince etc and that whichever of the conflicting views of Mujtahids he selected, should be received by men and that also he might issue new orders provided they were not contrary to the Qoran and were for the good of the people and that opposition thereto would involve ruin in this world and damnation in the next But the saving clause that his orders were not to be contrary to the Qoran and be for the good of the people gave a loop hole for opposition Badayunī seems to have copied the document from the T.A, but he has some original remarks on its scope and effect Apparently his allusion to Hairatī and A F means that they became fire-worshippers and so it might be said that A F preferred fire (or hell) to ruin The cold disposition attributed to the people of Transoxians is a playful allusion to the meaning of the expression Mā wāra an nahr (beyond the river)

as a means of pleasing God, and was carried into effect As at this time it came to his hearing that the guiding Imāms and legitimate Caliphs did not leave worship to others, but took this weighty matter on their own shoulders he resolved to imitate them in this, and to reap the reward thereof As the administration of the world and the dispensation of justice are great occupations, he did not indulge in long discourses but was contented with what was necessary
1 Several times he distributed enlightenment in the chief mosque of the capital (Fathpur) and the audiences gathered bliss One of the discourses (Khuṭba) which my most excellent of brothers, S Abu-l Faiz Faiẓi, put by his orders into verse was as follows —

Verse [1]

In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity,
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts,
Exalted be His Majesty, Allāh Akbar

Inasmuch as his thoughts were pure he by heart enlightening words made an impression on the good and communicated Divine aid to them There were wonderful awakenings And since saline soil depraves good seed the hearts of the entirely bad were made yet more puckered, and the dark mirror of the disordered in brain and blackguards in action was made yet more distorted [2] As it is an old custom that the stupid denizens of the demon haunted [3] land of ignorance indulge in foolish talk about the pious servants of God, and that they term potsherds valuable jewels and reckon a broken

[1] cf Lowe 277 Elliot V 412 and B 185 A F's version is slightly different from Niẓāmu d dīn and Badayunī says that Akbar broke down in his first attempt to preach A F represents him as having often officiated (bārha) The date given in the T A and Badayūnī is Friday Jamāda-al awal 987, 26 June 1579 Consequently Akbar's appearance in the pulpit preceded by about two months the promulgation of the declaration though A F mentions the latter first Mr Keene has given a paraphrase of Faizī's verses in his Guide to Agra p 61

[2] Text *nabtar* i e clearer, but I O MSS have *tabtar*

[3] Text *devlakh*, but both the I O MSS have *deosar*

stone as a mirror of Divinity and a night gleaming radiancy, every faction went about in the streets of ignorance and the back-lanes of wickedness speaking foolishly and spreading calumnies On every side there arose the dust of commotion and the black smoke of darkness Assemblages of wickedness congregated together One set of those base ones who are nocturnal animals and blind feelers with their feet (*pāi loban*) in the day charged that Unique of God's servants, who is the glory of his race, with claiming the Godhead, and by such improper talk they fell into the pit of external ruin Apparently this God displeasing crew were led into error by the circumstances that some of the leading unionists [1] who were of the school of Nosair[2] and had the enthusiasm of Husain[3] b Manṣur recognized and spoke of the Khedive of spirituality as the "Witness of God" (Muẓhir i Haqq) *The throne occupant of Fortune on account of his* principle of "Peace with all" did not severely rebuke the idle talkers[4] and distracted ones The foolish ones lost the footing of bliss, and fell into the mire of futile ideas There was a market day for the liars and falsifiers Some of the heated fanatics of the desert of destruction said that the Prince of the Age wished to claim to be the prophet of the incomparable Deity The proof of this imagination of the strife mongers was that the Shāhinshāh was continually introducing noble laws, and making verdant the parterres of realm

[1] *Peshqadamān-i ikjalati* Fore runners of concord

[2] Nosair is said to have been the name of the father of an adherent of Alī who regarded him as a divinity According to another account Nosair was 'Alī s freedman See D Herbelot s v Nossuiriou and also Hist et Rel des Noṣairis by René Dussand Paris 1900 p 9 etc The Nosairīs are a Syrian sect and still exist They resemble the Ismailīs See Reclus Asie Anterieure p 748 Possibly however by Nosair A F means Nāṣir Khusrau See Schefer, Voyage de Nassiri Khorran p ii note

[3] A famous mystic put to death at Bagdad 309 A H (922 A D) See J III 354 n 2 the Safīna al awliyā and D Herbelot s v Hallaje Akbar s remark at J III 394 foot of page is explained by the account in D Herbelot s v Faraoun taken from S Alau al daulah of why Pharoah and Husain b Mansūr were differently treated by God B M MS Add 27 247 has some different readings in this passage

[4] It is not clear whether the idle talkers here referred to are the Nosairis or their opponents But MS Add 27 247, seems to show clearly that the persons meant are Akbar s injudicious friends and not his enemies

and religion, and pointing out the discrepancies in the doubtful
272 expressions of the ancients. Bewildered hearts and short sighted persons indulged in these thoughts, and the spectacle of his reciting the Khuṭba contrary to custom and his mounting the pulpit for the guidance of mankind helped the delusion. Many from acceptance[1] of hearsay and belief in idle words came to believe this. Thus there was a splendid market for strife-mongering and fabrication.

When the fact of the foolish talk of the wicked came to H. M.'s hearing, he, from his wide capacity and his contemplation of the wonders of creation, did not believe it, and said often "Good God!" "How could it enter into the narrow thoughts of the ignorant that recent creatures belonging to a dependent existence and of feeble intellect should ascribe to themselves a share in Divinity? And have the leaders of humanity who have by thousands of miracles expounded the prophetic office come into the world, and have cycles elapsed, that an opinion like this should be cherished and increase, and that the dust of unbelief be not yet laid? How could such a notion come into my mind? Why does such an evil thought bewilder the superficial and the worshippers of externals? Inasmuch as censure and reproach give a fresh lustre to hearts which are pure, it would be improper to reprove those black-thoughted ones who cause an increase of light." A set of evil-thoughted, shameless ones imagined that the Prince of horizons regarded with disfavour the Muhammadan religion (*dīn i Aḥmadī*). The sole evidence which those wrong-headed wicked ones, whose understanding was rusted, had for this was that the wise sovereign out of his tolerant disposition and general benevolence, and extensive overshadowing, received all classes of mankind with affection. Especially did he search for evidence in religious matters from the sages of every religion and the ascetics of all faiths. Nor did he accept the replies of the headstrong and uninquiring. Above all, at this time Christian philosophers assailed the orthodox (*matafiqqan*, those in agreement) of the day in the sublime assemblies, and learned discussions were carried on. The calumniators[2] of the enlightened who by pretences

[1] *Gosh bandagī*, but Lucknow ed. has *kosbandagī*, and explains the phrase as meaning obedience to or acceptance of hints. Perhaps *kos* is right and the meaning is "following the drum, i.e., sequacity.

[2] *Badnāmkanān*. All the MSS. seem to have a conjunction before

had claimed for themselves a learning that did not exist, made a clamour in the court of sovereignty They were put to shame in the daily market of justice and the heyday of discrimination, and lowered their heads into the folds of ignorance, but in the privy chambers of darkness they joined their confederates in the ~~y that they were mourning the loss of Faith, and that the king of the Age had, out of partiality not accepted their replies In their wickedness they cast suspicion upon that choice one of truth and that inwardly enlightened one In their black heartedness and shamelessness, they gave no heed to the fact that the honour and respect which this appreciative throne occupant used to show to the family of the prophet had been rarely exhibited by other monarchs Many good Saiyyids had been raised to dignities and high offices by the favour of H M, and from time to time they were still farther promoted and the garden of their wishes kept watered and verdant Nor did he permit that any member of this family should lay his head on the holy feet,[1] or rub 273
the forehead on the threshold of fortune A set of squint eyed, wicked people taxed him with Shi'ism, and so led astray simple minded Sunnis The cause of the stumbling of this set was that in the sublime assemblies the proofs of those two sects, like those of other sects, were discussed, and that the Shāhinshāh from equity selected what was preferable

Verse

When a statement is strong in argument,
It is unfortunate if you do not listen to it

His likes or dislikes,[2] the greater or lesser numbers of the disputants, their being acquaintances or strangers, raised no dust of difference The short sighted and irreflecting on seeing his fondness for discussion indulged in idle talk The favour shown to Persians,

---

this word Perhaps the meaning is Those who by their conduct brought a disgrace on the party of the enlightened

[1] cf B 159 It appears from this passage that Akbar exempted Saiyyids from the ceremony of prostration Perhaps this was why he withdrew his foot when Badayūnī wished to kiss it before going to the holy war But the translation is not complete (Lowe 234) or correct

[2] *Nafrdt i zamir* The Lucknow ed. has *taqarrab i-zamir*

most of whom belonged to that sect (the Sh'iâ), increased the evil thoughts of the turbulent Out of ignorance, and worship of routine, they did not remember the precept about accepting the explanation that was conformable to reason [1] And either the promotion of Turanians was hidden from the bigoted eyes of this set, or they wilfully remained ignorant of it and sought for pretexts An impure faction reproached the caravan leader of God knowers with being of the Hindu (Brahman) religion The ground for this improper notion was that the prince out of his wide tolerance received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and increased for administrative reasons the rank of Hindus, and for the good of the country showed them kindness Three things supported the evil minded gossips First—The sages of different religions assembled at court, and as every religion has some good in it, each received some praise From a spirit of justice, the badness of any sect could not weave a veil over its merits Second—The season of "Peace with all" was honoured at the court of the Caliphate, and various tribes of mankind of various natures obtained spiritual and material success Third—The evil nature and crooked ways of the base ones of the age

By the right thinking and truthful conduct of the world's lord, they were soon put to shame for their ignorance, and set about endeavouring to amend the days of their ignorance, but many as a retribution for their evil deeds descended into the tortures of failure

---

1 *Dāstān-i-bar giriftan i-muwāfiq* "accepting the simplest explanations? or is it to accept a congruous statement

CHAPTER XLVIII

The Honour done to Quṭbu d-dīn Khān by his being appointed to be Atālīq to Prince Sultān Selīm

(This chapter begins with some general remarks on humanity, and then launches out into a panegyric of Akbar and his son Sultān Selīm After more than a page of this stuff it proceeds to relate how Qutbu d dīn K was on 22 Shahrīyur (beginning of September 1579) appointed Atāliq, or tutor, of the prince, and received the robe of honour called a *daqu* (see supra II 121, 1 7, it is the *daq* of the dictionaries B 333 spells it *dagu*) "which holds a high rank in the holy family ' and the title Beglārbegi)

(Translation resumed) He (Quṭbu d-din in gratitude for this 275
great gift resolved upon holding a splendid banquet, and begged for H M.'s presence at it H M granted his wish, and the house of the faithful became the envy of the spheres by the arrival of the sacred feet On this occasion eternal bliss was conferred (on Quṭbu d dīn) by the noble prince's being placed on his shoulder[1] There was rejoicing and there was scattering of largesse

Verse

There was a heaven illuminating banquet-hall
Such as the stars seldom see in dreams
The spectators were fascinated by beholding it
Wisdom lost its tongue, and the tongue became ear

[1] cf Lowe 278 and Elliot V 413, where *for* young prince etc. *read* 'the king and the princes honoured him with their presence and *for* back *read* shoulder" Apparently Akbar himself put Selīm on Quṭbu d-dīn s shoulder Badayūnī 282 says Akbar tried to convert Qutbu d-dīn and failed. A. F does not mention two things which occurred about this time, viz a great fire at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, and the deaths of 80 women and children in consequence of overcrowding at a distribution of alms Ferishta and Khāfī K. mention the fire and T A., Elliot V 413, and Badayūnī Lowe 272 the deaths from overcrowding

CHAPTER XLIX

Expedition of H H to Ajmere

The glorious sovereign from exceeding quest of truth, and an enlightened mind, pays no regard to himself and continually fares forward From time to time he performs the part of a watchman and bestows a fresh market day on the world's market place, and irrigates the garden of faith He looks out everything from head to foot and makes progresses in order to keep up his acquaintance (with people and places) Out of good thinking and for the acquisition of bliss he circumambulates the shrines of saints—a thing which even lofty viewed collectors of truth little attend to He thereby lights up the countenance of truth worship and
376 furnishes means of rejoicing to the superficial and the worshippers of externals Varied delight too comes to the esoteric At this time, when the lights of knowledge of Divine things had obtained manifestation, and the beauteous forms (of truths) were enlightening modes of life, it flashed upon his august mind that these good old customs (of pilgrimages) were not religious exercises except under certain conditions, and that royal expeditions were not meritorious if undertaken without consideration of the public weal He made inquiries to find out if such conditions were absent and if he might, in contradiction to former years put off his visit to Ajmere When[1]

[1] This was the last visit Akbar paid to Ajmere In the following year he sent his son Daniel but gave up his own visit See text 316-17 Badayūnī writing in about 1594 says Lowe p 280 that Akbar had not been to the shrine for fourteen years He adds that on this occasion Akbar traversed the last ten miles on foot and that sensible people smiled and said it was passing strange that H M should exhibit such devotion to the Ajmere Khwaja when he denied the real root from every corner of which hundreds of thousands of thousands of saints as perfect as the Khwāja had sprung It will be observed that this year Akbar did not visit the shrine on the anniversary day as was his custom It looks therefore as if the visit was an after

it appeared that an expedition in that direction would be a means of calming the public and enhance the submission of the recalcitrant, he, on 26 Shahriyur, Divine month, 8 September 1579, placed the foot of fortune in the stirrup of world conquest and set off thither In accordance with excellent customs he enjoyed, stage by stage, the pleasure of hunting He conferred new lustre on the administrators of justice Crowds upon crowds of men obtained their desires and rejoiced For some, worldly affairs and outward businesses were arranged, while many had their spiritual desires, and their wishes appertaining to the inner world, gratified That cavalier of the field of enlightenment remained in communion with the Incomputable Deity and adorned the external world While involved in various employments he moved along with a free soul From the time that the question (dāstān) of Society and Solitude made its appearance in the world, and the thread of the observance of the vestiges of one's predecessors acquired consistency, there have been few instances of such full co existence of these two opposites in one worshipper of God The acute of every sect on beholding the marvels of this Unique One sank their head in the folds of astonishment in such a manner as cannot be described, and does not come within the domain of audition Every sect was convinced that the whole energies of the world's lord were expended on their special rules, and that his proficiency in them was the result of his long study of them By God's aid, just as wondrous works appeared in the matter of calming worldly agitators, and as the glory of them reached the near and the distant, so still more abundant were his marvellous transactions in the wide sphere of the spiritual kingdom The lamp of guidance for the seekers after auspiciousness shone brilliantly A fresh instance, and one which adorns the pen, is the tale of the obedience of the tiger

On 26 Mihi (about 6 October 1579) the glorious standards cast their rays on the tank[1] of Khwāş Khān The landowners (*būmīān*) of that neighbourhood rubbed the forehead of supplication, and related as follows "A traveller was passing through a dreadful

---

thought devised to quiet the people The visit was paid in Ābān and near Akbar's birthday arrived there on 19 Shābān which seems to correspond to 11 October 1579 (Nizāmu-d-dīn Lucknow lith ed., p 344)

[1] Five kos from Ajmere Akbar

forest in this vicinity, and a fasting[1] beast of prey rose up to destroy his life, but a remedy was found by the strong-souled, happy-hearted man He immediately drew a line round himself and called upon the name of the world's lord (Akbar) On hearing the honoured name the beast stood still, and the man escaped from his mortal danger "[2] The awakened men of the country placed anew the neck of auspiciousness in the noose of sincerity There was a clapping of the hands on the part of those who had found their goal,
277 and there was an increase of devotion When H M heard of this wondrous working of fortune he, from the greatness of his genius, and from his keeping behind the veil, set no store by it, but said, "If the tale be true I shall never hunt this animal again, nor seek to take his life " The wondrous miracles of this Unique of the Age are higher than that the swift cavaliers of the plain of enlightenment can reach that tract, and the lofty rank of that unity-chooser, multiplicity-adorner, is too far off for the highflyers of soaring spirit to be able to spread their pinions in the atmosphere of the recognition thereof

Verse[3]

We, when we contemplate him,
Are the astonied ones of Creation,
What know we of his perfect substance?
We are the know-nothings of Creation

---

[1] Text ناآشنا, "Unknowing or a stranger," but I O MS 236 has ناشتا "fasting,' and this seems to be the true reading

[2] The story of the tiger is told at somewhat greater length in the T A at the end of the 25th year, but is not translated in Elliot Nizāmu-d dīn says that there are many tigers between Ranthanbhūr and Ajmere and that the subject of the incident was coming to the latter place when he fell in with the tiger He adds that the teller of the story swore to Akbar that he had seen the man and heard the tale from him The T A adds that Khwaş Khān s tank is five *kos* from Ajmere that Akbar arrived there on 19 Shabān, and that on Friday the 24th id 16 October 1579, he walked the five *kos* to Ajmere The text of the Nawal Kishore edition is imperfect in the account of the tiger story

[3] The Lucknow edition has a different reading in first line and if *gah* is for *jāh* place, it is unusual to find it standing alone Perhaps گه *gah* means time here and the translation should be " When he came to contemplate him ' Possibly we should read *bā bimgah* ' at the fearful place

On 3 Ābān (about 14 October 1579), Divine month, he cast his august shadow on that city He performed his devotions and paid his visit to the shrine The ministers thereof and the other wishful expectants reaped various joys from his liberality.

One of the occurrences was the sending of S 'Abdu-n-nabi and Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṯānpuri to the Hijāz The treasure like disposition of the Shāhinshah desired that the empty-handed ones of the seven worlds, and the well meaning ones of every country, might carry away an abundant provision from the table of his bounty And he was ever sending for well intentioned, active and skilful and honest men who would disburse his gifts in foreign parts, and would make the distribution without being sharers in oppression, and without partiality for their friends He continually chose from among travellers every one who was distinguished for truth and righteousness, and put large sums into their charge, so that the largesse of the Shadow of God might be comprehensive, and that his gratitude for his lofty fortunes might brighten the face of dominion As the multitude of the needy ones in the peninsula of the Hijaz, and the numbers of anchorites in that region, had impressed his mind, he every year sent off loads (*kharwar*) of gold under the escort of able and good men His idea was that the ocean of his bounty should always be in motion But as he became aware that the pushing and avaricious men of those shrines stirred up the dust of turbulence and did not make a proper division, and that no share came to the modest poor, or they only got a smaller portion, while the wicked and noisy took away large quantities by oppression, he resolved that in future his great bounties should not be proclaimed, and that the poor of that country should, like those of every other country, receive their boons in secret Perhaps such canvassing of hearts, and such giving of joy to the melancholy, would be accepted (by God) At this time, when wisdom had obtained a high position, and there was a daily market for investigation, the veil over the deeds of S 'Abdu n nabī 278
and Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṯānpuri was withdrawn They in consequence of fictions and phenakisms, and the backing of simpletons who did not know the facts had taken their seats on the *masnad* of priority and were actively employed in ministering to their own desires, and in self gratification It was perceived that they had acquired nothing beyond the first elements of routine such as those

saying that if the Kokaltāsh would admit him to terms and S Ibrā him promise to favour him, he would come to court Otherwise he was prepared to sacrifice his life. The Shaikh, in agreement with the Koka, soothed the ignorant by sweet words and wished to bring him before H M As the palace ushers (cāūshān) do not admit armed men without orders, they in good faith put hands on his dagger and stopped him The passionate man thought there was a trick and drew out his dagger and fought The Koka bravely joined in the fray and was wounded Some servants seized Bhupat and sent him to the abode of non existence The Khedive, who possesses the Messiah's breath, went next day to the Kokaltāsh's quarters, and by his gracious words, etc , put balm on the wounds By his attentions the dangerous wound was healed, and thanksgivings were offered. On the 29th [1] he alighted at Fathpur

One of the occurrences was that Yusuf [2] K of Kashmir received protection at court His father 'Ali K Cak was ruler of Kashmir He was killed while playing polo (caugān) by a hurt from the pommel of his saddle, and the grandees chose him (Yūsuf) His paternal uncle Abdal aimed at the throne and meditated wickedness,
80 Yūsuf acted with promptitude and surrounded his house In the struggle and confusion he (Abdāl) was killed by a bullet Things

---

[1] Shawāl Elliot V 413, 11 December, 1579

[2] See J II, 380 where he is called Yūsuf Shah and is stated to have reigned on the first occasion one year and twenty days, and on the second five years and three months The facts mentioned in the text are detailed at greater length in Haidar Malik's history of Kashmir 'Alī K's death is described there and the contest between Yusuf and his father's younger brother Abdāl Yūsuf certainly acted with promptitude for he left his father unburied and went off to contend with Abdal Yūsuf Shāh, the son of 'Alī Cak, is of course a different man from Yūsūf K, the son of Husain Shah (or Cak) but who was Yusūf Shah's brother in law and cousin It was Yusuf Khan and not Yusuf Shah that Haidar Malik accompanied to India According to Haidar, though he was wounded by a bullet, he still kept his seat on horseback, but was eventually killed by Saiyid Mubārak Yūsuf was afterwards driven out by Saiyid Mubarak He returned, and Haidar says a slight engagement took place in the village of Bartal in pargana Deosar But as stated in text those who had invited him did not support him and he again fled This time he went to Akbar's court The text says he went by the route of Qirmiz (?) Haidar does not mention this name

had not quieted down when Saiyid Mubārak, Abu-l m'aāli his son, 'Ali K, Haidar Cak, 'Ali Malik and a number of others agreed that Yūsuf the son of Husain K, who was his (Yūsuf Shah's) cousin and had the title of Khān-Khānān, should be made king He out of foresight declined The strife-mongers raised up Saiyid Mubārak and kindled the flames of sedition. A fight took place in the plain of the 'Idgāh Yūsuf K prepared a force and proceeded to an engagement Muhammad K, who was in the vanguard, was killed after much fighting, and Yusuf K fled without coming on the field He came through the pass of Pīrpanjāl and took breath in the neighbourhood of Thāna The evil doers sent fraudulent letters and brought him back At Marāj Saiyid[1] Mubārak came forward to give battle The double faced triflers did not advance one step to carry their words (i e their letter) into effect He prudently went by the route of Qirmiz (B M S Add 27, 247, adds here "which is in Jammu"), and sought protection from Rajah Mān Singh and M Yusuf K They received him and brought him by the Panjab to Court On 21 Dai (January 1580) he performed the prostration The hand of the kindness of the world's lord raised him from the dust, and distinguished him by various favours

Also at this time Peshrau K arrived from the south He had been[2] sent to convey counsels to the Nizāmu l mulk of the Deccan He had performed his mission in a proper manner and had impressed many wise words on the Nizām Although the brain of the latter was oppressed by melancholy (*sauda*) and he refrained from society and spent his time in solitude, yet he came a little to his senses, and sent Āṣaf K, who was one of his confidants, along with the rarities of the country He was well received

One of the occurrences was the appointing an army to capture the European ports Inasmuch as conquest is the great rule of princes, and by the observance of this glory increasing practice, the distraction of plurality[3] places its foot in the peacefulness of unity, and the harassed world composes her countenance, the officers of the

---

[1] J II 368 where it is Marrāj See his note 1 Tatta the place where Yūsuf took refuge seems a mistake for Thāna

[2] He held the appointment of darogha of the farāshkhāna

[3] Meaning that one ruler is substituted for many

provinces of Gujarat and Mâlwa were appointed[1] to this service under the leadership of Qutbu d-din Khân on 18 Bahman, Divine month (February 1580) The rulers of the Deccan were also informed that the troops had been sent in that direction in order to remove the
81 Faringis who were a stumbling block in the way of the pilgrims to the Hijâz They were bidden to regard this news as an opportunity for showing their loyalty and directed to join the army with suitable equipments so that the protests of service which they were always making by their envoys might be fulfilled, and also in order that the peasantry of the southern districts might be preserved from the shock of the imperial forces

At this time the Sarkar of Ghâzipur was granted to Maçum K Farankhudi, while the delightful tract (khitta) of Jaunpur was taken from him and given to Tarson Muhammad K The latter was sent off to that quarter and Maulânâ Muhammad Yezdi[2] was sent along with him as Ṣadr of the province Orissa was assigned to M'asum K Kâbuli Subhan Quli Turk was dispatched to proceed rapidly in order to convoy him from Bihar to Orissa and to bring Qiya K Gang (or Kank) to Bihar

One of the occurrences was the return of Mir Âbu Turab from the Hijaz It has been stated that he had been appointed to the high office of leader of the pilgrims At this time news came that he had completed his journey and was bringing an impression of the Prophet's foot, may the Peace of God be upon him and on his family[3]! He represented that this impression was the fellow (ham

[1] We do not hear anything more of this expedition Evidently it failed of its object The last sentence of the paragraph seems to imply that Qutbu d din was not to advance into the Deccan if the rulers there did their duty In a letter to Abdullah K Akbar explains why he did not succeed in extirpating the Portuguese The Portuguese records Danvers II 42 describe an unsuccessful attack on Damân by Calichan (Qulij K Andijanî who was made governor of Gujarat in the 23rd year) and a single combat between him and Fernando da Miranda Mr Whiteway informs me that the date of the fight was Easterday 1582 = 15 April O S

[2] Apparently this is the man who though at first a bigoted Shiah (see Badayunî Lowe 214 and 267) afterwards advised that rebellion against Akbar was lawful see B 189 Akbar had him arrested and drowned

[3] This prayer so usual among Muḥammadan writers when mentioning the name of Muḥammad or

dast) of that which Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī[1] brought to Delhi in the reign of Sultan Firuz Although the Asylum of the Faith (Dinpanāh) knew that the thing was not genuine—and acute experts have shown its falsity—yet from profound observance of the veil he regarded the respect due to that nobleman[2] of lofty lineage, and gloriously exhibited his administration of justice An order was issued that the caravan should halt four *kos* from the capital. The court artificers prepared a delightful dwelling (for Akbar), and the Shāhinshāh came there with the great officers (*nuyian*) and the men of learning, and

---

other prophet does not occur in the Lucknow edition nor in the two I O MSS and has perhaps been inserted by the piety of the Bib Ind editors

[1] I am not sure if the meaning is that Akbar acted out of respect to Abu Turāb or that he paid respect to Muḥammad

[2] This is the Jalal who is known as Makhdūm Jahānīan Jahāngasht and whom A F calls in the Āīn Shaikh Jalāl He is buried at Uch Apparently it is his grandfather who is more properly styled Saiyid Jalāl Bokharī but however Ferishta calls him Makhdūm Jahanīan Saiyid Jalālu d dīn Ḥusain Bokharī He gives a long biography of him but does not mention the stone From Saiyid Aḥmad's Asar San did p 92 it appears that the stone is or was over the tomb of Fath K the son of Fīrūz Shāh and who according to Keene's Delhi died in 1374 Saiyid Jalāl died in 1383 See also Beale s v Shaikh Jalāl and B 507 and Lowe 320 Badayunī's verse appears to refer to Fatḥ K's tomb B 198 following Badāyūnī Lowe 320 puts the bringing of the stone into the 27th year 990 Badayunī apparently follows Nizāmu d-dīn though the latter puts the occurrence even one year later viz the 28th year 991 However A F is probably correct in assigning it the 24th year 987 for it seems that Abū Turāb and Iʿtimad returned in that year from Mecca There is an account of the stone in the Mirāt Aḥmadī lith ed p 146 which gives some additional particulars It says that Abu Turab reported from Surat the arrival of the stone that Akbar passed orders about its being met one stage from Fatḥpur, that he wrapped the stone in a special mantle and carried it on his own shoulder for one hundred paces It also speaks of the stone's having been originally in the Kaba and of Abū Turab's having wrapped it in a cover belonging to the Muqam i Ibrahīm (house of Abraham) The stone was deposited near the Khaṣ Mahal (palace) at Fatḥpūr and was there for a year Then when Abū Turāb returned to Gujarat he begged to be allowed to take it with him This was granted and Abū Turāb brought it to Asawal near Ahmadabad and it was there for six years Afterwards it was removed into the city of Aḥmadābād and the writer of the Mirat Aḥmadī says he visited it there

he laid that piece of stone on his sky-touching shoulder and carried it for some paces The stages were arranged, and the officers placed the stone on the head of reverence and conveyed it in turn to the capital In accordance with instructions they placed it in the Mīr's house All this honour was done out of abundant perceptiveness, respect and appreciation, and wide toleration, in order that the reverence due to that simple minded Saiyid might not be spilt on the ground, and that jovial critics might not break out into smiles Immediately the cup of the fancy of the short-thoughted was filled with dust, and the wicked and seditious sank into the pit of shame The vain thinkers and ill conditioned ones who had been agitated on account of the inquiries into the proofs of prophecy, and the passing of nights (in discussion), and the doubts—of which books of theology (kalāmi kutub) are full—were at once made infamous in the market of ashamedness, while those who had spoken idly and foolishly of the semblance of religion and piety in the spiritual and temporal pontiff, became ruined in realm and religion The agitation of that day casts no cloud on the inner mind of that banquet adorner
382 of world knowledge, nor has he any delight to day from the fact of that crew's having sunk their heads in the collar of shame! The plant of the power of such a whole hearted one increases from day to day, and from time to time fresh fortune brings the news of success Profundity of thought always prevails and the wonders of fortune increase watchfulness

Verse

Ever march along the road of nobleness,
Ever cheerfully imprint the page of Time,
Casting a frank glance on the horizons,
Regarding as a spectacle the ways of the world.

What cares the right-thinking God-fearing man for joy or sorrow? But the sincere disciples of a new devotion acquired strength, and provision for the road was furnished to the general public

One of the occurrences[1] was the division of the wide tract of

[1] A list of the twelve Subahs or provinces is given in J II 113 They were Agra, Aḥmadābād (Gujarat) Ajmere Allahabad, Oudh Bengal (including Orissa), Behar, Delhi, Kabul Lahore Malwa, and Multan

India into twelve portions It was unavoidable that the sovereign of lofty genius and protector of the weak should favour them by gifts and appointments (*bakhshish u bakhshaish*), and that he should reform the wicked and stiff necked by the glory of counsels and the flashings of the scimitar He distributed the territories according to suitable limits and laid out the garden of creation by appropriate methods And he made it over to liberal and righteous guardians He irrigated the world parterres from the founts of knowledge In this way did he make fitting division of the wide and fertile land of India, and in every province he appointed a viceroy (*sipah-sālar*), a Diwan a Bakhshi, a Mir 'Adal, a Sadr, a Kotwāl a Mir Bahr (admiral) and a Recorder (*Waq'anavis*)

One of the occurrences was the fixing of the revenue for ten years Inasmuch as Time produces, season after season, a new foundation for rates, and there are great increases and decreases, there was a regulation that every year some experienced and honest men should send in details of the rates from all parts of the country Every year a general ordinance (*dastur al 'amal*) was framed with respect to the payment of dues When the imperial domains became extensive, and the territories of many great rulers came under the shadow of the world-lord's justice, these reports arrived late and at different times The soldiers[1] and the peasantry suffered loss, and there were disturbances about arrears and about excess demands It was also rumoured that some recorders of rates had gone aside from the path of rectitude The officers at headquarters were harassed, and were unable to find a remedy The wise sovereign gave relief to multitudes by introducing the new system of payment of dues The gist[2] of the invention was that the condition of every pargana

When Aḥmadnagar, Berār and Khāndesh were conquered, the number was raised to fifteen In Shāh Jahān's time the number of provinces was twenty two The number given in Bābar's rent roll see Erskine's Bābar and Humayun I, App D, is thirty but they were smaller in extent than Akbar's

[1] Perhaps this refers to Timur's regulation that the pay of soldiers should vary according to the current price of grain See his Institutes, White and Davey, p 363 and note It does not appear from the Āīn that sepoys got battā or compensation for dearness of provisions

[2] The ten years Settlement is explained in J II 88 The years chosen were those from the 15th to the 24th i e apparently from the beginning of the 15th year to the

during ten years, according to degree of cultivation and the price of produce, was ascertained, and that one tenth thereof was fixed as the revenue of each year This has been explained at length in the concluding volume of this great work Though the carrying
832 out of this great design was committed to Rajah Todar Mal and Khwajah Shah Manṣur the Rajah was sent off to the eastern provinces, and it was the Khwajah who by dint of his sagacity comprehended the sublime instructions and arranged the exquisite plan

end of the 24th though A F here puts the settlement into the 24th Accurate figures were only obtainable for the last five years In J II 69 etc we have tables of prices for 19 years but they are for provinces only and seem to have been superseded by the ten years tables

CHAPTER L

REBELLION OF THE BIHAR OFFICERS, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF WORLD-CONQUERING ARMIES TO PUNISH THOSE INGRATES

How shall the extraordinary events of the protean world be described, and by what power shall its marvels be narrated? One of its evil qualities is that it exerts itself to cherish the evil and sedition mongering, and in furthering the prosperity of the vain thoughted, while it increases the grief of the right-thinking and auspicious, and uses a thousand stratagems for ruining the wise and honest! The far-sighted and sage do not extend the hand of courage to unveil the countenance of this strange picture and keep their lips closed They plant not their foot on the coverlet of enlightenment, and open not the tongue of "Why and Wherefore" As that mystery-knower and awakened of heart sings

Verse

I had many thoughts about the past and future,
There is no road for any one to understand His designs,
In this garden it is proper to garner up the tongue,
Silence and bewilderment are to have the first place

Though there are few events[1] which do not give a ray[2] of light to the minds of the acute seers of understanding, yet they are sunk in the contemplation of the Divine power, and owing to the non-

[1] Text *dārūī* (medicine) But it is not clear how medicine can cast a ray of light I therefore adopt *wāride* "events," which is the reading of the two I O MSS In Persian writing there is very little difference between داروی and وارده Perhaps, however, "medicine" is right and the meaning is it only needs a little application of drugs i e enlighten ment, to explain That *dārūī* is right seems probable from what follows where the metaphor from physic is continued

[2] I O MS 236 has apparently babakhshid, but the text nabakhshid agrees with I O MS 235, and seems preferable

procurement of just minded listeners they give themselves out to the world as ignorant They choose the sleep of repose instead of the turmoil of instructing those whose ears are stuffed with the quick silver of neglect Abul Faẓl, into whose heart the distress of the age has entered, and to whom a power of understanding has been given, why dost thou not remove the lid of the box, and why dost thou not open the casket of truth?

Verse

Thou hast a heart which weighs the niceties of knowledge,
Pour out the treasure from the ocean of wisdom,
The key of the door of science is in thy pocket,
'Tis thy fault if thou dost not open it for humanity

Evidently, the unloosing the knot of this riddle is difficult when the spectators of events are shortsighted and of small capacity Their eyes do not grasp the whole of the circumstances (lit the heights and hollows) They think the thorn in their foot to be the calamity of a world, and they regard an individual grievance as the evil of the universe Otherwise it is clear to the acute and truth-discerning that just as in the vegetable kingdom, poisons and antidotes (or panaceas) take growth and development, and among animals there is the production of the affectionate and the murderous so among men there is the appearance and the disappearance of the good and the bad And just as in medicines for the body both kinds (i e poisons and panaceas) are of use, so in spiritual remedies both classes of men are beneficial To the physicians of the age it is clear that the (eventual) success of the good and noble and happy starred, and the evil thoughts of the wicked, increase the glory of existence and give finality to the methods of retribution Also that the exaltation of those who disturb the world's repose is with the object of casting them headlong into the pit of destruction

Verse

The wine which the world holds forth
Contains one revel and a hundred headaches
If it raise thee from dejection
[illegible] de[illegible]ing the

There are many instances of the furnishing the garden of humanity with thorns,[1] and of the conferring increased refreshment on the young plants of auspiciousness The wise man of the world recognizes that the success of the good is the ornament of God's beautiful attributes (jamāl), and that the advance of the wicked is the ornament of His terrible attributes (jalāl) And he who is acquainted with the privy chamber of solitude is assured that the graciousness of God and the Divine Beauty display herein wonderful illustrations It is possible[2] that the fires of the terrible attributes may not utterly consume, and that they make futile somnolence impossible

I now leave this wondrous discourse about mysteries, and relate the circumstances of this instructive story Though the occupant of the throne of fortune in his noble graciousness, abundant justice, and adornment of universal peace was most liberal and forgiving and like beneficent clouds rained kindness upon the fields of humanity, yet all of a sudden many of the Bihar officers—who had been reared in this dominion which is conjoined with eternity—nay, the garden of whose ancestors had been watered and refreshed by the streams of the Shāhinshah s bounty—fell into the bitter land of rebellion, and took the path of pride and presumption

Time smiled[3] grimly and encouraged each one to bring forward short-enduring wishes !

The brief account of this long affair is that in the beginning of

---

[1] *Khārpirāī* It is somewhat difficult to understand this passage I O MS 235 strikes out the khar and leaves in only the *pirai*, probably because the copyist did not understand the meaning A F is trying to account for the affliction of the good and the prosperity of the bad and so he says that the presence of thorns in the lot of the good that is their adversities often benefits them as a hedge of thorns helps a garden

[2] I have only guessed at the meaning The Cawnpore ed has a note to the effect that the meaning is that the wicked cannot stand before the good, though they may be temporarily successful

[3] *Zahr khandī namūda* lit ' show ing a poisonous smile See translation vol I, 394 and note where the word is used with regard to M Askarī s bearing towards the child Akbar The Age (or the world) smiled grimly as knowing what the result would be Cf native proverb about God s giving the white-ants wings when He designs to destroy them

this year H M sent Rai Purakhotam, Maulanā Tayib, S. Mujdu-d-din,[1] and the eunuch Shamsher K , to Bihar in order that they might display their abilities in managing the province, and exert themselves in developing the country, in conciliating the soldiers, and in sympathising with the oppressed Those base and narrow minded men ignorantly fixed themselves at Patna and plunged into the wide expanse of cupidity In the matters of reviews and drills and of branding, they exhibited harshness and malignity, and in their blindness neglected tact and the acceptance of excuses—without which the administration of the world cannot be carried on—and lost sight of prudence One or two (of the soldiers and others) who were wont to repair to the pure temple of loyalty were saved from the narrowness of self love by the wide expanse of the world of loyalty, and some who were leaders in the market of affairs made former favours counterbalance present disappointments and so did not convert the field of their souls into a thorn-brake of haughtiness Other traders swallowed the saline water of toil and did not leave a stain on their garments But many whose evil natures were only veneered (lit gold coated) raised the head of disturbance They turned away from the king of realm and religion and elevated the neck of opposition There was no glory of loyalty in their secret
285 chamber, no distinction between loss and gain in their transactions, no right-thinking reason, no clearness of intellect, no noble courage which is the comrade of a wise heart M'asūm K Kābuli, who held Patna in fief, S aīd Beg Badakhshi,[2] and 'Arab, the *jagīrdars* of Sasserām S'aādat 'Alī, who held pargana Tamodain[3] (?), Hājī Kolābi and some others whose fiefs were in Dilwara,[4] S'aīd Badakhshi

[1] Text Najm, but the I O MSS and Elliot V 469, Badayūnī, Lowe 274, show that the name is Mujdu or Mujdī. Badayūnī says he came from Sirhind and that he had been the warrant writer of Islām Shāh He also says that Mulla Tayib came from Kaithal (in Sirhind)

[2] The text has Bakhshī but the variant Badakhshī is supported by the I O MSS

[3] I cannot find the place The I O MSS have Tamodī or Tamwadi Tamadī means Turanian or Turkish and perhaps the meaning here is 'parganas belonging to the Turanian leaders' There is the variant *namūdain* and this may mean "conspicuous, noted

[4] There is the variant Dīwāra There is a Dilwara in Rajputāna but this can hardly be meant here

and his son Bahādur, and Darvish 'Alī Shakhrū,[1] who sat at the table of bounty in Tirhut, and its neighbourhood, and other unmanly men (*mardam-i namardam*) were made rebellious by the harshnesses of the officers of the province, and they led away from the path, by plausible speeches and flatteries, many men of the second[2] class, such as Shāham K *jagīrdār* of Hajipūr, Mir M'uīzzu-l mulk, Mir 'Ali Akbar, and Samānji K, who held Arrah and its neighbourhood, and so made a disturbance On account of an evil nature, and under the guidance of a wayward and crooked understanding, they fell head long from the portico of fidelity because their skirt[3] did not come up to the test of honest merchants And so they fell unto an abyss of wickedness and ignorance and did not have fellowship[4] with a party who recognised nothing but a complete coparceny (*musharakatjinsi*) If a person fall from a wall on to the ground he falls flat What happens then if he fall from a hillock or a hill? Who can imagine the reduction to dust of the madman who falls from highest heaven upon the lowest stratum of earth? How then can we describe the ruin of those headlong dispositions which fall from the sky of fidelity to the dusty abode of disloyalty? O searcher after enlightenment, dogs and cats and the like, who are co partners in vileness display affection and mutual help, and for human beings they have such affection and companionship that a wise man can only attain to the same degree by great effort And the mutual affection of neighbouring nations, such as Persians, Turanians, Turks (*Rūmī*) and Indians is too well known to be described Hence an acute man can understand what should be the feelings of acquaintances, of dwellers in one place and of those who are bound by various favours! Who can observe such degrees except a prudent and far-seeing man!

---

[1] Text, Sanjar The variant Shakhrū is supported by I O MS 236

[2] The second class has not been previously specified It seems to mean those who were led away by others A little lower down two classes are mentioned, viz 1st, Those who took money and failed to provide soldiers and bribed the officials and 2nd those who did their duty, but were distressed by the exactions of the officials

[3] *Dāman* in text, but a MS of my own has *darja* 'quality,' which seems a better reading

[4] Instead of *nisbati namānd* the Lucknow seems to have *pūshti namānd* There remained no resting place

Now that I have said something of mines of fidelity, and of fountains of purity, hear (reader) the misconduct of the ingrates of that country, who were shaped like men.[1] When those avaricious and ignorant creatures (the collectors) came to the province they opened the door of desire and became hard upon the common soldiery. Those who from being slaves to gold gathered it instead of soldiers, laid out money in bribes and failed in providing[1] horses, while those who did spend money for military things, were driven to distraction by having to conciliate and satisfy the cravings of the greedy officials. Both groups of men got a pre-
186 text for discontent, and plunged into thoughts of sedition. Muhibb 'Ali K, who had an ample share of loyalty and understanding, regarded obedience as the bliss of realm and religion, and exerted himself to carry out the work. He transferred those men from Patna to Muhibb'alipur near Rohtas, and commenced the business of branding. He laboured to satisfy that bad lot of men. The other officers behaved with obstinacy and blindness. Whilst Muhibb 'Ali K. was strenuously carrying on the work of the *dagh* (branding) a large caravan[2] arrived from Bengal and the evil nature of the wicked crew now revealed itself. Mozaffar K. had dispatched to court the accumulations (i.e. his goods and his revenue collections) of Khan Jahân, including his choice elephants. He had also sent Naulakâ, the mother of Dâud with other ladies (*aghruq*), and the whole was under the charge of Fath Chand Mankli. Many soldiers and many traders, bringing with them large possessions, accompanied the caravan. The ungrateful opportunists were lying in wait to plunder it, and were engaged in making arrangements for standing by one another. On becoming aware of this, Muhibb 'Ali K. hastened to give them good advice. "Let not the veil of your honour be rent, and do not from ignorance and shortsightedness become dishonoured and disgraced in the retribution halls of justice." He joined the arrivals from the eastern provinces (the convoy) at Ariah, and it appeared that the rioters had not had the courage to

[1] The text has only *saman* but the two I.O. MSS. correct this by giving *ba saman*. What A. F. says is that the avaricious spent money on bribes and neglected to provide horses.

[2] This is the convoy which the T. A. Elliot v. 412 describes as arriving at Court in the 25th year. See also *infra*, pp. 296, 297.

act from not having been able to carry out the scheme of a general conspiracy As the general body of the travellers was perturbed by the activity of the sedition mongers, Muhibb 'Ali sent them to his own quarters (*yurt*) under the charge of Habsh K Meanwhile, the evil doers cast off the veil of shame and plundered the city of Patna Their wicked designs thus became manifest Muhibb 'Ali hastened off to Rohtās along with Taiyib and Majdu d din in order to look after the fortress Rai Purokhotam went off to Ghāzipur with the idea that he might bring M'aṣum K. Faran khudi to a battle,[1] and Shamsher K went off to Benares with the idea that he would collect Rajah Todar Mal's soldiers and give battle Meanwhile the contentious 'Arab (*'arab 'arbadajus*) went rapidly in pursuit of the caravan The journeyers to the true K'aaba had under God's protection crossed the Causa ferry and nothing fell into his hand except some belated elephants Habsh K did good service in that man testing field and was made prisoner That tumultuous-brained one ('Arab) sought to get at Muhibb 'Ali to join him by means of vulpine tricks on the part of Habsh K The latter replied, wisely and judiciously, that he could not manage to deceive him (Muhibb) by plausible speeches, and that under no circumstances would Muhibb 'Ali join him "But," he continued "every one knows that I dislike his company, and that I have long meditated separating from him If you will make faithful promises to me and accept my wishes I shall go to Rohtās and win over all the garrison The cup of the life of that governor (Muhibb) will easily run over (i e he will be easily killed) a fortress which is like the heavens will come into your possession, and you will have a shelter in case of misfortunes " That friend under the guise of an enemy by his plausible words and stratagems extricated himself from his dangerous position He reported his scheme to his master (Muhibb) and made the jewel of his fidelity be appre- 287
ciated by the experts of the world's markets At this time the unavoidable catastrophe of Rai Purokhotam took place, and disturbed weak souls who did not understand matters When he hastened to Ghāzipur M'aṣum K Farankhudi came forward with craft and deceit,

---

[1] From what subsequently occurred it looks as if he wanted to conciliate Māsum but *karzar* means a battle and Nizamu d din says Purokotam s object was to fight M aṣūm

and got rid of him by his promising him that he would join him near the Causā ferry. The simple-minded man was deceived and went off in that direction, and engaged at Baksar in collecting soldiers of that part Kamālu d-din Husain Sistānī, Saiyid Ḥasan, Dūdrāj and some other fief-holders in that neighbourhood joined him One day he was engaged at the bank of the Ganges in his ablutions and Divine worship when suddenly 'Arab came there with a number of wicked men Seizing his opportunity he pushed forward The cowardly men who had joined Purokhotam withdrew on the pretence that they were going to prepare themselves, while he stood his ground and fought bravely. By heaven's decree he was wounded and cast upon the earth His companions put him into a boat and conveyed him to Ghāzīpur There, after two days, he yielded up with honour this transitory existence, and his days ended auspiciously and loyally When Muhibb 'Ali K heard of this he marched against 'Arab and fought a battle with him Habsh K drank the wholesome sherbet of life sacrifice, and 'Arab was stained with the dust of failure and went off to the wilderness of defeat

In the middle of the month of Isfandārmuz, Divine month, these events were reported to H M, and on the 23rd an order was issued to Rajah Todar Mal, S Farid Bakhshī, Mihr 'Ali K Silduz, Rajah Askaran, Rai Lonkaran, Naqib K Qamar-K, Shāh Khwāja Abu-l Qāsim, Abu-l m'aāli, Bāqir Safarci[1] and others that they should hasten to that country and inflict chastisement on the evildoers An order was also issued to Tarson K, M'ṣūm K Farankhūdi, Ghāzi K Badakhshī, Rai Surjan, and other *jāgīrdars* of the provinces of Allahabad[2] and Oudh that when the victorious troops came there they should join them with their proper equipment and should act with concord and harmony, and not deviate from the instructions of Tarson K and the Rajah An order was also given that Sādiq K. Bāqi K Ulugh K Habshi, Taiyib K and Mir Abul Muzaffar should proceed rapidly from the neighbourhood of Chanderi and Narwar to the same spot Although the world's lord kept an eye upon the guardianship of the material world, and made the time of retribution glorious, yet by virtue of his generalship, *isbahabadi*, over the

[1] Probably this should be Baqī See B 534

[2] The variant Ilahabās is supported by the I O MSS 236

spiritual world, he maintained a tranquil countenance with regard to the loss and gain of the day, and from time to time gathered the flower of joy from the garden of resignation and calm. Also during this time Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdādī, who was one of the singular [1] of the age for moderation and skill, was appointed to the high office of Bakhshī.

One of the occurrences was the appointing of an army to march to Badakhshān, and the recalling of it. It has been recorded that M. Sulaimān had from slenderness of reason, and the sway of imagination, taken leave to the Ḥijāz. Those who could read the fore- 288
head of his disposition and who could recognize the truth had perceived that he was taking the road of pretence, and that his design was to get into the hill country, and gain his ends by force or craft, and glut his vengeance on Shāhrukh. And so it turned out. He went rapidly from the place of pilgrimage to 'Irāq 'Ajam (Persia) in order that he might gain his ends by the help of the king of Persia. Shāh Ism'aīl, the son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who was governing the country in a violent manner, had regard to the nobility of his family and received him with honour. He gave him some soldiers to assist him and sent him away. In Herat the news came that the Shāh was dead. He (Sulaimān) read the inscription of despair on the forehead of fortune and went to Qandahar, and formed a relationship with Moẓaffar [2] Ḥusain M. As his affairs did not prosper there either, he went on to Kabul. M. Ḥakīm received him warmly. That ingrate's idea was that under the guidance of this old and experienced man he might go to Bangash [3] and cause a disturbance in India. The Mirzā (Sulaimān) who had seen the might of the Shāhinshāh in India restrained him from such evil notions. On 10 Ābān, Divine month, 987 (20 October, 1579) in the midst of rain and snow they set out (for Badakhshān). When news came to H.M.'s court of this event, he resolved to assist Shāhrukh M. as he had allied himself to eternal dominion. S'aīd K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās,

---

[1] Badayūnī gives a different character of him. See Lowe 296, and also 282.

[2] B. 313. He was grandson, not son, of Bahram M. See Maaṣir III, 296. Sulaimān gave him his daughter in marriage.

[3] J. II. 407. This cannot refer, except by an anachronism, to Shāhrukh's marriage with Akbar's daughter Shukrunisā, for that did not take place till 1002 (1594). S. A. N. III. 644.

Mān Singh, M Yusuf K and other officers of the Panjab and Multan provinces were ordered to proceed to that country They were preparing to march when a report came that the ruler of Kabul had stopped and gone back They represented this and stayed their departure The brief account of this is that the Mirzās had a battle in the neighbourhood of Tāliqān Though Shāhrukh M stood his ground bravely, yet owing to the chatter of double faced ones, the want of concord, and his inexperience, he was not successful Idle talkers suggested that Mir 'Imād, who was the head of his officers, was on good terms with M Sulaimān and wished to seize M Shah rukh in the heat of the engagement and make him over They stained the skirt of the loyal with suspicions A party of the Badakhshis also joined their old ruler and so increased his (Shah rukh's) suspicions Before a decisive battle had taken place (?) Shāhrukh turned his rein and hastened to Qunduz The army of Zabulistān (Kabul) which was apprehensive and in the thorn brake of hopes and fears was delighted at this desertion and pursued him for some steps The Mirzā strengthened the fort of Qundūz and then went on to Kulāb He took Muhammad Quli Shighāli from the straits of
9 a prison and made him his minister (*vakīl*) The Mirzās halted twenty days in the neighbourhood of Tāliqan When they ascertained the condition of Shāhrukh M, they came to Rustaq by way of Qila' Zafar Muhammad Quli craftily proposed an agreement He joined with Farīdun [1] and made a compact and from foresight and vigilance M Shāhrukh did not come to pay his respects to Sulaimān By the wise arrangement of right thinking and pacific persons the country from Taliqan to the Hindu Koh, which had been the fief of M Ibrahim, was assigned to M Sulaimān [2] He (Sulaimān) agreed

[1] Maternal uncle of M Hakīm

[2] It seems to be Sulaimān in all the MSS but I am inclined to think that either A F or his copyists have made a slip here and that we should read Shāhrukh for Sulaimān It was natural that Shāhrukh should get his father's fief and it seems strange that Sulaimān who presumably claimed the kingdom and was Shahrukh's grandfather should be content with Ibrahīm's fief Moreover why should Sulaimān go off to Kūlāb which is in northern Badakhshan and not in Ibrahim's fief which extended south from Talikān to the Hindu Koh? That it was Sulaiman who went to Kūlāb and not Shahrukh appears from the grammatical construction and from the mention at

to these terms and went off to Kūlāb. M. Ḥakīm waited for some time at Khwāja Cārṭāq[1] near Qundūz in order to complete the arrangements. When talk assumed the aspect of action he returned to Kabul.

---

p. 441, second last line, of Sulaimān's going to Kūlāb. Moreover, we find Sulaimān asking, at p. 442, that Tālikān and its neighbourhood should be added to his share, whereas the passage now under consideration, p. 289, seems to include them in the share already allotted to him.

[1] This is probably the Chahardāk of the maps, a little west of Qundūz.

CHAPTER LI

THE WONDERFUL GOOD FORTUNE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH AT THE TIME OF THE REBELLION OF THE BENGAL OFFICERS, AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

Certainly, Fortune rises up to assist every one whose dominion is helped by Divine aid, and whose prestige is furthered by the stewards of Fate. She addresses herself to the doing of two things. 1st—To remove the veil from off those base and evil ones who, with vulpine craft, pose as the good; 2nd—To cleanse the garden of empire from weeds and rubbish and to exalt the virtuous and truthful who, by the unpropitiousness of the times and the vogue of the wicked, are obscured by the dust of irrecognition, and to make them joyous and successful. She develops the rosarium of dominion by watering it with the streams of appreciation. In general, Fortune works by making men prosperous and by heaping on them the materials of pleasure and by granting them disastrous advancement, and (then) plunging them into the torments of evil. Thus she completes what she has begun. He in whom a right understanding is united with propriety of conduct is not misled by her malice (*talkhkām*), or removed from the pleasant abode of calm to the troublous home of discontent, nor is his wakefulness injured by abundant wealth and glory. Rather in these two seasons of trial he places the diploma of obedience and service on his head, and rejoices, and puts to silence by truthful speeches the spirit of foolish prattle. Whoever is radically wicked and of slumbrous fortune eats no fruit of the grove of knowledge. Or if he does become a partaker thereof, no breeze comes to him from the rose garden of deeds. In the time of prosperity he exposes the lamp of wisdom to the draughts of the wind, and becomes infatuated, and in the day of adversity he turns aside from the highway of bliss, and takes the path of immoderation. The story of the Bengal officers illustrates this. The instructive tale is the inscription on the portico of enlightenment.

From success, the development of fiefs and increase of wealth,

the night-gleaming jewel of vision became gradually darkened 290
From ignorance and crookedness they thought what was their loss was their gain, and gathered gold, while they neglected the army Evil thoughts found their way to their hearts, and they opened their eyes to lie in wait for a disturbance At the time when Mozaffar K established himself he did not recognize the measure of greatness, and did not exert himself to manage the country and the army He gave up finance—which was his strong point—and always had the forehead of his heart full of wrinkles Why then need I say that the brow of his head was full of knots? Nay he also blackened the tablet of his tongue with calumnies and rudenesses! When he was exalted to the government of Bengal, H M had, out of abundant graciousness, appointed a Diwan, a Bakhshi, and an Amin to assist him He from short sightedness regarded them as partners and was displeased, and withdrew his head from business, and assumed grand airs He left affairs to them and withheld himself from conciliating the soldiers and the peasantry In private or in public he did not return thanks for favours received, but made complaints That ruined intellect did not know that in administrative work the more one is helped and helps, the better is the work accomplished Apparently, inward cupidity carried him to the house of trouble, and from darkness of heart he did not perceive what was proper for the time I admit that there was loss in his profits, and that the rank of his glory was diminished How was such a mode of life suitable in such a hotbed of strife, and how could he arrive at his goal if he put on the garb of practical life and yet did not take the path of forbearance [1]

The country of Bengal is a land where, owing to the climate's favouring the base, the dust of dissension is always rising From the wickedness of men families have decayed, and dominions been ruined. Hence in old writings it was called a Bulghākkhāna [2] (house of turbulence) The Commander of the forces (Mozaffar) was haughty and did not conciliate friends and strangers The other

[1] The meaning seems to be I admit that Mozaffar lost profit and position by having co partners [illegible] to him but when he had [illegible] upon practical life literally 'when he had assumed the scarf of association how could he expect to succeed if he did not take the path of [illegible] on and compromise'

[2] See [illegible] 331

officials were greedy, and passing from gathering presents they had recourse to violence Would that in their cupidity—on their heads be dust cast—they had not entirely departed from the path of shame and that they had been so far moderate as not to break the thread of practical wisdom! Whoever destroys the house of the weak and makes it the material for adorning his own abode soon loses respect and destroys the foundation of his life! Tactless officials began the disturbances by making inquiries into the accumulations of Khān Jahan Ism'āil Quli K a d the other Turkamans rose up in arms But as he[1] had a share of skill and loyalty they endured disagreeables and chose the remedy of satisfying the hungry craving of those avaricious men A wolf's peace (i e an insincere peace) was made, and they proceeded to court. Afterwards the officials vigorously set themselves, after the manner of the Bihar officers, to demand gold from all the Turkamāns in the country and to use severity towards them Accordingly the head of the malcontents, Bābā Khān, frequently expressed his griefs by saying "Up to now I've spent Rs 70,000 in
91 presents, and not one hundred horsemen have had the branding effected, and the condition of the other fief holders of this province is still worse " When the heartless officials opened the halls of demand, and from blackness of soul set themselves to procure their own enrichment and the loss of other people the turbulent and mercenary, who felt themselves aggrieved, turned away their necks from obedience On 8 Bahman, about 19 January 1580, they crossed the Ganges[2] near Tanda the capital, and separated themselves On the 17th, which was the 'Īd Qorban (10 Zi l hajja—28 January 1580), they brought out their inward wickedness and stirred up the dust of strife I admit[3] that the constitution of the world is grievous to the soul, and that the noble mind is trained by it, but why did they play away the coin of fortitude? Why were the obligation for favours

[1] Lit They chose to breakfast the greedy stomachs of that crew When they had gone the officers proceeded to pillage the Turkamans in general

[2] This was apparently the old bed of the Ganges which flowed between Tanda and Gaur It known as the Bha i

[3] This is an obscure sentence but apparently the meaning is that the rebels had grievances, but why did they not practice patience and remember former benefits? Perhaps for *farmān rawāī alam* the rule of the universe we should read *farmān rawāī amil* the rule of collectors

received forgotten, and fidelity left out of sight? Why should a sore injury conduct the sincere to annihilation? From what wine did prudence, which teaches self-interest, choose infatuation? The heavens had for some revolutions stretched, for various designs, a veil over these wicked men and had kept some well intentioned and loyal men under the dust of irrecognition When the time came that by the glorious dispositions of the world's lord, the darknesses of the temporal and spiritual world should be illuminated, the managers of the halls of creation withdrew the veil from the inwardly darkened ones, and made the lord of their earthly elements, that is, right thinking reason which loves honour, a despised ruin while making it a source of favour to many who were unknown, but were honest. The ringleaders of the Bengal rebellion were Bāba K. Jabbari and Wazir Jamil, but S'aid Toqbai, M Haji Lang, 'Arab[1] Bakhshi, Sālih, Miraki K Martaza Quli Turkaman and Farrakh Irghaliq[2] nourished the flame Qiyā K in Orissa, Murād K in Fathābad, and Shah Bardi in Sonargaon, spoke about concord, but had not the grace of doing good service They did not vigorously bring the jewel of effort to the market

The first cause of the defection was crookedness of reasoning This led to extending the foot immoderately and to thinking that what was loss was gain The second was innate wickedness which increased the darkness of the heart, and took no light from the lamp of beauty The third was increase of wealth which lowers the tone of the wise and good, so what cannot it effect with the foolish and bad? Fourth the misbehaviour of Razavi[3] K in Jaunpur He had stayed there to make up the accounts of the exchequer lands (*Khalṣat*) which were for some time in his charge Before he rejoined (headquarters) the affair of the branding had been started When the title of Bakhshi was conferred on this wicked man, his beggar like disposition was stirred up Instead of revising the former 392
settlement, he made a new one Things became more difficult for the mercenary, and they fell into bewilderment Fifth, the retirement and sitting in obscurity of right thinking men who could have by

[1] The variant Balkhī is supported by the I O MSS

[2] There is the variant pūr i ghalīq i e son of Ghalīq The name is spelt Farrakh Yrghalīq at p 20 Here it is written Yārghalīgh

[3] B 439 He was also called Mīrzā Mīrak

ability and good ideas suppressed the disturbance No such person appeared in that market of discussion Nor did the slumbrous and avaricious search for such a jewel The active-brained seekers after knowledge cannot do without such leaders Man's nature does not always receive wisdom An independent counsellor is required who, without consideration of his own interest, will represent in private chambers what is proper for the time without any mixture of flattery How will other men be desirous of undertaking this task? Happy-constitutioned, fortunate men are indispensable, who by virtue of right thinking and magnanimity will not swerve from their principles, and who shall withdraw the foot of search from the college and the monastery, and exert themselves in the occasions of society, and meetings of daily life They will also enquire among the matted-haired, bare-footed ones of the fields and of the street Mayhap they may meet with a stranger who is a friend and there may be thus good results They will also choose one or two of their servants and acquaintances in order that the matter may be completed, and that they may remind them of the things proper to be done, and make suggestions in proportion to their knowledge Their correct suggestions should be well rewarded At critical times remedies should be chosen earnestly and with an open brow Skilful alchemists by such means bring out brilliant jewels from the unregarded dust, and in the year of scarcity of truth heap up joy, and are sheltered from the evils and injuries of the Age

The sixth cause was the dishonouring of K͟hāldīn K Jalesar[1] was assigned to Mir Jamalu d din Husain Ānjū and taken from his fief As K͟hāldin had collected a sum of money from it, Mozaffar K broke the thread of moderation—on which the management of the social state depends— and tortured him by having him hung up by one arm All lovers of money were terrified They formed long plans

[1] Jaleswar or Jellasore A Sarkār which comprised Midnapur I G XIV, p 27, Elliot V 414 It was the rent for the autumnal crop, i e the *K͟harīf* that Khāldīn took The T A says he was scourged and bastinadoed The Iqbalnamā says that M Najāt the son in law of Mozaffar, insulted and ill treated K͟hāldīn Stewart in his history of Bengal remarks with justice that the historians of Akbar's reign have endeavoured to throw the blame of the rebellion upon the governor, who, in fact appears merely to have obeyed the orders of his court

for cultivating their fiefs and suppressing[1] their soldiers. Also at the time of Khān Jahān's death Ism'aīl Qulī K.'s fief had been increased without H.M.'s order, for the purpose of conciliating the base and wicked Mozaffar K demanded restitution in both cases From somnolency of intellect he did not take note of the circumstances of the time The seventh cause was the capital punishment of Roshan[2] Beg He was one of the collectors of the exchequer-lands. He embezzled and fled to Kabul At the instigation of strifemongers he came from there to Bengal, and engaged in increasing the disturbance and in giving evil counsel When this came to the august hearing, an order was issued that he should be put to death. Moẓaffar K did not understand the times and thought that by putting him to death at the beginning of the rebellion he would induce men to be submissive But it only enhanced their turbulence From love of money and the instinct of self-preservation they set about taking vengeance The eighth cause was the injudicious increase of the revenue by the Dīwān Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr. When 293
Bihar and Bengal had been conquered by the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, the discipliner of mortals (Akbar) from knowledge and foresight, because that country is by its climate inimical to horses, and some parts of it also are injurious to men, had ordered for the encouragement of the army that the pay of the soldiers should be increased by 100 per cent in Bengal, and 50 per cent in Bihar. The Khwāja did not understand the situation and took upon himself the responsibility (*jawab girifta*) of issuing an order to the effect that in Bengal the increase should be 50 per cent and in Bihar 20 per cent. Moẓaffar K. was bound by the order and made out the accounts from the beginning[3] of the year, and so instituted heavy demands

[1] Text *gam namūdan*, but perhaps *kam namūdan* "to reduce the number as in the Lucknow ed, and also perhaps in the I O MSS, is correct.

[2] T A says the order was that Roshan Beg should be put to death, and his head sent to court Moẓaffar had him publicly executed "at the head of divan," says Badayūnī, and it was apparently in mourning for Roshan that the soldiers shaved their heads Moẓaffar admittedly only obeyed orders here, but perhaps A. F means that he should have had Roshan secretly assassinated after the manner that M'aṣūm Farankhudī was got rid of

[3] Manṣūr reduced the pay, and apparently Moẓaffar made the reduction take effect from the beginning of the year and so demanded

The avaricious and seditious got a pretext for wickedness But if they had had a little sense of justice, they would have done nothing except petition the Shahinshāh What cause was there for ingratitude and rebellion? The ninth cause was the establishment of the principle of universal toleration (*Salh i kul*) It has been mentioned that the throne-occupant of fortune from his abundant quest of truth, brought together the sages of different religions and tested them By the irrigation of insight that comprehensive genius and profound observer watered the four square garden of concord Base-minded people cast suspicions on the unique one of creation and fabricated materials for disturbance They, out of cupidity and avarice, framed a pretext and ruined themselves for ever

When the veil of reverence had been torn and they had become turbulent, Mozaffar K sent against them Mir Jamālu d din Husain, Raẓavi K, Timur K, Rai Patr Dās, Mir Adham, Husain Beg 'Itrāt[1] Ali Hakim Abu-l fath, Khwāja Shamsu d din, Jāfar Beg, Muhammad Quli Turkamān, Qāsim 'Ali Sistāni, 'Iwaz Bahādur, Zalf 'Ali Yezdi Yaka āwez (attacking singly), Saiyid Abu Isāhaq Ṣafavi, Moẓaffar Beg, Husain Beg Gurd and others *to the bank of the* Ganges with the design of giving battle. Nijāt[2] K, in spite of his relationship, failed, from cowardice, to join them Wazir Jamil did join *them, but played a double faced part* The rebels were now in a measure aware of the injury they had done themselves and proposed a reconciliation The imperial servants did not trust them and paid no attention to the proposal The rebels were in expectation that some well intentioned servant would represent to H M their embarrassments and convey a gracious order Inasmuch as in the court of the Caliphate an intermediary (wasila) is not required before the forgiveness of offences, but pretexts for the

repayment of the excess The Maaṣir I 655 understands the passage to mean that Manṣūr ordered that the reduction should take effect *from the beginning of the year,* and that Moẓaffar had no resource but to obey But surely no one would try to get back from sepoys what had already been paid to them

[1] Ghatraghalī in text But the proper reading is of the family of 'Alī Lane p 1946 col b

[2] H was Moẓaffar K s son in law (Iqbālnāma) *See also* B *439* Nijāt and Husain K were brothers The latter was killed in this year

acceptance of apologies are sought[1] for, an order[2] was issued, censuring Mozaffar K and making joyful those who had gone astray by the news of forgiveness In the heat of the contest Qāsim Naula[3] arrived by post horses The imperial servants had their eyes opened, and they set themselves to use soothing language and to accept apologies, while those who had gone astray got fresh life from the royal order and held a feast As they had deviated from the right path they expressed the wish that Mozaffar K would, through the intervention of some officers of the army, confirm the promise of giving their case favourable consideration so that they might be freed from apprehensions and might return to service In the first place Mir[4] Abu Isāhaq was sent to see what their intentions were As he saw signs of repentance in their demeanour, next day Razavi K, Rai Patar Dās, Saiyid Abu Isāhaq, Mir Ahmad Munshi were 294
ent to comfort the ashamed wanderers Their leaders prepared in a submissive manner the privy chamber of supplication and spoke about fixing the foundations of concord Inasmuch as the Divine decree was against their wishes, and the time was evil, the friendly meeting became contaminated, and the dust of dissension sprang up. It occurred to Narain Das Ghelot[5] and some Rajputs belonging to Rai Patar Dās that there could not be a better opportunity for getting the upper hand, and that the proper thing to do was to put the handful of ingrates to death One of them whispered[6] this to the

[1] The text has a negative *nami jūīnd* "did not seek," but the I O MSS make it an affirmative The clause refers to Akbar and not to the rebels and the meaning is that he was so gracious that he needed no intercessor before pardoning but ultroneously sought out excuses for forgiveness

[2] According to the Iqbālnama two orders were sent, one to Mozaffar censuring him and telling him that the Qāqshals were old servants, and should be confirmed in their *jāgīrs* and the other to Bābā K and the other Qāqshāls, containing gracious expressions It seems singular that Akbar should have written direct to the rebels He cannot have known how far they had gone

[3] Variant Nauja Naula means a young man

[4] The Iqbālnāma calls him the son of Mir Rafī See B 523 and *supra* p 245

[5] Text Khilote The Ghelots are a Rajput tribe living in Gujarat See J II 247 and 268.

[6] The Iqbālnāma says nothing about this plot It throws the blame of the failure of the conference on the Qāqshāls and so do the T A and Badāyūnī

Rai, and he from simplicity and inexperience of mankind communicated this to Raẓavī K That wicked coward conveyed by hints and signs the proposals of the devoted followers to the perturbed brains (of the Qaqshâls) In a short space of time every one of them made an excuse for leaving the meeting of peace, and commenced a disturbance Raẓavī[1] K and Saiyid Abu Isâhaq were admitted to quarter, and that ignorant renderer of the veil (Raẓavi K) was imprisoned. Upright men who loved honour fought bravely and drank the last draught On every side there was a fire of sedition, and the dust of strife rose high The alert and wakeful of heart will draw from this story the moral that the breaking of promises, cowardice, disobedience, and the failure to recognize the proper place for telling secrets build a house of evil and heap up the materials of ruin Apparently the time had come for tearing away the veil over the double-faced, and for cleansing the earth of the dust of the lives of the wicked! When the news came to court, those who had the right of audience represented, and the opinion of the loyal and well-wishing was, that the royal standards should proceed thither That far-seeing diviner of mysteries said to some of the court ers, "It flashes upon our soul that the dust of rebellion will in a short time, be laid by the good services of our loyal officers, and that every one of the rebels will meet with his deserts and that these futile people will not be honoured by the movement[2] of our retinue It is clear that the audacity of the rebels is being backed up by the ruler[3] of Kabul It is not unlikely that flatterers may bring that light headed, evil-thinking one into India If the royal standards be transferred to the eastern provinces what will be the condition of the generality of my subjects? It is right that we remain at the centre of the Caliphate and address ourselves to supplicating the incomparable Creator We shall make justice and equity our secret army and contemplate the spectacle of fortune Our sagacity will be impressed
95 on mortals, and our sentinelship will be conspicuous" In a short

[1] It appears from the I O MSS that the conjunction has been omitted in text But I am now inclined to think the text is correct

[2] Meaning that it would not be necessary for Akbar to take the field in person

[3] The rebels afterwards proclaimed M Ḥakīm emperor See *infra*, 305

Rai, and he from simplicity and inexperience of mankind communi cated this to Raẓavī K That wicked coward conveyed by hints an signs the proposals of the devoted followers to the perturbed brain (of the Qaqshāls) In a short space of time every one of then made an excuse for leaving the meeting of peace, and commenced disturbance Raẓavī[1] K and Saiyid Abū Isḥaq were admitted t quarter, and that ignorant renderer of the veil (Razavi K) was impri soned. Upright men who loved honour fought bravely and drank the last draught On every side there was a fire of sedition, and th dust of strife rose high The alert and wakeful of heart will draw from this story the moral that the breaking of promises, cowardice disobedience, and the failure to recognize the proper place for telling secrets build a house of evil and heap up the materials of ruin Apparently the time had come for tearing away the veil over the double-faced, and for cleansing the earth of the dust of the lives of the wicked! When the news came to court, those who had the right of audience represented, and the opinion of the loyal and well wishing was, that the royal standards should proceed thither That far-seeing diviner of mysteries said to some of the courtiers, "It flashes upon our soul that the dust of rebellion will in a short time, be laid by the good services of our loyal officers and that every one of the rebels will meet with his deserts and that these futile people will not be honoured by the movement[2] of our retinue It is clear that the audacity of the rebels is being backed up by the ruler[3] of Kabul It is not unlikely that flatterers may bring that light headed, evil-thinking one into India If the royal standards be transferred to the eastern provinces what will be the condition of the generality of my subjects? It is right that we remain at the centre of the Caliphate and address ourselves to supplicating the incomparable Creator We shall make justice and equity our secret army and contemplate the spectacle of fortune Our sagacity will be impressed
295 on mortals, and our sentinelship will be conspicuous" In a short

[1] It appears from the I O MSS that the conjunction has been omitted in text But I am now inclined to think the text is correct

[2] Meaning that it would not be necessary for Akbar to take the field in person

[3] The rebels afterwards proclaimed M Ḥakīm emperor See *infra*, 305

CHAPTER LII.

Beginning of the twenty-fifth year, to wit, the year Farwardīn of the third cycle

Praise be to God that the second cycle has been gloriously completed, and that the third cycle has begun It is an occasion when I should raise a hymn of supplication to the World-Adorner and Giver of life, and should indulge in praise to the extent of my abilities But what strength or courage has a clown from the country of contingent existence to strut like a peacock in this ever-verdant house garden, or to advance the foot of recognition whilst receiving the kicks[1] of confusion in front, and the buffetings of ignorance from behind

Verse

In that place where there is meditation concerning God
Our supplications have no substance,
O heart, refrain from words as far as possible
Thy foot is on an eminence, be careful, be careful

On the night of Friday (i e Thursday), 24 Muharram 988, 11 March 1581, after 37 minutes had passed, the sun cast his rays upon Aries There was a New Year's day for joy and delight The rosebush of equity blossomed with the flower of fortune Heaven became gracious to earth, and earth put on the grandeur of heaven

Verse

There was a new ornament to the Spring of Reason,
Understanding was assured of existence,
The world had a period of growth,
The earth gave substance to the sky,
The mode of youth was renewed for the world,
Happiness returned to many lives

[1] Cf the last line of the verse at p 6 of translation, vol 1

abode of graciousness of the effect that *Bāj* [1] and *Tamghā*—which yielded more than the revenues of climes—were remitted, and that the arm of demand should be shortened and should not reach the hem of traders

Hail to the strong heart and capacious genius which rayed for the generosities beyond the comprehensions of this Age, and made worlds upon worlds of men eternally grateful. Where are Ḥātim [2] Tāī and M'aan, the son of Zāīda, and other illustrious scatterers of gold, that they may learn something of the degrees of generosity and rub the foreheads of bliss on the prostration-court of ashamedness?

Verse

For wondrous products it was Spring coming with Autumn,
For donations of treasure it was Autumn dressing Spring

Assuredly the parterre-adorners of Fate give development from time to time to the nurslings of the dominion of a bright starred

---

[1] *Bāj u Tamghā* were taxes on merchandise, but it would appear from Badayūnī, Lowe, 284, that the Jizyah was also included According to A F the Jizyah was abolished in the beginning of the 9th year See Elliot VI 29 and A N. II 253 The decree abolishing the *Bāj-u Tamghā*, then called Zakāt, is given in the first book of A F's letters and also in the Mirāt Aḥmadī In both copies the date given is the seventh year of the 2nd Qarn The author of the Mirat Aḥmadī makes this the year 999 A H, i e 1591, and the commentator on the Letters, Nawal Kishore ed, gives a similar date, viz the 37th year from the Accession But Niẓāmu d dīn, Elliot V 413, puts the remission into the 26th year, and A F and apparently Badayūnī put it into the 25th. I think, therefore, that the Mirat Aḥmadī is mistaken, and that the Qarn meant is not the Qarn from the Accession, though the decree seems to say so, but the Qarn from Akbar's birth We know that Akbar ordered the second Qarn or period of 30 years to be calculated from his birth (see A N vol III 3) The 1st Qarn according to this calculation ended in the 17th year of the reign, and so the 7th year of the 2nd Qarn would correspond to the 24th or 25th year, i e the year mentioned in the text Seven articles, chiefly live stock, were excluded from the remission

[2] Ḥatim Ṭaī is well known See D Herbelot and the Bagh u Bahār etc M'an or M'aan was also a celebrated Arab He was an officer in the service of Ommayad Caliphs, and afterwards served the Abbasides There is an account of him in D Herbelot s v Man which gives an anecdote preserved by Mīr Khwand

seeker after power, the clouds of whose bounty pour out in this manner The keys which open the world fall into his hand, and the treasures of the Age direct their countenances towards his threshold The arrival at the court of the Caliphate of the revenue of Bengal is a new proof of this It has been mentioned that Moẕaffar K sent the collections made by Khan Jahan, together with many rarities of that country, to court along with Fath Cand, and how they emerged in safety from the whirlpool of the base wretches of Bihar They were now conveyed to the Treasury under the guard of celestial watchmen A hundred and seventy-one noted 297
elephants took their places in the royal stables There was a murmuring of joy upon the perusal of the writing of daily increasing dominion on the frontispiece of the Age

One of the events was the appointment of M Khan, the son of Bairām K, to the high office of Mir Arẓ[1] Though on each day of the week one of the principal servants was promoted to this weighty service, yet on account of the number of suitors, the increase of work, the brisk bazaar of cupidity, and the augmented stateliness of the august court, it occurred to H M that a choice, high born officer of high ability who possessed profound insight disinterestedness and honesty should illustrate this great employment By the glory of his being at peace with all, he was to make no distinction between acquaintance and stranger, friend and foe, but to lay before H M all proper requests, and at a fitting time to receive the replies to them If by the accident of fortune — which is inevitable in the world's tavern — he did not receive a gracious (*pasandida*) reply he should not allow himself to become melancholy, but should have the courage to repeat the request at another time For in this world, which is full of evil, most things are not done wisely (*bamaghzkar*), and if they are so done, yet many things which ought to be said do not emerge from the defiles of the bosom on account of fear, cupidity (*andokhtanipara*) and a non observance of a fitting time, whilst many futilities are brought forward The wise sovereign perceived the notes of praiseworthy qualities in that loyalist and advanced him by this great office Every auspicious one who by wisdom and right thinking has erased the marks of cupidity and hypocrisy, and by far-sightedness and judiciousness is not contented

[1] B 257

with his own knowledge, and always seeks for good principles and commits the affairs of the people to good men, will ever have the stream of fortune full, and the garden of his fortune will be ever verdant

Verse

Hail to the cavaliers who traverse the horizons,
Who bear away the ball in realm and religion,
In this land there is one of those cavaliers
For whom much praise is little
Two words sum up the praise I give,
By qualities, Āfẓal (most excellent), by name, Akbar

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassadors of Quṭbu ul mulk Though the rulers of the Deccan were not happy in their manner of service and obedience, yet they always, by sending petitions and presents, considered themselves to be bound to the saddle straps of dominion At this time the ruler[1] of Golconda showed fawning and submissiveness, and sent a petition along with the rarities of that country Inasmuch as it was the age of increasing love and of acceptance of apologies, the ambassadors were well-
298 received and frightened hearts were soothed

Also at this time there came the news that ʻĀdil K of Bījāpur had prepared a collection of the rarities of his country and wished to send[2] it when Hakim ʻAlī, who had gone there on an embassy, should depart Suddenly the cup of his life was spilled The brief account of this is that this man of rusted[3] intellect and corrupt nature did not properly obey commands and was ever guarding himself by vulpine tricks from the onset of the armies of fortune From self indulgence he quitted the road of auspiciousness and chose impurity, and conducted himself in ways unpleasing to God He continually was staining the skirt of his chastity Inasmuch as it has held good from old times that whoever lets the night-gleaming jewel of wisdom be fouled in the dustbin of carnality, works his

[1] That is Quṭbu l mulk just mentioned

[2] Apparently the verb is wanting in the original

[3] *An sangīn kh rad* The Luck-now edition has *rangīn* elegant but the context shows that *sangīn* is right though it is not in the dictionaries.

destruction by his own efforts, that ignoble creature by great endeavours procured from Malik[1] Barid—one of the rulers of the Deccan—two eunuchs who had the reputation of being of fair countenance When the object of his desires approached, he became possessed with immodesty and baseness, and in the darkness of a private chamber stretched forth the arm of improper lust against one of them That pure jewel of propriety, from purity and a love of honour, did not yield his body, and killed him with a dagger which he had the foresight to bring with him Ibrahim his brother's son was made his successor by the exertions of Amir Fath Ullah[2] of Shiraz—that compendium of former sages—and the leading men of the country

One occurrence was the imprisonment of M 'Ali Alimshāhī[3] and some others Some wicked men of perverted fortune such as Miraki, 'Idi Kor, Shihāb Badakhshi and Kocak K Yesāwal had conspired together and, in forgetfulness of the favours they had received, were engaged in gathering together scoundrels and strifemongers Their intention was to take a favourable opportunity for performing

---

[1] Ruler of Bidar He is called by Ferishta 'Alī Barid An account of the circumstances of Adil Shah s death is given by Ferishta in his history of the Bijapur dynasty and also of the rulers of Bidar See also the Māasir I 569 where it is pointed out that according to Ferishta Hakīm Alī Gilani had left before the murder and that it was Hakīm 'Aīn al mulk who was there then The date of 'Adil Shah s death is given by Ferishta as Thursday eve (Wednesday) 22 Safr 988 10 April 1580 I regret to say that this Adil Shāh was the husband of the heroic Chand Bībī The Iqbālnāma says that the eunuch was put to death and that next day Ibrāhīm was appointed 'Ādil s successor

[2] B 3?? and Māasir I 100 See also Badayunī Lowe 325 who says that Akbar married him to the younger daughter of Mozaffar K and also gave him the pargana of Basawar (Badayunī s birth place) with an exemption from the branding regulation The expression *tazkira hukamāi pishin* تذكرهٔ حكماء پيشين is explained by A F s remark A N III 401 that Fath Ullah s learning was so great that if the works of former philosophers were destroyed he would be able to start science anew The text wrongly puts *tazkira* after *hukamāi* but this is corrected in the Errata

[3] B 482 It seems to be Qalmshahī in Iqbalnama From the account there it appears that the plot was to kill Akbar and then join the Bengal rebels

some exploit and then to proceed to the malcontents in the eastern provinces Alert and truthful men discovered their evil intentions and brought them to notice before they had been carried into effect The matter was first inquired into by far-sighted persons, and then it was investigated by the Shahinshah As H M regards the body as having been built by God, he is not ready to dissolve the connection between it and the soul, and so he sent to prison this crew who were worthy of annihilation But as the marks of incorrigibility were perceived in the forehead lines of Miraki—who was the foundation of the conspiracy—he was capitally punished This was a lesson to many of the turbulent

299 One of the occurrences was the death of Mozaffar K As the wondrous and daily increasing fortune of the world's lord shows itself in the victories of the imperial servants, so also does it sometimes show itself in their defeats It has been mentioned how the executants of the royal commands had opened the divan of cupidity in Bengal, and how from presumption and ignorance their intellects had slumbered, and how the fief-holders had left the highway of submission When there had been on the banks of the Ganges an interchange of shots, and when the malcontents, in spite of their numbers, had met with the shame of failure, and the avaricious officials had acquired fresh courage, it occurred to the confused minds of the rebels that they should send a force to Tanda[1] the capital, and so trouble the minds of the imperialists With this evil idea M Beg Qaqshal and Hamzaban crossed the river at a distance from the imperial army, and stirred up strife in the direction of that city Mozaffar K sent off Khwaja Shamsu d din, Mir Rafi'u d din of Nishapur, Qasim 'Ali Sistani, Husain Beg Gurd, and others to remedy this evil They bravely hastened there and defeated the enemy, sending many of them to annihilation All at once the generality of the malcontents lost patience and they turned towards entreaties But at this time when apologies should have been accepted, the obstinacy of the officials increased, and the supplica-

[1] See an article by translator "Notes of a Holiday Trip to Maldah and Bihar in *Calcutta Review* Tanda is locally called Tarrah and was washed away some forty years ago It was west of the Bhagirathi See Rennel s Mem quoted by Stewart Hist of Bengal 149n

tions had no effect Though they heard of the troubles in Bihar, they did not take them into account, nor reflect on the contingency of the rebels of that quarter joining with those of Bengal As the drunkenness of arrogance is followed by the crapulousness of failure, these rebels did join the malcontents of Bengal and troubles began afresh *The haughty by their own action ruined the country* When there was a report of the coming of the imperial army to Bihar, the wicked wretches fell into the abyss of confusion They could neither think of fighting nor of flying While in this state, they became aware of the disobedience of the Bengal officers, and of the confusion of affairs in that province By means of emissaries an agreement was come to between them, and they hastened to Bengal When this became fully known the good advisers of Mozaffar K induced him by thousands of expostulations to send off Timar K Khwāja Shamsu d din, J'afar Beg and others in order that they might protect Garhi, which is the gate of that country But the rebels took possession of the place one day before this party arrived Though it gave battle yet Timar K and most of his 300
companions behaved with cowardice Khwāja Shamsu d din and some others who loved their honour distinguished themselves and returned wounded At this time Babā K Qāqshal and a number of evil doers crossed the Ganges at Akmahal (Rājmahal), and joined the Bihar malcontents Mozaffar K sent Husain Beg, 'Itrāt 'Ali and a number of brave men to take possession of the head of the cutting [1] from the Ganges and to stop the passage of the rebels This cutting is a channel which the ancients had cut from the river The loyalists were stationed there, when one night, when there was rain and tempest, and the sentinels were asleep, the rebels crossed the canal (*juibar*) and made a disturbance The other rebels, who were facing Mozaffar K, joined them, and the imperial servants destroyed (*barhamzada*) the entrenchments on that side, and returned to their own side Every day there were gallant fights, and there were hot struggles Lives were lost in guarding honour, and the jewel of courage received fresh lustre

[1] *Sir-i-khārī* Khārī is a Hindustani word meaning a creek but apparently the true reading is sir i kātī Presumably the cutting meant was an inlet from the old Ganges or Bhagirathī and leading to Tanda

Verse.

The ocean of war grew tumultuous,
The combatants raised shouts,
Swords from the blood were like wine cups,
They made the earth drunken from quaffing these.
The birds of the bow flew swiftly,
They opened their beaks to drink blood,
The blood of the swords strained brains,
They cast the heads of head men under foot

One day a party of the rebels crossed the river and attacked 'Itrāt 'Ali. Khwāja Shamsu-d-din with some brave men gave new lustre to the battlefield By the might of daily-increasing fortune the hand of conquest prevailed Though in this engagement Husain Beg was slain yet the enemy was stained with the dust of defeat For nineteen days fighting went on between the two forces, and every time defeat fell upon the rebels They were distressed by disaster upon disaster. They were also troubled by the news of the approach of the imperial troops They held futile and dispirited councils and said "The heaven-aided troops have not yet arrived, and we are in this condition! When the world-conquering armies shall have joined together, what will be our position? We must of necessity proceed to the Ganges by this stream (rūd) and take shelter in the direction of Orissa But if we get a chance we shall lay the hand of daring upon the entrenchments" On the night of the 20th they set off with this evil design Qasim 'Ali Sistāni and a body of men who were in the farthest entrenchment regarded this movement as desertion (wairanī) and quickly seized some boats On getting the news Mozaffar K beat high the drums of joy, but
01 prudently stood ready for battle lest perchance the rebels were practising some stratagem In the morning the predominance of the enemy overcame the endurance of high and low, and the retribution[1] of cupidity and presumption was complete!

The brief account of this warning story is that when the scoundrels were in confusion and had raised their anchors, the Qaqshāls and many other rebels came by the said channel to the

[1] The meaning seems to be that the government officers were punished for their greed and obstinacy

Ganges, and some boats were plundered This gave rise to negligence When M'aṣum came there and, on account of the understanding he had with the rebels, began to fire cannon at the imperialists in the entrenchment,[1] the latter lost courage and became stained with the dust of defeat, without a contest Zulf 'Ali Badakhshi, and Kocak Qunduzi, who were leaders, and many other base wretches, cast the dust of disloyalty on their heads and joined the enemy The ingrates gathered together and rejoiced On receiving this news, Moẓaffar K lost the thread of counsel and became foolish from suspiciousness and want of heart He had neither the guidance of reason, nor the power of listening to advice Though right-thinking and experienced men represented, saying "What loss have you sustained[2] from the departure (wairāni) of that handful of short-sighted men, and what good will the enemy get from this success? The proper thing is not to give way to discouragement, and for the army to fight according to proper methods" Their sound advice was of no use, and his perturbation increased

Owing to his wrong ideas, the slipping away of his reason and misplaced fancies, irrecognition of enemies and love of life, his actions became disordered He neither would himself arrange the troops nor would give permission to engage to the officers who were everywhere ready for service After much talk he allowed some soldiers to go under the command of Khwaja Shamsu-d dīn in order that they might hasten to the spot, and render assistance and bring news of the state of affairs Many, from thought of their families, and some from cowardice, had not the bliss of accompanying them Many out of a wicked disposition took the road of dishonour When the heart of the commander does not remain steady, what firmness can there be among the commanded?

The Khwāja related "When I had gone a little way, I saw that men were going over to the enemy from every side, and that from

[1] *Mūrcal* but the Lucknow ed and MS No 238 have būdal بودل which is given in P de Courteille's Dict as meaning a place The Lucknow ed says it is the name of an officer *Mūrcal* occurs in the Iqbal nāma MS No 235 omits the word

[2] *Cah ṭarf barbandad* Perhaps the meaning is what advantage have you gained from the capture of a few boats? or it may mean 'what harm has happened to you by this handful of men joining the rebels and what gain have the latter obtained from their success?

time to time my companions were leaving me In a short while no one remained except Muttalib[1] (who had ties of association with him) It was evident that the warnings of God were administering kicks in front and buffets from behind to the arrogant, self-seeking crew, and that humility and entreaties only encouraged the wicked Of necessity I became disgusted with life and set my face towards
302 fighting in company with that loyal hero[2] Accordingly, that unique one of the arena of valour received several wounds and fell on the ground, and sold his life for honour Meanwhile, Muham mad 'Ali Arlat (who had friendly relations with him) came up I thought that he would help me, but the faithless and contemptible fellow hit me with a spear, and I fell and was nearly dead Sud denly, M Muhammad, from whom I had no hopes, received me kindly and took me to M'asum K who encouraged me and made me over to the Qāzizada[3] In that field of instruction, when I was on an elephant where they had fastened me, I was a spectator of the marvels of the unveilers of fate and was listening to the flattering speeches of fortune, and was gathering instruction Though there was no contest, and their success was increasing from time to time, the wicked rebels were in a state of great dismay Suddenly, a large force appeared and they were nearly dispersing when it appeared that it was Wazir Jamil who was coming with friendly intentions Their courage returned, and there was a murmur of joy" This *ten tongued, two faced man on this night which was pregnant with* evil, took selected men along with him and, under guise of combating, became an idle talker He spent the time of action in futile declamation, and confused many hearts that had been tranquillized. At last he became full of the dust of dishonour and displayed his real nature He placed long standing obligations on the shelf of forgetfulness, and joined the enemy In spite of this the enemy was in trepidation and did not know how the affair would end, and how they would carry on the war with Mozaffar K Meanwhile, that commander took refuge in the fort,

---

[1] The Cawnpore ed and the Iqbal nāma have Muttalib Ḥajalatī or Khajalātī I O MSS 236 has Khajakatī and I O 235 has Khaja latı which however has a line across it The Bib Ind has the variant *hajam* barber

[2] Tahamtan a name of Rustam

[3] He was killed in the 28th year See below p 400

and gave away his opportunity in seeking what he ought to do He was in such a state of dull-heartedness that no one stayed with him except Mir Jamālu d din Husain Injū, Hakim Abu-l fath J'aafar Beg Baqir 'Anṣārī, Tardi Beg Yekkāwez, 'Isā Turkaman and some of his servants and comrades At last, from evil fortune he preferred a wretched life to selling it boldly, and entered with the persons abovenamed inside the walls of Tānda He now began to scatter his accumulations What profit comes of good nature and liberality at an improper time and what advantage is there in scattering gold and the distribution of goods unseasonably? The enlightened and prudent have, in the time of misfortune, conquered the hearts of tigerlike men by gifts and kindness, and have found a remedy for life-threatening evils by foreseeing them The ungrateful cowards regarded his being shut up as something excellent and raised the palace of success They took the path of courage and proceeded to besiege him They represented to him that if he took compassion on himself and should join them, they would give him a high position, otherwise they would let him go and allow him to proceed to the Ḥijāz As he had not the courage to sacrifice his life, he replied that ingratitude and evildoing were destructive of realm and religion Let them preserve his honour and make him a voyager so that 303 he might go to the holy shrine and rub off the blackness of neglect, and atone for his faults They replied by promising that they would let him keep one-third of his goods As he had no reliance on their words, and the defence of the fort was beyond his power, he secretly sent some of his confidants to M'aṣum K and reminded him of old times when he had assisted him He also sent him 20,000 ashrafis, and begged his protection He represented, "It was not the part of wise and enlightened men to blaspheme at the Divine decree (meaning what had happened to himself), and that he now begged that in return (for the 20,000 ashrafis) he would take upon himself the preservation of his honour so that no misfortune might happen to his household in the confusion of plundering there would be no opportunity for grasping the collar of petition" M'aṣum accepted his entreaties and replied by promising him protection During a night which was pregnant with disturbance, M Sharfu d dīn Husain fled from

the fort and came to M'aṣūm K.'s quarters. H. M.[1] had in the middle of the previous year released that man who was worthy of death and sent him by river with the instruction that if he showed marks of penitence he should receive a fief in that country, otherwise he was to be dispatched to the Ḥijāz. No signs of contrition were seen in the Khwāja's son. On the contrary he was continually engaged in strife mongering, and *was evil-thoughted to the extent of madness*. Moẓaffar K. put him in prison and was waiting for the season for sailing when this typhoon of evils broke. On the second day, he intrigued with some of his guards and descended from the fort. A number saw this and discharged arrows, and he joined the enemy in a wounded condition. He informed the besiegers of the terror of the garrison and increased their courage. At dawn the wretches forgot their compact and proceeded to make disturbance. The Qāqshāls were foremost and stirred up the dust of plunder. Each set hastened to the fort and plundered it. M'aṣum K. observed his promise and went quietly to Moẓaffar K.'s quarters so that the rioters might not dishonour him and that the bulk of the property might come into his own hands. Mozaffar K. stood with some of his slaves. They were all armed, but could think neither of fighting, nor of fleeing. M'aṣūm K. came with one or two of them and showed the zeal of double faced people. Just then a noise in the female apartments robbed Mozaffar of patience. He gave away such an opportunity[3] and hastened in that direction. That chief of strife mongers and slumbrous witted one (M'asum) became awake to his situation and escaped with his life. He always blamed himself for his temerity. Though the empty handed and shameless ones had their pockets filled, and they seized the accumulations of the servants of God,[4] yet it was M. Sharafu-d-dīn who by good luck got abundance of gold. In the time of confusion Moẓaffar K. sank

---

[1] Badayūnī II. 282 says he had been in the custody of Qāsim ʿAlī K. Baqqāl governor of Kalpī (not Kabul as in Lowe 290).

[2] The month is not mentioned. Perhaps it is Rabī I, but more probably it is Ardībihisht. Or it may be the second day after Moẓaffar took refuge in the fort.

[3] Of killing M'aṣūm.

[4] This expression is often used for Muḥammadans but comes in curiously here. I.O. MS. 235 has khudāī gīr.

80,000 rupees in a tank that they might be of use at the time of welfare. Sharafu-d-dīn came to know of this and got possession of the treasure He filled the chests with stones and put them 304
into deep water. He used the treasure as a help to rebellion During the plundering Mozaffar K was kept under observation in his house Some persons were bound and sent to prison Many from wickedness took refuge with the enemy Hakim Abūl fath [1] and Rai Patr Dās by courage and skill obtained their release Khwāja Shamsu d din was protected by Sáid Beg on account of acquaintanceship He saved his life, but was tortured in order to the production of money Jáfar Beg by cleverness and plausibility was released [2] from such demands The manner in which he had been sent to that country also contributed to his escape

On 8 Ardibihisht [3] Mozaffar K was put to death, and then appointments and territories were distributed, and the Khutba was recited in the name of M Hakīm On the first Khurdād the arrangements were made The tent (bārgāh) [4] of Khān Jahān, which had been prepared for the receipt of presents (peshkash), was erected, and it was adorned by awnings and carpets of various colours. They began by distributing honours and territories There were disputes but these were settled by ingenuity Every one got something and was satisfied The distribution of titles was as follows: M'asum K. was made Vakil and chose the title of Khān Daurān, Babāi Qāqshāl was styled Khān Khānān and was appointed to the government of Bengal, Jabbāri was styled Khān Jahān and made a commander of 10,000, Wazir Jamīl was styled Khān Zamān and appointed to the office of Tūzak Begī, Khāldin became A'zim Khān, Jān Muh Bahsudī became Khān 'Ālam,

---

1 His brother Nūru-d dīn who was a poet and known as Qarārī was less fortunate and killed. Badayūnī II 290 and III (text) 312.

2 B 411 He is Āsaf K. No 3 The Iqbālnāma explains that his having been sent to Akbar to Bengal as a had no money See Maasir I 107, 103 He was a poet See extracts B 572.

3 About 19 April 1580 It was Rabī I. 988 Badayūnī says Mozaffar was tortured

4 See description of a bārgāh in

'Abdu-l-Bâqı, Khudâwand K., and M. Beg, Bahâdur K , Khwaja Shamsu-d-dın was made Lashkar K , and Jáfar Beg Âṣaf K Those two adroıtly postponed their acceptance to another tıme 'Arab was, ın his absence (ghaıbâna), made Shujâ'at K., S'aıd K Toqbaı was made Khân and a commander of 1,500 To every one there were granted a jâgır, a standard and a drum M Hajı Lang, Farrukh Irgahlıq Farîdûn, Taımûr Tâsh, 'Azız Dastam Beg, Muḥammad Toqbaı, Muhammad Qulı Turkaman, Ḥamza Beg Turkaman, 'Abdullah Beg Badakhshı, 'Alı Qâsım Barlâs, Maṣqûd 'Alı Kor, 'Iwaz-Bahâdur, Mîrzâ 'Arab, Dost Muhammad Tolakchı, Murâd Qâqshal, Tâsh Beg, Zulf 'Alı Lang, Khuda bardı, Ghaẓanfar Beg, were made commanders *of one thousand and received the title of Khân*, as well as
05 a flag Mır Kalân Wafa Beg, M Kıcak, Yâr Beg Muhammad, Sheram Bahâdur, Latıf Husaın, Ilân Caq, Bâbâ Dost Muhammad, Mıhr 'Alı, Muhammad Beg, Qorbân Beg, were made Khâns and receıved flags and a command of 500 Several other vagabonds got the tıtle of Sultan It occurred to these lost ones, who had neıther head nor foot, that they could, by heapıng up money and by audacıty, attaın the dıgnıty of Amırs They forgot that grandeur befits not the bad, and that desıgns cannot be carrıed out wıthout the aıd of the executors of fate

Verse

Khâqânı, those who follow ın your footsteps
Are crows, and crows desıre the gaıt of the partrıdge
I admıt that asparagus [1] ıs shaped lıke a snake,
One ıs poısou for foes, the other an antıdote for frıends

When the talk of appoıntments and fiefs had come to an end, they consıdered that they would recıte the khutba ın the name of M Hakım, and would then spend their days ın pleasure The wonder-workıng of the Shâhınshâh's fortune became glorıous A storm arose and the clouds poured cataracts The "Avaunt" of the

[1] *Mârchoba* asparagus Its shape resembles a snake (hence the name whıch means ' snake stıck), and ıt ıs supposed to be an antıdote to snake poıson Perhaps the meanıng of the last two lınes ıs ' There ıs a lıkeness between asparagus and a snake, for the latter poısons foes and the former ıs an antıdote (or bezoar) for frıends That ıs, both do good The allusıon ın last lıne seems also to be to raın drops fallıng ınto the ocean, whıch are saıd to produce pearls ın one month and snakes ın another

Divine wrath rose on every side, and the structure of the grand tent, the canopies, the carpets, were scattered and cast into the mire Each one of the wretches crept away to a corner. The auspicious and profound of sight read the failure of the wicked ones in the writings of the celestial aids, and raised the song of joy

Verse

At this time there was a great rumour of the coming of the victorious troops They left off adorning [1] the pulpit (of M Hakim) and fell into a long cogitation From being drunk with gold and from evil thoughts, they marched out from that country to fight In appearance M Sharaf-ud-din Husain was the leader, but in reality the leaders were Máṣūm and Bābā K. They left many of the scoundrels in that cultivated country

Having brought the story so far, I proceed to describe the events in Bihar up to the arrival of the victorious army At the same time that the evil-doers in this part were stirring up the dust of strife, Bahādur was separately and earnestly prosecuting a course of ingratitude He was the son of S'aīd Badakhshi That black-hearted one (the father) had on account of his wickedness come out of his home, and had by feline tricks expatiated in the wide territory of India At this time he was collector ('amilguzāi) of Tirhut When the Bihar officers raised the head of ingratitude, he left his son there, and joined the rebels, and exerted himself to help them. Meanwhile, tolly took possession of the brain of Bahādur, and he used the exchequer property in conciliating the fly-like scoundrels He raised a disturbance and assumed [2] a great name to himself When M'aṣum Khan heard of this, he sent S'aīd Badakhshi to him in order that he might give him fatherly advice and lead him to act in unison (with the other rebels) The wretch did not accept the advice and sent his own father into prison [1] In a short space of time

[1] I O MS 236 has *ālāyish* instead of *ārāish*, as if meaning that the pulpit was contaminated by the proclaiming of M Hakim

[2] The Iqbalnāma states that he assumed independence and had the Khuṭba read and coins struck in his own name He gave himself the title of Bahādur Shah See Badayūni, Lowe 307, where the verse composed for his signet is given He adds that he was afterwards killed by *Azim* K's servants The Iqbalnāma also gives the quatrain

he, from ignorance and cowardice, became still more arrogant During this confusion the report of the coming of the imperial army became prevalent, and M'aṣūm K with many of the disaffected hastened off to Bengal He left 'Arab and some scoundrels in Patna, in order that he might exercise sway in that province, and might set about plundering. Shāham K, from innate auspiciousness, broke his promise [1] and hoisted the standard of loyalty in Ḥājīpūr In order to prove his feelings to the imperial servants he sent a force against Bahādur, but it was defeated and returned Bahādur's presumption was increased, but afterwards Shāham K led a force in person and was victorious, and S'aīd (Badakhsi) was killed Muḥibb 'Ali K prevailed over 'Arab who had come out of Patna When he was defeated and came back, Sa'adat 'Ali K, whom he had evilly instructed and had left in charge of his household, had the auspiciousness to turn away from him That slumbrous-fortuned one went to his camp and made a fight, but was wounded and had to fly About this time Muhibb 'Ali K took possession of that city The troops spent some days in preparations, and then set out Within the confines of Jaunpūr, Tarsun K, Sādiq K, Ghāzi K, Ulugh K. and many other officers joined the army At a distance of two kos from Ghāzīpūr M'aṣūm K Farankhūdi joined the camp As his babbling and futility were known to all, it was decided that he should go one or two stages in front as a vanguard so that they might be free from his molestation and might come to understand him On the banks of the Ganges they heard of the catastrophe of Moẓaffar K, and fools opened the mouth of folly Though some were disheartened, the acute and comprehending understood the depths of his (Moẓaffar's) misconduct and read in the writing of the age the rolling up of that carpet of presumption, and perceiving the breeze of victory to be blowing from the four portions of the earth, they raised the pæan of joy Also near here Muhibb 'Ali K, Shāham K, Samānji K and Bāqī Kolābi joined the army. There was an assemblage in the vicinity of Patna, and the grandees made vows of concord and harmony. When their minds had been set at rest by this, they discussed the plan of action Each one recognized his proper place In the centre

[1] See text 285 Shāham had at first joined the rebels

were Tarsūn K., Rajah Todar Mal, Rai Surjan, Rajah Askaran, Mihtar K. and others. In the right wing were Muhibb 'Alī K., Shāham K, Mīr Abu-l-Moẓaffar and others In the left wing were Ṣādiq K, Ulugh K, Naqīb K, Qamar K and others In the vanguard were M'asūm K Farankhudī, S Farīd Bokharī, Saiyid Abu-l-qāsim, Saiyid Abu-l-m'aālī, Saiyid 'Abdul Wāhid, Saiyid 'Abdul Hādī and others As some of the chief officers were faint-hearted and some were inclined to brigandage, so it was arranged that from this stage they should march armed, and prepared for battle When 'Arab and Habib, and the other rebels who were stirring up the dust of strife in that neighbourhood, heard of the coming of the army, they retired The traitors in the great camps—of whom the imperial servants were suspicious—did not get their opportunity On 7 Khurdād the army encamped at Monghyr. M'aṣūm K. Farankhudī, who had long cherished evil thoughts, meditated the killing of Rajah Todar Mal, so that obedience might lose its head, and that he himself might advance some steps to his goal. He equipped a number of vagabonds for the purpose of a review,[1] and expressed the wish that the Rajah should come to inspect them That auspicious one was apprized of the plot and made excuses, and did not tear away the veil over his (M'aṣum's) conduct

At this time the ill-fated and wicked ones of Bengal passed on from Garhī with the intention of fighting, and there was an engagement between some of the scouts of the victorious army and the advanced party of the enemy. Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'aūd, Jai Tawacībashī and some others distinguished themselves Rajah Todar Mal held a council to deliberate on what should be done Many brave men said that they should trust in God, and give battle Some 308
prudent and profound observers represented that a storm of sedition had arisen on every side, and that fidelity and singleness of heart could not be distinguished from double facedness, and that they were not satisfied about M'āsūm K Farankhudī, who had received various kindnesses from H M It was proper that they should fortify themselves and be on their guard Some persons who had of necessity joined the rebels, now came to the camp, and gave infor-

---

[1] The text has *ba āīn shāyān*, but the variant *ba āīn sān* (i.e., review) is supported by the I O MSS

mation about the circumstances of their companions From skilfulness and caution the last-mentioned opinion was approved of On the 16th entrenchments were made, and the officers exerted themselves in raising a wall and digging a moat In a short time four high and broad walls were constructed, and the fortress of the city became a citadel On the 24th the rebels raised the dust of disturbance round about the place The imperialists replied by cannon and muskets The brave men on both sides continually engaged in combats, and there were great deeds done During these struggles many of the besieged threw the dust of disloyalty on their heads by joining the enemy. The ring-leaders were Tarkhan Dīwāna and Humāyun Quli and Shāh Dīwāna [1] By celestial aid the dust of destruction was soon laid, and crowds of the rebels came and made submission

One of the occurrences was the favouring of M Koka, and the sending of him to the eastern provinces When H M heard from his confidants in the harem that the Kokaltāsh was ashamed and repentant, he accepted his apologies and increased his dignity He conferred on him the high rank of a commander of 5000 At this time the report of the zealous servants arrived The fortifying of themselves, the evil conduct of their companions, the predominance of the foe, and requests for assistance were mentioned. H M. gave his attention to the management of the army, and the Kokaltāsh begged for this service "Perchance he might do good service and redeem his faults" His wish was granted, and on the 29th he was exalted by the title of Khān A'zim, and given leave to depart Saiyid 'Abdullah K, Qāsim K, Mirzāda 'Alī K, Ishqi K, Mukhtār Beg, Yūnān Beg Sikandar Cakni, Haidar Dost, Qādir 'Ali, Ustā Zakariya, Qambai Sahāri and others went with him They were honoured by receiving khilats and horses An order was issued that when the Kokaltāsh should join the army, the officers should act
9 according to his advice

Also at this time Hakim Abu l fatḥ came to court and represented in eloquent terms the confusion in Bengal, and the disaffection of the soldiers there He also related how he had thrown himself out of the fort (of Tanda ?) and had travelled with blistered feet,

[1] See Badayūni, Lowe The Iqbālnāma has Humayun Quli and Shah Muhammad Dīwana

and had arrived at safety by the help of the holy influence (Akbar's) He represented that though Mir M'uizzu l mulk had at first, from wickedness, joined the rebels, yet he had afterwards, out of foresight, separated from them The strange thing was that at this time, when the predominance of the rebels was being broken, and the lights of fortune were increasing, this turbulent man was talking foolishly in Jaunpur and was collecting the evilly-disposed Maulānā Muhammad Yezdi[1] was acting, shoulder to shoulder, with him in foolish talk and in strife mongering An order was given that Asad K Turkaman[2] should hasten thither from Manikpur and bring the wicked ones to court That loyal servant obeyed the order and arrested these men who were worthy of death In the confines of Etawah the boat carrying the wicked men sank in the waves[3] of the Jumna, and the world was cleansed somewhat from the stain of the evil and crookedy walking ones An order was sent by Rām Cand, to the Khan A'zim that Muizzu l mulk s younger brother Mir 'Ali Akbar should be sent to court in chains from Zamaniya Though he had not joined the rebels, yet he continually, by messages and foolish utterances fomented the rebellion He behaved with disobedience and tricks to the Kokaltāsh As the latter was acute and experienced, his (Mir 'Ali's) wiles were not successful Rām Cand and Haidar Dost brought him to court The king's kindness made him withhold his hand from capital punishment, and so he sent him to prison[4]

One of the occurrences was the tearing away the mantle of deception of S Qutb[5] In Jalesar, which is a dependency of Agra,

[1] Tabrīzī in text but Yezdī the variant is right and has the support of the I O MSS

[2] Apparently this is the Asad Beg of Elliot VI 150 He was in the service of Abul Fazl Asad K was jāgīrdār of Mānikpūr, B 382

[3] A F seems to represent the affair as an accident and in this he is followed by the Iqbālnāma But Badāyūnī roundly asserts Lowe 285 that they were drowned by Akbar's orders near Fīrūzabād (24 m E Agra) in the Jumna He says they were put into an old boat by themselves i e, separated from their guards and that the boatmen were told to drown them He adds that Qazī Yaqūb met with the same fate shortly afterwards

[4] Maāsir III 231 B 383 says he was imprisoned for life but this does not appear from the text

[5] Evidently this is the S Qutbu d-dīn of Badāyūnī Lowe 308 Both he and Jamāl belonged to Jalesar

he had a hermitage of hypocrisy He took advantage of the simple and spent his days in comfort Suddenly, S Jamāl Bakhtiyār fell into his snare He thought his tricks were miracles and reported them at court Inasmuch as H M is a seeker after excellence in man, he wished to see him As the Incomparable Deity is his guardian, it occurred to him to send in the first instance some acute persons who could judge of the inner mind from outward actions, and could read hidden secrets on the tablet of the forehead If the report was favourable he would visit his cell. If not, a large number of men would be converted (from credulity), M Khān and Hakīm Abul fath were appointed to this service They ascertained that he was bad within and without, and reported to this effect The world's lord tried him in a strict balance and sent him to prison that he might abstain from deceiving men, and that truth might not be associated with folly, S Jamāl returned thanks and became circumspect again That empty handed one and seller of deceits became ashamed of his actions and set himself to amend his ways

God be praised for that by virtue of H M's knowledge of spiritual and physical mysteries many of the tricksters of the age and employers of fraud left off their evil ways, and became travellers to the pure inn of auspiciousness They turned their faces from the prayer mat of hypocrisy to the dust of supplication, and departed from egotism to worship of the Truth The great men of former times exerted themselves chiefly in cultivating the false and superficial, on account of the difficulty of the task, and their inability, they paid less attention to the patronizing of the spiritual smiters of lies At the present day, by the glorious Divine knowledge of the Lord of enlightenment this difficult task also approaches to completion The wise and just man knows that the spiritual and material

---

Badayunī 299 calls him a *majzūbī kharabi* and B takes the latter epithet to mean that he was a wicked man Mr Lowe however thinks it means that he was intoxicated with Divine love Most probably B is right and the words seem best translated by a drunken enthusiast If the maxim noscitur a socus be correct he was a drunkard for his friend and fellow townsman Jamāl was a noted toper Qutbu-d dīn was the man who challenged the Padres to enter the fire knowing it is said by the Jesuits that his offer would not be accepted Badayūnī says Akbar sent him out of jealousy, to Bakkar

adornment, and the inward and outward cultivation of so many crowds upon crowds did not suggest themselves to any man in former times, and that the various classes of men did not emerge from the arid desert of imitation to the city of inquiry Formerly, speech came forth from the privy-chamber to the court of publicity in proportion to the intelligence of the person addressed (mukhatab) At the present day it appears in proportion to the understanding of the speaker How admirably has my noble brother sung in his description of that world-seeing one!

Verse

(He is) A light-handed bearer of the flagon,
A breaker of the goblets of infatuated rivals,
A cambist who tests the forgers,
An assayer of the hearts of the alloyed
In wisdom and vision swift as the spheres,
Testing the Ka'aba and the church,
Seated on the masnad of greatness,
Breaking hundreds of idol-temples of hypocrisy
Closer of the stalls of deception,
"Opener of the veil over earth, and elixir (i e, the philosopher's stone)
On the throne he is content with poverty,
He joins silk to the blanket (of the dervish),
O'er the crown he spreads the sleeves (of the dervish),
On the throne he practises the Quadragesima

CHAPTER LII

The Appointment of Sharīf K to be Guardian of Prince Sultān Murād, etc

(The first two pages of this chapter are taken up with a disquisition about education There is nothing valuable or interesting in it beyond the use at p 312, l 4, of the curious word "*Babrian*' which has been supposed to refer to Bābur, but which is really a Turkish word, properly spelt Bairun, and meaning "old servants" Sharif K received his appointment on 8 Amardād, 18 July 1580 See B 383 He was a brother of Shāmsu d din Atgah K)

13 One of the occurrences was the death of Shujā'at K [1] At the time when the wicked men of the eastern districts were making disturbance, some loyal servants and experienced men were summoned from distant provinces, and an order was issued that the officers of Gujarat and Malwa should give up the expedition to the Deccan, and prepare themselves for service Wajahi [2] (?) Yasāwal set off to bring Shujā'at K, and he set out in the beginning of Tīr from Sārangpur to do homage At the first stage the cup of his life was spilled, and the star of stability descended into the hollow of annihilation 'Iwaz Beg Barlās, Muhammad Qāsim, Hazāra Beg, Khusru, Khuda Quli, and many shameless and ungrateful servants plotted together, and made Hāji Shihabu d din their leader They gave him a high-sounding name, and lay in ambush At the end of the night most of the people started with their families and goods, and some marched on more quickly The evil doers made a disturbance, and there was a great outcry His son Qawīm K. went out in search of news, and was killed Shujā'at K came out, and began to lament He found that he himself was made a target and had to fly to his tent On the way he received several wounds There was

[1] B 371 Lowe 292

[2] The name is doubtful Elliot V 418 has Hasan Tawācī bashī but a MS T A has Jai Tawāci bāshī This is probably right (see text III 307) the wa being a conjunction and not part of the name

terror He (Shāhbaz K) also made a successful attack on the abode of Tejmāl Sesodiah Many of the wicked were slain, and his houses were plundered That neighbourhood was cleansed of wicked persons and made a military station Great fear of him fell upon the ill fated ones When the dust of dissension rose high in the eastern districts, he was sent for in order that he might be dispatched thither On 7 Tīr he did homage, and gathered material and spiritual advantages About this time there came representations from the eastern army to the effect that in the absence of H M the settlement of the disturbances would take a long time Though the prescient mind knew that this raw rebellion had not the leaven of stability, and that it did not require another army, and still less the presence of the royal standards, yet to soothe the imperial servants, and from motives of caution he ordered the dispatch of reinforcements These left on the 15th Babui Mankali, Selim K Sarmur, Qasim Badakhshi S Adam Naṣib Turkamān, S Kabir, Ḥakim Mozaffar 'Abdu l Qaddus Bahādur 'Ali and many others accompanied them and took with them large supplies of money

315 One of the occurrences was the falling of the enemies fleet into the hands of the brave men of the eastern army The presumption of the enemy had increased on account of their numbers, of the fewness of the imperial soldiers of their being shut up in a fort, and of the double-dealing of some of them As the food for the besieged came by land and water, M Sharafu d dīn Ḥusain and M'aṣūm K went by way of Patna and seized the land route They also fitted out their fleet and meditated closing the other means of access When news came that the boats were nine kos away from the evil crew, Ṣādiq K, Ulugh K, Naqib K, Bāqir Safarci and many other brave men hastened by land, while Rai Patr Dās was sent with some brave men by water Mihtar K and a body of men were taken across the river in order that they might march rapidly on that side The skilful and active men moved rapidly, and got possession of nearly 300 boats full of the munitions of war There was a great accession of strength to the imperialists, while the enemy had their heads knocked against the stone of destruction

Also at this time Khwāja-Shamsu d din Khāfī escaped from the rebels When Mozaffar K was killed, M'aṣum K took the Khwāja into his own keeping on the suspicion that he had money When

he did not succeed by gentle means, he made him over to wicked, shameless men, and he was nearly dying under torture By good luck 'Arab Bahādur, on account of old friendship, rose up, and took charge of him on the pretext that he would induce him to give up his accumulations He took the chains off his feet and set himself to soothe him The Khwaja got his opportunity and escaped along with some others He joined himself to Rajah Sangrām in Gorakpur On account of the roads being closed, and there being little open country, he could not join the army, but he became a great cause of harassing the enemy He continually attacked their convoys, and laid hold of their cattle when they came out to graze In a short time Hasan 'Alī 'Arab, Āfāq Dīwāna M Ḥusain Nishāpuri, 'Alī Qulī, 'Azīz and many well disposed persons, who had joined the enemy out of helplessness, waited upon the Khwāja Nearly 1200 men collected together, and the assemblage of the enemy slackened, and there was some dispersion of them Their prosperity suffered diminution

One of the occurrences was the imprisonment of Shāh Manṣur *Dīwān* From his practice in accounts, and seeking after profit (for the government), he looked narrowly into the transactions of the army, and giving his attention to one side only of a Vizier's duties he pressed forward the rules of demand He is a Vizier, who by acuteness and the strength of honesty preserves the revenue, and 316
also looks after the servants of God (i e Muhammadans, or here probably men in general) and considers the mean between liberality and rigour,[1] and between severity and softness, to be the highway, and regards the living with friends and foes on the same terms, as the middle course of truth He does not abandon what is suitable for the time and place, nor does he regard the collecting of gold as the finest of occupations, but lives with an open brow, a sweet tongue, a strong heart, a gracious soul, and a constant justice He closes the eye of envy and opens the door of wide toleration He shuts the shop of fastidiousness[2] and hard bargaining and drives away from men dealings at a high tariff Mayhap, by this noble course

[1] The text and the MSS have *dad u-dihish* which generally means liberality but I think that the true reading must be *dād-u-dahshat* graciousness and awe, otherwise there is no antithesis

[2] Text wrongly has *makaskad* instead of *mashkal* The sentence is

the tribes of mankind may emerge from the market of loss and gain, and gather eternal bliss in the garden of devotion Also the accountant (*mastaufī*) should have something else to do besides clerking,[1] and stirring up of strife, and collecting arrears, and increasing the revenue He should remove interested motives and watch over the account department The Khwaja went out of his proper course and set himself to increase the revenue Nor did he consider the disturbances of the time and the crisis of the age, but demanded payment of arrears Rajah Todar Mal reported that the imperial servants were engaged in a hot war, and that the market of sacrifice of life (*sirbazi*, lit playing with one s head) was active The government officers were at such a time of contest acting without consideration or knowledge of the times, and had closed the purse of liberality and were demanding the payment of revenue[2] that had already been levied (?) What name could be given to this kind of presumption ? And to what set could he belong who made demands out of reason ? The just sovereign deprived him of employment and made him over to Shah Quli K Mahram He bestowed the high office of Vizier upon Wazir K The combatants in the eastern provinces bound anew the girdle of devotion on receipt of this great favour, and advanced the foot of courage Many abandoned ingratitude and made submission Would that they had also entered the pure spot of loyalty, and retired from soul injuring wickedness and evil thoughts !

One of the occurrences was that Prince Daniel—the jewel of the throne of the Caliphate—was sent off to Ajmere The[3] wise

obscure and metaphorical Badayuni Lowe 287 tells us that Akbar was fond of using the word sl op in an allegorical sense

[1] Text *nek basici* " good thoughts But the I O MSS and the context show that the true reading is *bitikcigiri* from *bitikci* a Turkish word meaning a clerk See J II 47

[2] Perhaps this means that the officers alleged that the payment had been made to the wrong person Cf Elliot V 419 where an abstract of Todar Mal s report is given It is there said that Qāẓī Alī Baghdādī was appointed to assist Wazīr K

[3] A F s object is to explain why Akbar ceased to make his annual pilgrimage to Ajmere He therefore tells us that there are two kinds of religious worship One is good deeds (works) and the other is ceremonials the visiting of shrines and the like As Akbar was a sovereign he practised both but as at this time spiritual religion was on the increase,

sovereign fashions and adorns, in the workshop of inquiry and enlightenment, the palace of dominion, according to two kinds of religious worship Firstly, he, from enduring perception, bestows the glory of truth on the auspicious record of his deeds, and by the assistance of wisdom, which is the house lord of this variegated dwelling (viz, the palace of dominion)—and the controller of the market places of social intercourse—he holds his nature in check In this kind of worship there is no topsy turviness But as the mastery of the transitory world has been made the veil over the leadership of the spiritual world, he also makes use of what the superficial regard as the worship of the incomparable Deity, and out of consideration for the feelings of contemporaries takes accounts of its defect and excess For all his thought is how to preserve
the simple from devious paths and wrong ideas, and to keep the 317
world clear from the mist of shortness of thought. The visiting the tombs of departed men of awakened heart he considers as an instance of such shallowness If union with the spirit of the saint be the object, then nearness or remoteness does not matter If the idea be to reverence worn out dust then it is polytheism[1] and idolatry At this time, when there was an increase of spiritual worshippers and of the gatherers of truth, and those who saw into the substance of things had obtained vogue, and the short-sighted and superficial had put on the garb of true worship, the idea of the necessity of this kind of worship (visiting shrines, etc) became erased from the mind of the world s lord Moreover at this time there was no administrative work to be done in that quarter (Ajmere), and there were various things to be transacted at the capital Of necessity he withdrew from his intention (of visiting Ajmere) and devoted his valuable time to what was fitting But as that bounteous shrine (Ajmere) was an opportunity for displaying abundant liberality and many indigent persons attained their wishes thereby, it occurred to his celestial mind that one of his

---

and also he had many weighty matters to attend to, he desisted from going to Ajmere in person Daniel seems to have timed his visit so as to be present at the anniversary of the saint s death which according to J III 362 occurred on 6 Rajab In this year (988) that date corresponded, or nearly so to 4 Shahriyūr, i e middle of August

[1] *Shirk-m abūdī* See Hughes Dict Islam 579

children should visit the place, and gratify the wishes of expectants On 19 Amardâd, about 30 July 1580, the luminary of fortune's heaven (Prince Daniel) was given leave to depart S Jamâl, Mâdhû Singh, S Faiẓi, Jamâl K and other intimate courtiers went with him On 4 Shahriyur he distributed various properties, and a world ran over with gifts

One of the occurrences was the sending of Hakim al Mulk [1] to the Hijâz His avaricious heart was tied to the world, and this idea did not occur to him He was given leave as a retribution for his vacillations The means he tried to avert it were unsuccessful, and he left on the 5th (Shahriyur, August 1580) with all his accumulations, looking backwards with the eye of regret

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the prince from Ajmere He had reached that place quickly, and had scattered bounties All the indigent reaped joy On the 8th he did homage

Also at this time one came to court who had no shape of ears and no orifice [2] Yet he had heard perfectly what was said to him Apparently, the melodists of the palace of fate communicate to mortals the glories of the dominion conjoined with eternity, and the wondrous, daily increasing fortune quickens the audition of the earless ones of the Age!

One of the occurrences was the increase in the responsibility of I'tmâd K Gujrâti H M always desired to reward him for his good

[1] Ḥakîmu l Mulk who is distinct from Ḥakîm 'Aînu l Mulk was from Gîlân and his name was Shamsu-d dîn Badayûnî has an account of him, III 161, which has been copied into the Darbâr Akbarî, p 758 See also Badayûnî Lowe, pp 283 293 He was given five lacs of rupees to distribute to the poor at Mecca According to Badayûnî Akbar asked Ḥakîmu l Mulk to come back, but he refused to do so and died in Mecca. Probably the vacillations *laghzaghâ* referred to by A F mean that at first *Ḥakîmu l Mulk* signed the famous document acknowledging Akbar as a Pope and that afterwards he opposed A F He was distinguished as a physician and is included in the list of physicians at p 542 of Blochmann s Ain He is also mentioned under the 26th year in the T Akbarî

[2] The T A Elliot V 420 states that Akbar made the man a daily allowance See also Badayûnî Lowe 296 who connects the establishment of the ' Dumb House with this incident It would appear from A F 's remarks that he refers special ly to the man s hearing the words that Akbar addressed to him

behaviour at the first conquest of Gujarat At this time, when th inscription of auspiciousness and happy augury was read on the tablet of his forehead, H M the granter of desires, showed him favour, and g ive him the Sarkār of Pattan in fief The care of the 318 crown lands in Gujarat was entrusted to him Thirty elephants and one hundred horses were given to him when he was sent off, and Mir Abu Turab was sent with him as his counsellor

One of the occurrences was the return of Yusuf K Cak to the government of Kashmir It has been described to what distress he had been reduced by the wickedness of the people of that country, and how he had, by the guidance of good fortune come to the court of fortune Saiyid Mubārak came to the throne by the plausibility and magical strains of sedition mongers Before two months had elapsed evil and shameless men had consigned him to the cell of obscurity and had raised to power Lohar Cak the cousin of Yūsuf K When he (Yusuf) had done homage, he received various favours, and was given leave to go to Kashmir An order was issued that the Punjab officers should give him the convoy of a suitable army. The Kashmirians awoke from their sleep of neglect, and proceeded to adopt remedies From fear of the victorious troops, they had recourse to entreaties They impressed him with the thought of the evil that would be caused by the coming of the army and sent for him to come alone Before the force had been arranged, and before communicating the secret, he went off quickly, and was received in Baramgala[1] by several of the noted men of the country The new ruler got information of this, and appointed Shams Cak, Haidar Cak, and many others to effect a deliverance They came forward in battle array He (Yūsuf) did not see in himself the power of fighting, and left this road, and went off to Sonpūr[2] Lohar Cak opposed him with some troops As the flower of his army had gone off to the other place, Yūsuf *K* took him at a disadvantage and on 28 Ābān, 8 November, 1580, crossed the Bihat (the Jhelam or Vitasta) and dispersed the opposing force without a

[1] Paramkala in text

[2] There is the variant Sūlpūr The Iqbālnāma seems to have "the defile of Sūlpūr *sarwa-i-Suipūr*, but perhaps it is *garūwa sūlwār* ' by the route of defiles Apparently the place is Sopoor near the Wular lake Haidar Malik calls it Sonpūr

serious engagement Lohar Cak fell into his hands From foresight he deprived [1] him of the light of his eyes, and in consequence of the great help thus received, the water that had strayed [2] fell into its channel, and he attained the government of Kashmīr

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Candar Sen the son of Māldeo Though this foolish wretch had had the bliss of kissing the threshold, he out of short sightedness and perverse fate took to insubordination, as has already been related He went off to the corner of obscurity in terror of the world-conquering army and waited for an opportunity of making a disturbance Then he came out from the defiles, and stirred up strife in some of the estates of the province of Ajmere An order was issued to Payinda Muḥammad K Moghal, Saiyid Hāshim, Saiyid Qāsim, and other fief holders of that neighbourhood that they should be alert and harmonious, and should inflict due punishment on that turbulent fellow They
319 obeyed the order, and turned their faces towards executing the service That ill fated one confronted the army of fortune, and a severe engagament took place He suffered thousands of losses and retired into the desert of failure

[1] The Iqbālnāma enables us to make an important correction here The text has ره نوردیده بگرفت rah nawardīda bagirift but neither the Cawnpore ed nor the two I O, MSS have the word rah and it appears from the Iqbālnāma that Yūsuf blinded Lohar Cak—mil dar casm i ao kashīda The word then is nūr dida and not nawardida, and A F plays on the word peshbīnī foresight The account of Yūsuf Shāh s success is given at great length by Ḥaidar Malik He mentions the blinding of Lohar Cak and two others

[2] The Lucknow ed explains this as meaning that success came at a time of despair But there is nothing in Ḥaidar Malik s account of the contest to support this view

CHAPTER LIII

The Defeat of the Rebels in the Eastern Provinces

From the time that they lay opposite to the victorious army, and had removed the veil and taken to crooked ways—as has already been related—the lovers of fame came out every day and with fortitude and bravery brightened the faces of joy They laid the dust of the battlefield with the lustre of a fresh countenance The audacious and futile had their honour spilled, and sate in the dust of shame in retribution for their evil thoughts Though Tarsun K, Rajah Todar Mal, Muhibb 'Alī K, and M'aṣūm K Farankhudi observed the rules of leadership, and did not sally forth, yet Sādiq K, S Farid, 'Ulugh K and other energetic combatants brought new jewels to market, and the trade of the taking and giving of life went on briskly The wise sovereign kept a watchful eye on the wonders of Divine providence and sometimes from abundant love and graciousness had compassion on the ignorance and sufferings of those who had gone astray, and sometimes rendered thanks to God for the approaching retribution of the evil doers and the progress of the right-thinking which his knowledge of mysteries had imparted to him On account of his ruling the spiritual kingdom he often gave that crew the go by, and without any change of purpose, did not give his mind to redress matters But as the incomparable Deity had left to the shoulders of the genius of that unique one of creation the adornment of the outer world, he, of necessity, gave some attention to the laying the dust of disturbance He sent one army after another under the command of firm loyalists, and also sent much money and so gave renewed strength to the hearts of the public He constantly sent chosen servants of his court such as Peshrau K., Jamil, Sālih, Zainu d din,[1] and Tārā Chand, by relays of horses, and so increased

[1] Badayūnī 291, who says that Zainu-d-dīn was a relative of Shah bāz K and that he brought a lac of rupees to Rajah Todar Mal Tārā Cand is perhaps the son of the treasurer Bhagwān Dās

courage and activity The water of the powerful Fortune cooled the ardour of the enemy, and the deluge of annihilation destroyed the cohesion of those headless and footless ones During the two months *that* the wicked rebels came and sate round the fortress, their condition daily grew worse Though the Khān A'ẓim, Shah bāz K and other officers did not arrive, yet the rebels were alarmed by the news of their coming, and their position ceased to be pros perous The cautious and far-sighted, who had not decided for a pitched battle, determined to come out of the fort and bring the jewel of bravery to the market, and to adorn the battlefield by deeds of valour On hearing of this the wicked and empty headed rebels set themselves on 15 Amardād (25 July 1580) to take flight and went into the desert of vagabondage Some of the victorious soldiers thought this was a stratagem to encourage them and induce *them to come out* *They were not aware that the rebels had lost* their power, and were hastening away to put themselves in safety before the arrival of the imperial troops Though the far sighted ones of the camp knew the real facts, yet, out of caution, they did not put their foot outside Next day, after much discussion, they came out of their entrenchments Muhibb 'Ali K, Mihr 'Ali K and other brave combatants formed the vanguard From want of know ledge, and from circumspection, they moved forward in an irresolute manner (with two minds) At length, Khwāja Shamsu d din, who was in the hill country, and was seeking for a means of joining, as has already been mentioned, arrived with 1200 horse, and repre sented the confusion of the enemy The miserable plight of the foe became patent to the whole army, and another kind[1] of ap prehension occurred to them In spite of abundance of evil thoughts, the small amount of feeling, and the active bazaar of double facedness, the heavenly aid brightened their countenances When the brilliancy[2] and the victoriousness of the imperial officers, and of the pious servants came to the august hearing, he returned thanks to God and joined devotion with joy

Now that the narration has come thus far, it is necessary that

---

1 Presumably that the enemy would not stand

2 The word *bahrusī* بهروسی which is not in the dictionaries occurs again here See above p 250 and below p 331

the pen should write something about the condition of Bengal, and that the book of instruction for the seekers after enlightenment should be completed

Events of that Country

When the work of the makers of counterfeit had been tested and their unjust balances had been detected, the ill fated ones regarded the depth of their fall as the height of their ascension Some of them stayed in the country and ended in eternal ruin, and many hastened to the damaging field of battle, as has been related Qiyā K [1] in Orissa, Murad K in Fatḥābād, and M Nijāt K in Satgāon, had the words of good service on their tongues, but they made not a single step from the wide expanse of talk to the pure spot of action Before the veil of his honour was rent, Murād K [2] died a natural death Mukund, the landholder of that part of the country, invited his sons as his guests, and put them to death, and laid hold of his estate Qiyā K's days ended in failure, for they mixed [3] the poisonous herbs of annihilation with the draught of life The landholders of that country got the upper hand Qatlu marched against M Nijāt, who made an unsuccessful fight in Selimābād and fled to the protection of Partāb Bār [4] Firingi Time instructed the double faced ones by punishment, and suitable retribution About this time Bābāi Qāqshal was smitten with a sore disease, but in spite of his dangerous condition he sent Hamzabān to help (*bar su*) M Nijāt He heard in midway of the success of 32
Qatlu and hastened thither Near Mangalkot [5] he had an engagement with Qatlū He was defeated, and with blistered feet departed

---

[1] A sentence very similar to this occurs at p 291 Nijat or Niyābat K, as we learn from the T M aṣūmi Malet 135, had been married to Nāhīd Begam s daughter, but was separated from her She afterwards married M Bāqī of Sind and was killed

[2] B 374 and J A S B for 1873 p 229

[3] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that he was poisoned But this does not agree with the account given at p 341 of text But it does agree with A F s language here Perhaps both Qiyā Khāns were in Orissa viz Qiyā K. Gang and Qiyā K Ḥasan See B 343 and 464.

[4] If this is Tavares he must have left Akbar s service See B 440 n 1 The Iqbālnāma calls him Tāb Bār

[5] A town N E Bardwan B 440

to the desert of ruin. Bābā prepared for revenge, and Qatlū came forward with plausible speeches and wiles As the stewards of fate *bring one misfortune after* another on those who are disloyal to eternal dominion, the illness of that ringleader of sedition, and capital of the family of turbulence, ended in the incurable pain of cancer.[1] Every day they put two *sirs* of flesh into the wound to feed the maggots (*jānwarān*) When he had awakened somewhat from the long sleep of neglect and infatuation he said constantly, "My wickedness and faithlessness to my salt have brought me to this wretched state" When the Bihar rebels heard of his mortal disease, they dispersed. M Sharafu-d-din Husain and Jabbārī and some evil-doers went to Bengal M'aṣūm K Kabuli and a set of ill fated ones went under the guidance of the zamindar of Gidhaur to Bihar. 'Arab Bahādur and Nūram, the son of Tarkhān, and some others, applied themselves to brigandage Soon their reputation was spilt by the might of Fortune Caudhrī[2] Kishna was conveying treasure *for the assistance of the prosperous* (the imperialists) 'Arab, Nūram and others hurried off to plunder it, but he (Kishna) skilfully hastened on and arrived at the fort of Patna They invested the fort, Bahādur[3] K defended it loyally At this time, when the officers were praying for victory, and were proceeding slowly in pursuit of the enemy, they got this news, and left the route of M'aṣūm K and went off to Patna They agreed that the main army should proceed, stage by stage, according to proper rules, while some active men should press forward M'aṣūm K Farankhūdi begged for this service As Rajah Todar Mal was distressed by his evil thoughts he granted him leave, but from farsight he appointed Muhibb 'Alī K and Mihr 'Alī K to follow him with some loyal troops At a time when the rebels had taken the outworks[4] of the fort, and the position of the garrison had become

---

[1] *Khūrah* Cancer in the face, B 369 n. 1, qu lupus, or leprosy? A F describes it as if it were the morbus pedicularis.

[2] Caudhrī was a name apparently for those in charge of the mints The I O MSS. have kishta This agrees with the Iqbālnāma which has "Kishta Mangal, one of the trusty treasurers (Khazancīān) of the king He was conveying the money from the court

[3] B 495

[4] The text has *nakhastan qila* without any iẓāfat I have taken the phrase to mean the outworks

critical, the above-named arrived and opened the hand of valour The rebels made some resistance and were defeated, and by the Divine protection, no harm came to the forts or the treasure Though M'aṣūm K. had done good service, yet without the approval of the imperial servants he cherished evil thoughts and went off to Jaunpur. On the way he took Ḥājīpūr from the servants of Bahādur [1] On the day when fortune was adverse, and the victorious army was hotly engaged, that evil-doer had come out of Tirhut and seized many places From that time Sarkār Ḥājīpūr was in his possession

---

But perhaps the meaning is they had nearly taken the fort

[1] This must be the Bahādur son of Badakhshī, who set up as a king in Tirhut The I O. MSS have no conjunction before the words "on that day ' ānrūz, though the text has *wa ānrūz* I suppose that Bahādur's taking of Ḥājīpūr refers to some earlier period See the author of Iqbālnāma's remarks about Bahādur at end of his abridgment of this chapter Near the same place he mentions that the name of 'Āṣī was given to M'aṣūm Kabulī by Akbar, and that he shall henceforth call him by that name It appears from Stewart's Hist of Bengal, etc, that Todar Mal caused the dispersion of the rebels by inducing the zamindars to refuse their supplies

CHAPTER LIV.

2 M'AṢŪM K. KABULĪ MAKES A NIGHT ATTACK, AND IS DEFEATED.

At the time when the disturbance caused by 'Arab Bahādur was put down, the victorious army departed from Serai[1] Rānī to Bihar in order to settle the affair of M'aṣūm K. Kabuli, and to clear the garden of the land of the weeds and rubbish of rebellion. Owing to the continual occurrence of clouds and rain it halted on the bank of the Pun-pun. When the weather moderated, it proceeded onward on the road of service. The rebel came out of Bihār and proceeded towards the foot[2] of the northern hill country. On 15 Mihr (end of September 1580) the army reached the town of Gaya. At dawn the enemy left that place and halted at the flourishing city[3] of Bahīra. Next day the imperialists marched four kos and encamped. On account of the great amount of water the arrangements for encamp-

---

[1] This must be the Rānī Serai of Tiefenthaler I 420 He says it is six kos (miles) from the town of Bihār and also six kos from the south bank of the Ganges It must then be to the N of Bihār

[2] *Ba damana-i-kohistān-i-shimālī* By the northern hill country is meant *hills south of Gaya and in* Hazāribāgh, etc This is shown by the 'Ain text I 416, J II. 149, where the breadth of the province of Bihār from North to South is stated as extending from Tirhut to the northern hill country, *shimālī kohsār* M'aṣūm had gone off from before Monghyr to the South and West of Bihār under the guidance of the Rajah of Gīdhaur, text, p 321 But he was unable to maintain his ground against Todar Mal and so was marching southwards towards Hazāribāgh The imperialists pursued him, and did this somewhat too hastily and carelessly for he turned back upon them near Shergotty(?) and made a night attack in which he was nearly successful

[3] *M'amūra-i-shahr Bahīra* There does not seem to be any place of *this name at the present day* But I conjecture that it is Shergotty, the name of which is properly "Shahr ghātī," a large and well known place at the foot of the ghats or mountain-passes leading from the Highlands of Chutia Nagpūr to the plain of Bihār Beames, J.A S B. for 1885, I 169 In the Ain it is called Ghātī Bihar (not Ghātisār as in J) It may, however, be Pahra or Kātī Bahra, both of which places are tered in J II 154

ing were not carried out. The impetuosity of the combatants, and the paucity of the enemy led many into neglect That sedition monger was two farsangs off Though rumours of his evil designs were current, and experienced and alert men spoke about keeping the soldiers in order, they were not successful But Rajah Todar Mal in his quarters and Ṣādiq 'Ali in his, did not lose the thread of foresight, and remained ready for battle That night was the watch of Ulugh[1] K Habshi and his force The leader slept on the bed of negligence, and sent his somnolent servants to be watchful! The enemy who had lost courage recovered it on seeing the ill timed cautiousness of the imperialists, and their slow-marching, and set themselves to make a disturbance As they did not find in themselves the power to fight by day, they thought of behaving like owls and of making an attack in the darkness of night When a watch of the night had passed, they attacked with a large force They defeated the neglectful vanguard, and Māh Beg and some Abyssinians were slain Their presumption increased, and they laid hands on the imperial camp, and the deluge of turbulence reached the quarters of Sādiq K He stood firm and behaved bravely, the heroes who loved their reputation devoted their lives

Verse

I'll not call them two armies, but two mountains of Qaf
They stood drawn up in the arena
So hot was the engagement
That steel swords made the rocks soft

At this time when things were in the balance, and loss showed its face from afar, Kamal K faujdār brought up two elephants swift as the wind, and imparted lustre to the battle The evil doers fell into confusion, and the breeze of victory began to blow on the rosebush of the hopes of the good servants The roses of the battlefield bloomed from being watered by the cheerful of countenance Great deeds were done by the courageous, and by the sky high elephants Every arrow that reached the elephants was 323
regarded by them as an incitement to activity and increased their spirit They cast down with their trunks the enemy's horsemen

[1] B 437 See Badayūnī Lowe 292 and Elliot V 418

Eighty-two arrows stuck in one elephant, and fifty-five in another Many of the imperial servants were wounded, but owing to the Divine protection none were fatally injured By the help of heaven a great victory revealed its countenance If the narrowness of their energy had been a little widened, and they had followed up their victory, this would have been the last revolution of the heavens for the enemy But the country was full of water, and their enterprise was at a low level, and the roads were full of jungle The victorious troops were on their guard till morning When the sun took possession of the earth, they came out of camp and halted near the city of Bahira and though they knew that the enemy was three *kos* off they did not pursue them

One of the occurrences was that the Khān 'Āzim joined the army Inasmuch as the incomparable Deity increases the fortune of the world's lord, the great rebellion had subsided before the armies effected a junction The daily increase of dominion was impressed on high and low The cause of the delay in the arrival of the Kokaltāsh was that when he crossed at Causa, he was detained by the rebellion of Dalpat Ujjainiya His short sighted companions represented his power in exaggerated terms, and he listened to them and set himself to punish that presumptuous one About the same time Shahbāz K arrived, and the Khan 'Āẓim also kept him back, and represented to him the necessity for punishing the landholder As the celestial superintendents were engaged in displaying[1] the wonders of daily increasing fortune, the plannin s of the imperial servants were not happy, and the effects of their energies were stayed by the performance of this part of their work Jagdespūr, the seat of the rebel, was plundered. The forests which also contained miry places were a help to the rebels The imperialists halted there, and tested their valour in daily engagements Meanwhile babblers caused a dissension between the Khān 'Āẓim and Shahbāz K and the light of concord became dark The Kokaltāsh withdrew his

[1] The meaning is that heaven was showing the wondrous good fortune of Akbar by allowing his servants to make mistakes and yet producing eventual success Dalpat was the successor of Gajpatī Apparently he was Gajpatī s uncle He is reckoned as the 74th Ujjainiah chief Gajpatī being the 73rd Dalpat or Dalpatī, or Dulīp Shah is said to have been Rajah from 1577 to 1601 See B 513 and n

hand from the work, and went off towards the army, on the 18th, i e the day after the night-attack, he joined the camp, and a fresh lustre was given to affairs

One of the occurrences was the death of S'aādat 'Ali K 'Arab Bahādur and some rebels marched against Shahbāz K The officers out of caution sent S'aādat 'Ali K, Qamar K, Payinda and Rustam with auxiliary troops On their arrival, the rebels dispersed 324
Shahbāz K placed troops here and there for the protection of the country, and he assigned the fort of Kant,[1] which is a dependency of Rohtās, to S'aādat 'Ali K, Payinda, Rustam and the landholder Rūp Narain 'Arab and Dalpat had their opportunity and made an attack A great engagement took place Though they could not guard the fort, they guarded their honour and staked their short lives in a worthy manner Though S'aādat 'Ali K had, at the beginning of the rebellion, been a kindler of strife, yet he spent his last breath in loyalty 'Arab from his depraved disposition, drank some of his blood He stained his forehead with some of it, and gave new lustre to villainy

One of the occurrences was the departure of many rebels from the province of Bihar When the Khān 'Āẓim joined the army of fortune there was great rejoicing The evil doers relinquished the idea of battle and hastened off in failure to Bengal, though, owing to the evil thoughts of some, they were not pursued, nor was an expedition made into Bengal, so that the ingrates might have had their wings and feathers burnt off and have received the retribution due to their deeds But proper steps were taken for the reducing Bihar into order, and there was profound peace in that territory On the[2] 20th Muḥibb 'Ali K was sent off and the country was made over to his watchfulness from Shahr Bahira to Rohtās Saiyid Moẓaffar and Mir M'aṣum[3] of Bhakar and other servants accom-

[1] So in text But apparently it is the Kot of the Ain J II 157 which is described as having a stone (sangīn) fort Beames, J A S B for 1885 p 181 thinks that Kot must be the well known hillfort of Bijaygaṛh on a high platform overlooking the Sone. It is up-stream from Rohtās fifty miles S Benares and nine from the Sone and is in the Mirzapūr district It is the fort which was occupied for a time by Chait Singh

[2] The I O MSS support the variant ' the 8th " in which case presumably Ābān is meant

[3] The well known historian and writer of inscriptions B 514

panied him On that day the army halted in Gaya, in the neighbourhood of Rajgarha Dost Muhammad[1] Bâbâ Dost—who from his *evil fate had colluded with the rebels—became, by a happy star,* ashamed and repented, and joined with 200 men When the victorious army came near Ghîâspûr, the news arrived that 'Arab had been defeated by Shahbâz K and was going to the province of Sârangpûr,[2] and that he was oppressing the weak Accordingly Shâham K and a number of men who had fiefs in that part were sent off in order to inflict punishment on him Ghâzi K Badakhshî was left with a body of troops in Bihar[3] When a report came of the seditiousness of M'aṣum K Farankhudi, Tarson K. was sent off to Jaunpur Sâdiq K, S Farid Bokhâri, Ulugh K Habshî Ṭaiyib K and others were sent off to Monghyr in order to *clear that country of rebels, and to give peace to the peasantry* The Khân 'Âẓim, Rajah Todar Mal and others proceeded to Patna and Hâjipûr At this time Shahbâz K, before the officers joined him, set up a shop of his own As he had chastised Dalpat and 'Arab and had taken Hâjipûr by force from the servants of Bahâdur, he became self conceited and presumptuous When M'aṣum K Farankhûdi went to Jaunpur Bahadur had shown activity and taken possession of it (Hâjipûr) If his common sense had not been injured he should have joined the imperial servants and acted in concert with them *By* working together they would have carried matters through Success, which in the pure soul brings with it humility and supplication, had the contrary effect on him, and led him to commit the acts of an enemy The first thing was that he made some delay in surrendering Hâjipur, which had been assigned from the sublime court to the Kokaltâsh He was induced to give it up by the tact and skill of Rajah Todar Mal The Khân 'Âẓim and the Rajah took up their quarters in Ḥâjipur, and Shahbâz K stayed in Patna The former spent their time in trouble (*sirgirani*) and in using blandishments[4] (*aghufaroshi*), while that newly

[1] The Iqbâlnâma says that he had formerly been the *vakîl* of Mun im K

[2] *The I O MSS and the Cawn*pore ed have not the termination ...

garh in Sambhalpur meant or is it Sâran?

[3] The city of Bihar says the Iqbâlnâma

[4] I suppose this refers to attempts ...

infatuated one employed himself in adorning his shop[1] and in managing matters From his increasing dignities and giving of fiefs, many of the officers turned towards him The Khān ʻĀẓim was disgusted with everything (*withdrew his heart from everything*) and the Rajah postponed[2] everything The whole of the affairs of the province devolved upon Shahbāz K Though right thinking persons intervened, in no way could the thread of unity be duplicated,[3] or the path of conciliation trodden Though they represented that by the wondrous working of fate, the imperial troops had been divided into two portions, and had indulged their own wishes and not taken the path of concord and that the indispensable thing now was that one portion should take upon itself the charge of Bengal, and another the guarding of Bihar up to the capital, yet inasmuch as self interest had let fall a veil over the eyes of truth-seeking, and broad and right-thinking was hidden, the remarks had no effect The Khān ʻĀẓim and the Rajah and some officers went off to Tirhut Though the pretext was that they wished to put down Bahādur, but in reality they sought to get away from Shahbāz K When they had gone a little way, they sent Ghāzi K in advance The rebel (Bahādur) made ready for battle, and was defeated, and his home and family were captured. Shāhbāz K went off with a large army to Jaunpūr Though he too was moved by a desire for separation, and for being free from daily discussions, yet he gave out that he wished to guide Mʻaṣum K. Farankhūdi to service

One of the occurrences was the dying of Sharafud din Husain M. Though the leaders of the victorious army were self willed, the wondrous fortune (of Akbar) still displayed her countenance When

---

that they did nothing, but only practised amiable speeches

[1] This metaphor about keeping a shop and setting off the wares to the best advantage was a favourite with Akbar and A F

[2] Lit threw things into the foundation or into the reserve (*tarh*)

[3] A. F's language here is tortuous and his metaphors obscure Apparently, the phrase *rishta-i-ikja-hati dotāī nagirift* means that the thread of singleness of action and concord could not be made of two strands, i e Shahbāz, and the K ʻĀẓim and the Rajah And this, although it was suggested to them that circumstances favoured them, by allowing them independence of action, for there were two distinct fields for their energies, viz Bengal and Bihar

M'aṣūm K Kābulī fled to Bengal, dissension broke out between him and the Mirzā, and each lay in ambush for the other The Mirzā
26 became haughty on account of abundant plunder, and of the pressure of flatterers (lit dog flies) That fox (M'aṣūm) had recourse to deception and blandishments, and by craft contrived to poison him The Mirzā had an Indian boy named Mahmud whom, from a regard to externals, and ignorance of human nature, he loved M'aṣūm corrupted him by money, and he mixed poison with the Mirzā's opium (*khashkhash*) In a short time he died and his contemporaries were quit of his troubling

One of the occurrences was the death of Dastam K [1] In the previous year he had been sent to put down the disaffected, and to support the oppressed in the province of Ajmere, and he had performed the task with zeal and devotion At this time, Ucla the son *of Bhalbhadr, Mohan, Sūr Dās and Tiluksi, the brother's sons of* Rajah Bihāri Mal, came thither from the Panjab without permission, and stirred up strife in the town of Lūni,[2] which was their home That excellent (*farohīda*) man out of respect for the Kachwahas tried the effect of advice Inasmuch as a rough file is of use for an unfinished article (*angara*) and a smooth one for a polished surface,

---

[1] See B 398 Bayazīd Biyāt calls 99*b* Dastam or Dostam s (B 620) mother Tākhta and tells how Akbar on one occasion borrowed a needle from her to take thorns out of his feet

[2] B has an elaborate note about the sites mentioned by A F p. 398 n 1 There is a Lunī entered in the Ain as belonging to Sarkār Delhi J II, p 288, but I suppose it cannot be the place alluded to here Ranthanbor is now in Jaipūr There is a Bolī entered in Sarkār Ranthanbor J II 274, which B supposes to be the Lūnī of text There is a Sherpūr marked on the Govt map of Jaipūr, between the Banās and the Cambal These are the variants for Lūnī of Lūlī and Nūlī I think it is almost certain that B is right in identifying Lūnī and Bolī The latter besides being mentioned in the Ain is referred to in Babar s statement of the revenues of India where we have Sarkār Ranthanbor including Bolī etc See Erskine s Hist of India I 274. The place where the fight took place is called in text Thorī but the Iqbālnama has Bhorī *and this seems to be the* correct reading for we have Bhorī Bhara in J II 274 and Bhorī Pahārī in *id* 102 It would seem from Akbar s remark that Dastam and he met when the latter was only three years old, and presumably, therefore when Akbar was with his uncles in Kabul or Qandahar

gentleness and conciliation did not suit those turbulent ones, but increased their wickedness, and put a new head to their refractoriness At this time Ādam Tājband brought an order from court that Dastam K. should bring them into the road (of submission) by warnings and threats, and that if they did not accept these, he was to punish them He did not make plans and acted hastily Without collecting soldiers he hastened to their abode On 10 Ābān he fell in with the enemy in the village of Thori and engaged them Mohan Dās, Sur Dās, and Tiluksi attacked the vanguard, which was commanded by Miskīn 'Ali He fell from his horse, but got up and fought bravely Dastam K on perceiving this sent forward most of his companions There was a hot engagement Mohan Das and Sūr Dās were killed, and Tiluksi fell in another part of the field Ucla, who was the ringleader, took refuge in a field of millet (*jawār*) and was watching his opportunity Suddenly he came out of his ambush, and calling out "Dastam Khān," came to the battlefield He turned to fight, and did not regard the fewness of his men The scoundrel inflicted a severe wound on him with a spear, and Dastam, in spite of the dangerous wound, killed him with his sword, and himself fell senseless on the ground Just then some of his men came up and set him upon his horse As the engagement was hot, he said nothing about his injury, but encouraged his men They addressed themselves to the fight and slew many The rest of the 327
enemy fled, and the houses of the rebels were plundered By the blessing of daily-increasing fortune a great victory was gained When the fight was done they halted near the same place Next day at the time of return he died in the town of Sherpur He yielded up his life in good service and with the beauty of loyalty and bravery, and, by the spilling of a short life, acquired an eternal name The world's lord lamented for a while, but from his lordship of the spiritual world he moved to the garden of resignation By various acts of kindness and by cordial words he soothed somewhat the agitated mind of his mother and said, "From the beginning of the springtide of my existence I spent (only) three years without him, but with that exception he held a place in the ante-chamber of favour. He did his work and understood my position (or perhaps men's dispositions) All are aware that secluded, chaste one has spent many years without him It appears that his loss is harder

for us,[1] and that it is she who should minister comfort to me' He spoke many choice words May the incomparable Deity preserve him on the throne and make him successful spiritually and temporally He bestowed many favours on the survivors of the deceased, and the sorrowful had a new joy He sent M Khān to manage the country and bestowed Rantanbhor on him as a fief He hung many jewels of counsel on the ears of his reason

Also at this time Khwāja Shāh Manṣur was distinguished by the royal favour It has been mentioned why he had been removed from the Viziership and sent to the prison of schooling As it appeared that in the writing of accounts and demanding of arrears there was no fault of the Khwaja's except the thought of increasing the revenue and a failure to recognize the circumstances of the time, he was again exalted to that high office, and the jewel of his understanding was polished by good counsels

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Vizier (Wazir) K to Oudh As that province was without a great officer H M ordered that the peasantry and soldiers should be succoured He went off in the end of the month, and many choice servants and soldiers accompanied him

One of the occurrences was that Niyābat K received punishment That base man was the son of Mir Hashim of Nīshapur, and had the
8 name of 'Arab He had been brought up from an early age in the service of the world's lord, and been exalted by great confidence For some time he managed the crown lands The accountants brought a charge of arrears against him, and the slave of gold preferred disobedience to service and by his own acts fell into eternal ruin He made long the arm of sedition and besieged the town of Kara Ilyās K Lankā[2] with a few servants of Ism'ail Quli K fought a battle, and bravely drank the last draught Many could not believe in his shamelessness, and some rejoiced in it On hearing of this H M sent off, on 3 Āẕar, Isma'īl Quli K 'Abdul mattalib, S Jamāl, Bakhtiyār and other loyal servants Wazir K and the other officers of the province were ordered to act with concord and activity, and to inflict retribution on him When the

[1] Text has *bar ao*, but I O MSS and Cawnpore edition have *bar ma*

[2] Perhaps Langa

army approached, and opened the hand of superior strength, that futile fellow strengthened some of the forts and went off to Arail Wazir K and some brave men addressed himself to the taking of it, and in the first place proceeded to take Ilahabās (Allahabad) Ism ail Quli K and others followed up Niyabat K, and near the river of Kantit,[1] Muttalib K, and S Jamal arrived before the others and adorned the field of battle From every side brave men met together, and bought with their lives the valuable goods of honour Friends and foes praised each other's strength of arm

Verse

First with arrows from both sides
They made a single hair into a hundred strands
When they wearied of the cuirass splitting arrow
They drew their swords from the sheaths

The victorious army was nearly suffering loss Suddenly Ism'ail Quli K arrived with some brave and experienced men and the fire temple of battle was rekindled By the help of God matters were changed and victory ensued Many of the enemy were killed and that turbulent one trod the desert of failure and sate in the corner of disgrace Various kinds of plunder were obtained, and his houses were soon seized

One of the occurrences was (the display of) the physical might of the world s lord He had ordered that every day distinguished wrestlers should contend in his presence This gave pleasure to many who were present at the public audiences One day Jag Sobhā and Haibat Tahamtan contended, and astonished the spectators Haibat, who was strong, abandoned the rules of wrestling and in a 329

[1] The text has Kaght and Badayunī has Gaght a dependency of Patna Lowe 298 But as B has pointed out 425 n 2 Gaght is a mistake for Kantīt in Allahabad Sarkār J II 161 and Patna for Pannah The river ab of Kantīt must be the Ganges The mistake also occurs in Ell ot V 420 Badayūnī says Niyābat dismounted Jamal Bakhtyar and then spared his life After his defeat Niyabat went off to Oudh to Masum K Farankhūdī Kantīt is entered under Sarkar Ilahabās in J II 161 For Kara or Karral often called Corah see I G XIV 416 It is 42 miles N W Allahabad

[2] See the chapters about pahlwans or wrestlers in B 253

demon-like fashion applied his strength, and tore off the fingers of his antagonist. Inasmuch as the administration of punishment rests in the first instance on the holy personality of kings, the world's lord put his fist into the face of that misbehaver. By the might of the shadow of the hand of God that gigantic form fell senseless like a weakling. The powerful of body were amazed, and the superficial had their attention directed to realities.

CHAPTER LV

The tearing of the veil of reverence by M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, and his soilure in the dusthole of failure

It has been stated that that wretch separated, in his presumption, from the army of fortune, and kicked against fortune He came to Jaunpur and occupied himself in evil thoughts Fly like beings and slaves of gold gathered round the poisoned honey Though for a long time past sedition had been oozing out from his behaviour, and he used to make evil speeches, yet, on this day when the disturbance caused by the rebels in Bengal and Bihar had subsided and their power had been scattered, and when it was time for him to weave a screen over his evil deeds he from innate wickedness, and a demoniacal disposition, totally severed the woof and warp of shame, and seated himself in the melancholy abode of misfortune! Sound reason is withdrawn from those for whom the time of retribution has arrived, and their eyes of warning become dim The counsels of the time do not give them clearness of vision they think loss is gain, and proper what is bad! The circumstances of that turbulent man illustrate this view The increasing of eternal fortune (Akbar's) and the losses of the rebels, together with the report of the coming to the Panjab of Hakīm M and the design of H M to proceed thither, called forth his ingratitude and presumption from the straits of his bosom to the open ground of demonstration He forcibly took Jaunpūr from the servants of Tarson K. For a long time his misconduct was not credited at Court How could a head on which so much bounty had been shed, be the bearer of so much unpleasantness? And how could a brain which had received so much truth be filled with the smoke of delusion? But when fortune is darkened, the lamp of wisdom grows cold, and safety is sought in nothingness, and repose in loss Obligations of old standing are placed in the privy chamber of oblivion The weight of desires, and the levity of wrath, cast the man headlong 330
into the dark ravine of failure

Verse

Wherever lust sets a firm foot
The pleasant place of life is disordered
When desire is firmly fixed in the heart
Fidelity's foundation remains not in her place

When successive instances of his wickedness had occurred, the noble graciousness of H M decided that some prudent men should be sent to bring him to the station of bliss, so that he might either join the army, or turn the face of supplication towards the court But advice only increased his madness, and his excuses became materials for strifemongering Inasmuch as it is the rule of H M to walk circumspectly, an order was issued that if M'aṣum could not bring himself to do either of those two things, he should withdraw from Jaunpur and proceed to Oudh, and regard it as his fief and look after it That evil starred one thought he was saved, and hastened off to that province In appearance he obeyed the order, in reality he got an opportunity for accumulating the materials of disturbance Though the imperial servants reported some of his misdeeds, they were not listened to on account of its being the market day of graciousness! S̱ẖaguna Qarāwal and some intimates were sent to inquire into his condition, for many well meaning persons have become objects of suspicion on account of the negligence of rulers and the malignity and self seeking of their servants, and been ruined in their reputation and their lives They (the servants) have made the matter a means of selling their own goods and so have developed another market

The envoys owing to their small wisdom and great covetousness, represented the wicked seller of wiles as loyal and serviceable and said that he was in some unsteadiness on account of the untrue reports, but that if one or two magnanimous courtiers were sent to him and soothed him, he would come to court and produce thousands of the goods of submissiveness The world's lord from his noble nature credited these representations and sent off on this service Shāh Quli K Mahram and Rajah Birbar When they arrived in the neighbourhood, they, from foresight, sent a conciliatory letter, conveying the news of H M 's graciousness That man, whose fate was somnolent, came out from behind the screen of respect and

used improper language Perceiving that the affair was past remedy, they returned Before they reached the court Shahbaz K arrived with the army of fortune and laid the dust of sedition The presumptuous one became a vagabond in the desert of defeat Every one to whom the Incomparable Deity grants reason increasing auspiciousness obtains long life and happiness, and those who wish ill to his fortune are stained with the dust of failure Whoever peruses ancient records, or holds reasonable converse with the guar 331
dians of speech—who adorn the library of the heart—perceives this Or he can do so by opening the eye of enlightenment and studying with a fair mind a portion of the record of the World's Lord A fresh example is afforded by the circumstances of the overthrow of this man of turbulent brain Owing to the disappearance of the department of skill and the absence of any enlightened intermediary, the abundance of sedition mongering sophists, the friendship of flatterers, and the fault finding with others, there was no banquet of concord among the officers of the victorious army Why should I say this? There was not even any tact, which is indispensable in the social state The prosperity of the imperial servants was without any such regulating principle! The Khān Āʿẓim and Rajah Todar Mal went off to Tirhut, and Shāhbāz K hastened to Jaunpur The conquest of Bengal and the chastisement of the rebels became hidden under the veil of delay Owing to daily-increasing Fortune, that which might have been a matter of loss to prestige became the material of increased victory (bahruzi) and auspiciousness When Shāhbāz K reached the town of Bihiya[1] the news came that 'Arab Bahādur had been defeated by Tarson K's men and was in that neighbourhood, and was oppressing the weak Some active men were sent and they inflicted suitable punishment on him From thence he went to Jagdespur and set himself to punish the refractory in that quarter At this time it became certain that M'aṣum K Farankhudi had gone wrong, and that Niyābat K and 'Arab were backing him Of necessity he hasted to Oudh, and sent a wise

[1] There is a variant, but probably Bihīya is right It is in the Shahabad district and now a railway station Shahbāz might pass through Bihīya on his way from Patna to Jaunpur if he kept to the south side of the Ganges

letter (to M'aṣūm) along with an acute man Its purport was that he should arrest 'Arab, Niyābat K and Shāh Dāna, and go with them to court, or go himself in advance so that the veil over his actions might not be discarded and that his evil actions might be turned into good ones Inasmuch as the lamp of his wisdom had grown cold, and his fortune had gone to sleep, he regarded the counsel as fiction, and increased his folly He sent his family and household across the Saru (the Sarjū) to a difficult country, and prepared for war in company with distracted Turks[1] Shahbāz K prepared for battle He himself was in the centre, Tarson K was on the right wing, Mihtar K, Pahar K, Saiyid Ābdullah K and Qamar K were on the left Mihr 'Ali K Sildoz, Jiwan K Koka, Mir Abul Qāsim, and Mir Abul M'aali took front rank in the van Mufākhar Muhammad and some experienced soldiers formed the reserve The sagacious enemy chose a difficult ground Arab commanded the right wing, Shāh Dana and 'Ābdi the left wing M Quli Ioqbai and a party of ill
32 fated ones were in the van Niyābat K had his place in the *altamsh* He himself (M'aṣum) remained in ambush

On 13 Bahman (22nd January 1581) when a watch of the day had passed an engagement took place near Sultanpur[2] Bilahri, 25 kos from Awadh (the city of, i e Ajodya or Faizabād)

(*Quatrain*)

The van of the victorious army pushed forward, and the *altamsh* supported it, and the enemy was defeated M Quli stepped towards the abode of annihilation, and carried off his life to the lodging of dishonour The combatants of the right wing, also, by great efforts, drove off the foe At this time M'asūm K approached the centre (Shahbāz's) and stirred up the dust of battle. Shahbaz K lost heart and took the road of flight On receiving this news the right wing and the van turned back By the wondrous work of the adorners of fortune (i e Akbar's mystic helpers) a cry arose

[1] There is the variant buzurgan and it is supported by I O 236 MS 235 has zarbandagan It is not likely that Turkan is right

[2] Bilahrī and Sultanpūr are mentioned separately in J II 174 B in Errata corrects his Bilkari to Bilahrī See Oudh Gazetteer III 428 Bilahrī is now known as Barausna The old pargana of Sultanpur is divided by the Gumtī into S Barausna and S Miranpur

that M'aṣūm K had been killed, and the enemy's opportunity was dissipated When that brainless one (M'aṣūm) had gone some distance he came (back) to the field of battle He could see no trace of his men and sank into the depths of bewilderment Suddenly an army appeared drawn up in battle array The confused man thought it was his own troops and joyfully proceeded towards them He found that it was the left wing of the victorious army His bewilderment and despair increased The beginning of the battle had taken place on low ground full of trees When the enemy[1] had been routed the troops proceeded to plunder their camp The Bacgoti clan who were attached to that body (the left imperial wing) also joined in the plundering Like a flood they swept away the quarters of the foundationless wretches The plunderers[1] had come to the field of battle when that rebel came there Though his comrades represented to him that those men (the left wing) were not aware of the condition of Shahbaz K and that the suitable thing was to pause a little, as when the facts were known, they would disperse of themselves he did not listen to them and proceeded to attack He was unsuccessful, and returned wounded He drew rein on some high ground, which really was low (past, i e base) Though the field had been gained by the strenuous servants of fortune, yet they had not the energy to take a few steps and seize the loitered That ill fated one recited the verse of despair and went to his camp As he could see no sign of it, he was overwhelmed with grief With a darkened mind and in wretched plight externally, he went off to Awadh The victorious left wing heard of the rest of the troops having[2] given way and encamped at Akbarpūr[3] twelve *kos* from Awadh They sent swift messengers to convey the news of victory to Shahbāz 333
K and the other leaders Shahbāz K in his alarm had drawn rein

[1] *Ghanāim* I take this word to refer to the imperial troops who had just plundered M aṣūm s camp The author of the Iqbālnāma seems to have so understood it for he has *baghanaim na mahsur* with bound less plunder

[2] *dil bal dādan* This is the phrase which occurs in Vol II p 53

[3] In the Faizabad district. See I G V 180 It is E N E Sultanpūr See 'Oude Gazetteer, I 14 and 15 It seems to have been founded by Akbar and had a bridge which was apparently bu lt in 976 (1568-69) under the supervision of Muḥammad Muḥsin

at Jaunpur thirty *kos* from the field of battle The right wing and the van halted in Suhirpur twelve *kos* from the battle field It was solely by H M s good fortune that such a great defeat[1] fell upon the enemy As the leader of the victorious army was exalted by the world's wine, such a crop sickness of sorrow fell upon him On the 21st the celestial news reached H M and he returned thanks to God The worthy servants were rewarded by divers favours There was abundant collyrium for the eye of the heart, and the clearness of vision acquired fresh lustre

One of the occurrences was the S͟hāhinshah's giving special attention to Divine matters No time passed without his taking into consideration the world of bliss, or without his giving a penetrating glance to the acts of the ancients The whole of his noble energies was directed towards the subsidence of the turbulence of schisms, and to the removal of the mists of contest In the holy temple of his head—which is an explanation of the Divine privy chamber—he was grieved by the varieties of religions, and he was in search of what was pleasing to God He stepped aside from the untruthfulness of the religion splitting deceivers and hypocrites The heart and tongue of this Unique of the world of creation always sang this strain of supplication

Verse

O God, show the way of approach to Thee,
Show one glory of that heart entrancing beauty,
Write on the heart the letters worthy to be read,
Show us the picture worthy to be seen

On the 25th he removed the veil from many secluded verities and brought out the truth to the hall of manifestation, and said with his wondrous tongue, "If this repose should be effected, and

[1] A F s account of the battle is confused and he does not like the T A and Badayunī, ascribe the victory to Tarson Muḥammad He makes him command the right wing but it is to the left wing that he ascribes the victory Cf Elliot V 421 and Badayūnī Lowe 298 B 400 has Shahbaz fighting all the way to Jaunpūr but I think that the word fighting is a clerical error and that B wrote flying Neither A F nor the Maasir says anything about Shahbāz fighting his way up to Jaunpūr

it should be impressed on all that the doing the will of God was an indispensable duty, how could sufficient thanksgiving be paid therefore? Where is the strength to give praise for this? But in accordance with the saying of the wise of old " 'If all cannot be effected, all should not be abandoned,' it occurs to us that we and all those around us can do one thing in proportion to our strength, and can regard that as the material of bliss Therefore it appears to us that as our ancestors made a twelve years' cycle, in every year, one good action may be performed (1) In the[1] Sicqān year, mice should not be injured (2) In the Ud year, endeavours should be made to strengthen oxen and they should be presented to cultivators (3) In the Pārs year, one should refrain from capturing leopards, and from hunting with them (4) In the Tawishqān year, one should refrain from eating or hunting hares (5) In the Loiy year, one should adopt 334
the same practice with regard to fish (6) In the Yilān year, one should not injure serpents (7) In the Yunt year, horses should not be killed or eaten, and presents should be made of them (8) In the Qūi year, the same with regard to sheep (9) In the Mūcun[2] year, apes should not be hunted, and those caught should be set free (10) In the Takhāqu year, cocks should not be killed, nor used in fighting (11) In the Yit year dogs should not be employed in hunting, and attention should be paid to the nurturing of this faithful animal, especially the friendless ones of the streets (12) In the Tanguz year hogs should not be injured Likewise, some good work after this fashion should be done in every month of the lunar year

(1) Muharram Living creatures should not be killed (2) Safr Prisoners should be set free (3) Rabi al awwal Thirty selected needy persons should be given presents (4) Rabi 'al akhir The bodily elements should be kept cleansed and pleasures not be indulged in (5) Jamādi al awwal One should not adorn oneself in gorgeous raiment nor in woven silk (6) Jamādi al ākhir One should not use leather (7) Rajab One should according to his

---

[1] A F gives an account of the Turki era in the Ain J II 20 In the Persian text of the Ain I 273 the names of the years are spelt letter by letter

[2] So in text but a mistake the true reading is either Bij or Bich as in Lucknow ed or Maimūn

ability help forty persons of his own age (8) Sh'abān Every day one should put away oppression by oneself or by others (9) Ramẓān One should feed and clothe thirty indigent persons (10) Shawwāl One should repeat 1000 times every day the names of the Creator (11) Ẓiq'ada One should watch the first night, and every day one should make presents to and cherish some persons of another Faith than his own (12) Zihajj Thirty useful buildings should be erected Continually, such good practices should be kept up according to years and months" The farsighted and intelligent person well knows that these institutions of the world's lord are intended for the tribes of mankind who have left the way of bliss and are sunk in the pit of formalism and evil ways His world protectiveness keenly feels this desire As for the ocean of enlightenment and treasure house of wisdom, he, as regards the sovereignty of the outer world and the Caliphate of the spiritual universe, holds a continual darbār in the temple of wisdom

Verse

O God, do Thou exalt this enlightened King,
The exalter of diadem and throne
Build his throne on the top of the sky,
Do what he and his fortune desire

One of the occurrences was the death of Bahādur Baski[1] He was at the head of the rebels of Bengal In the province of Bihar he, in league with Jan Muhammad Bihsudi and some reprobates, practised tyranny When the mist of dissension (lit two colours) arose among the officers, and the march of the victorious army to Bengal was postponed, Sādiq K and some gallant men took their stand in the neighbourhood of Monghyr Ulugh K. Habshi, Bābui Mankli, Abā Bikr, and Bāqir Anṣāri went to Bhagalpur, and spread out the carpet of neglect Those ill-fated ones (Bahādur and his companions) became bold and attacked them, and they were unable to resist and returned to Monghyr Sādiq K sent some alert and

[1] The text has بسکی I O MS 236 has paskī There is the variant Khweshgī This is not the son of Sa'īd Badakhshī He did not die till the 26th year when he was executed by Akbar See text 374 I believe the word to be Bangī, a chewer of bhang One MS has bangī

experienced men to give them battle By good fortune, Bahādur, 335
who was the ringleader, was killed, while the other rebels fled to Bengal The pleasant land of Bihar was swept and cleansed of weeds and rubbish The mandrake[1] grew up instead of the thorn, and the season of joy became active

[1] *mardam giyā* The plant is supposed to resemble a man, and possibly the word is here used metaphorically for man Cf Isaiah lv 13 The mandrake is also called mihrgiyā and is regarded as an aphrodisiac

CHAPTER LVI

Expedition to the Panjab, and the failure and return of Hakīm M. to Kabul

Assuredly the stewards of the privy chamber of fate impel him who is of wide capacity and great kindness, and who is possessed of great power together with right thinking, to leave to the Deity the amendment of the evil and seditious. If the latter are of a good nature they recall them from their wickedness and send them to make supplications at the Court of the world's lord. Otherwise they confound their evil wishes and deliver them over to failure. The case of this young man of disturbed brain illustrates this. Although reports of his misfeasance reached the ears of H. M. he did not address himself to punish him. He used to say to his servants, "He is a memorial[1] of H. M. Jahānbānī. A son can be acquired but how can a brother be obtained?" He from drunkenness and the intoxication of youth was inflamed of mind, and nourished the thought of contending against God-given dominion. He did not know that a great fire could not be put out by a little water, and that the medicine for a scratch cannot be the plaster for an old gangrene. At the time when the rebels in the eastern provinces were stirring up the dust of dissension, as has already been described, though the imperial servants urged an expedition to that quarter this did not find acceptance. The reason why it did not obtain assent was because it had flashed upon the holy heart that that evil-wisher would stir up strife in the Panjab. So it turned out, and mortals obtained collyrium for their vision. The Mirza desired in the previous year to make confusion in the tranquil land of India. M. Sulaiman diverted him to Badakhshān, and his success there increased his audacity. The idle talk of the rebels of the
36 eastern provinces added to this. In the middle of Āzar (December 1580) he sent a body of troops under the command of Hājī Nūrū

[1] See J. III. 383 where this remark is repeated.

d-dīn, and the latter crossed the Indus M Yusuf K the fiefholder in that country sent an army under the command of Hasan Beg S'aid K Gakkar and some strenuous men joined this force As owing to the rapidity of movement a large army had not arrived, it was thought that battle would be given after some days But who can restrain the augmenters of fortune? In a short time a battle took place, and the enemy was defeated When the imperial army was about to encamp, a herd of deer suddenly appeared, and Hasan Beg was seized by a love of sport He shot one with an arrow and hastened after it with some companions On the other side, the fates had stirred up the leader of the other army to come out to see the spectacle Hasan Beg and Haji Nūru d-dīn encountered one another, and by good fortune the latter was wounded and put to flight All at once the disturbance ceased Some of the ill fated ones were captured, and many lost their lives in the river The leaven of the rebellious ones was chilled [1] in the neighbourhood of Peshawar and became extinct He was one of the base wretches of Ḥiṣār For a time he had behaved ungratefully to the court of Muhammad Husain [2] M, and when the latter died, he, by a thousand efforts, flung himself among the evil thinkers of Kabul and acquired some measure of trust

Though the warlike servants received the reward of their good conduct yet as it was clear that M Yusuf [3] K did not use foresight and prudence in the management of the frontier he was removed and the administration of the neighbourhood of the Indus was made over to Kuar Man Singh He marched from Sialkot to manage the country and from foresight and skill he sent some troops in advance under the charge of Zainu d dīn 'Ali At Rawalpindi he heard of the arrival of Shādman on the bank of the Indus He quickly proceeded to engage him A battle took place, and by the strength of H M's fortune the enemy was punished When the Mirza heard of the catastrophe of Nuru-d din it did not awaken him from his

[1] *qizak shuda* Gazak means a relish to wine and also the turning cold of a wound I presume the latter is the meaning here

[2] Son of Sultan Husain M the governor of Qandahar and nephew of *Jalāl ud-dīn* Muhammad Husain went to Persia and was put to death by Ismail II See Maasir III 246

[3] Apparently this is the Yūsuf K who was afterwards thought fit to govern Kashmir B 346

somnolence, and he dispatched Shādmān, whom he regarded as the sword of his army, with a large force On 6 Dai that presumptuous one crossed the Indus and proceeded to besiege the fort of Nilāb[1] Zainu-d-din 'Ali and other servants of Kuar Man Singh exerted themselves to defend it When the Kuar arrived, he made over the van to *Ali Khān Kachwāha and the altamsh to his own brother* Suraj Singh The enemy was in the slumber of neglect They were aroused by the sound of the kettledrums and sought to engage On the 12th the battlefield was adorned The lovers of honour and
337 enemies of their lives strove with one another in a marvellous manner By the strength of daily-increasing fortune the breeze of victory began to blow It appears that in the hand to hand combats which test men, Rājah Suraj Singh discomfited the enemy's leader (Shādmān), who was wounded and had to tread with blistered feet the desert of failure He died in the neighbourhood He was the son of Sulaiman Beg of Andijān, and his grandfather was Loqmān Beg, who was an honoured servant of H M Firdus Makāni His mother had watched over the Mirza's cradle, and he himself had grown up with the Mirza From his bravery, and success in war, he was highly regarded among the Afghan tribe. On hearing the news, H M returned thanks to God, and said to those around him, "It appears that our expedition to the province of the Punjab is near at hand Though the celestial executants have done our work without our exertions, and are doing it, yet we know that the management of affairs is the helping of God When the Mirzā hears of the death of Shadman, he will, without delay, come to India The right thing for the time is to take steps for the expedition of the officers of sovereignty" From foresight and knowledge of affairs he sent forward Rai Rai Singh Jagannāth, Rajah Gopal and other loyal officers An order was also given to the officers of the Indus that if the Mirza should proceed to cross the river, they were not to oppose him and to put off an engagement By the guidance of the Divine kindness, the standards of fortune would shortly cast the shadow of justice on that country As it had flashed

[1] Elphinstone in his account of ... mentioned in J II 325 as a place in

upon the heart conjoined with heaven, so did it shine forth On 14 Bahman news reached the royal hearing of the coming of the Mirzā to the Punjab The astrologers, under H M's directions, held a meeting to determine the auspicious moment H M paid some attention to the arrangement of the affairs of the capital And in order that he might keep a watch over the eastern provinces, he stated that for the repose of the kingdom he would leave the pearl of the crown, Sultan Selim, with some high officers, and would go himself to the Punjab The prince begged through H H Mirīam-Makānī that he might accompany H M The sovereign granted his request and appointed to that high office Sulṭān Daniel He appointed Sulṭan Khwāja, Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram S Ibrāhim and many others to serve the prince On the 28th corresponding to Monday, 2 Muharram 989, 6th February 1581, at an hour which able astrologers approved of, he set off for that province Fortune accompanied his rein, and victory his stirrup The star of success shone, and the whiteness of the morning of dominion came out

(*Verses*) 338

The far seeing ones of the court gave him the news of victory. The takers of omens who knew the stars made inquiries of the heavens From caution and foresight the places of the combatants were determined, and the warlike equipments were made ready The baton holders (i e guards)[1] of Thursday and Friday took their places under the shadow of the august standards The officers of Saturday and Wednesday were on the right wing, and those of Monday and Tuesday were on the left The warriors of Sunday were in the van At the beginning of this expedition, news came of a fresh victory and gave joy and repose to the superficial and to the spiritually illuminated

[1] This means that they were in the centre The passage may be compared with that at the end of Ain 17 of the 1st Book B 48, but the arrangement is different See also B 115 The word for guards is *kishkdārān* According to B 115 it would appear that 15 was the strength of each guard

CHAPTER LVII

Victory of the imperial servants, and the vagabondage in the desert of failure of M'aṣūm K Farankhūdī

Shahbāz K was by his success and his failure awakened from the dream of self admiration and proceeded on with skill and activity He took the right road, and was soon ready for battle The wicked ingrate, whose time for prudence and shame had come, fell into a profound slumber, and set about gathering his forces He spent in ingratitude the accumulated treasures of this enduring dominion He sent for his household and the men whom he had sent into places difficult of access His idea was that he was promoting the cohesion of men, while those who knew, let their lips run over with laughter because he was seeking the means of destroying his reputation The warriors of fortune formed into line and proceeded against the enemy That shameless and turbulent one also came out of his quarters In the centre Jajhār K. Khāṣa Khel brought to the market the substance of wickedness 'Arab had the right wing of those who had lost their honour Niyabat K swaggered in the left wing Shāh Dāna was in the van of failure M aṣum himself was in the reserve and was accumulating the materials for his own destruction On 24 Bahman (2nd February 1581) the brave and fortunate soldiers decked the battlefield seven *kos* from the town of Awadh The wretch prepared stratagems, and delayed in advancing Most were of opinion that on that day there would not be a fight The army which was aided by heaven set about intrenching themselves Just then that wily one, whose fortune was somnolent came forward in quest of battle The heroes rapidly turned their attention to combat First, the van charged with mountain like elephants and drove off the enemy's van The enemy's right wing pressed against the imperial left wing but at last was nearly being defeated by the firmness of the imperialists when their courage was reinvigorated by their reserve By the jugglery of fate things were nearly becoming serious for the victors

(the imperialists), when the van and the *altamsh* came up after driving off their opponents By the help of God the rebels disgraced themselves and fled The imperial right wing also prevailed over the enemy's left, and cleared the field of that evil crew Some noted elephants who in the previous battle had fallen into the hands of the enemy, turned round and did good service, and contributed to the victory By the wondrous working of fate, the lamps of joy were lighted up eleven[1] days after the first battle and he who was ruined in faith and fortune retreated in confusion to Awadh All his possessions—which formed the element of his intoxication—fell into the hands of the imperial servants, and most of those who had gone astray received enlightenment and took the path of bliss, and turned aside from the defiles of ingratitude Shahbaz K thought his victory a great boon and did not stir half a step from the field of battle Either he had not the courage, or prudence suggested this course Either there was not time, or the foolish fancies of cowards prevailed Owing to this inopportune halting the disheartened enemy escaped and the termination of affairs was somewhat postponed M'aṣūm after a thousand distresses reached his home Though he wished to lay his hand on his heart, which was in a thousand pieces, and to draw his foot within the skirt of patience, he did not find in himself the necessary resolution Suddenly he heard a false report about Shahbāz K and he came a little to himself Apparently some active men of the victorious army had plundered a suburb of the city and turned back 'Arab came with a few men, and engaged them, and some of the imperialists were killed Fly like persons spread the report that Shahbaz K was among them The wicked one came forward on hearing this news and soon found that it was a mistake He set himself to watch the inside and outside of the city, and to make safe the towers and walls As his star was con- 340 sumed, his designs continually failed, and whatever he thought would be good became injurious For instance, he placed a gun on the top of the gate and made it ready Owing to the wrath of God,

[1] The text has fifteen but as the first battle was fought on 13th Bahman and the second on the 24th id *pansdaham* must be a mistake for *yazdaham* as is very often the case The English date is 2nd February 1581

as soon[1] as it was fired off the roof (of the gateway) split and so conveyed the news of failure. The deceitful mercenaries dispersed, and M'aṣum fell into evil case. His comrades were ready to fly, and the might of the world conquering army continually increased. He had not the strength to come out of that wall of misfortune. Nor could he remain in those defiles of difficulty. On account of his numerous family he did not sever[2] the thread of association (did not die?). At this crisis 'Arab and Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna—who were the mainstay of his infatuation—separated themselves. They shod[3] their horses backwards and went off by cross roads. That man who was deserving of vagabondage (M'aṣūm) left his household and his accumulations of many years and fled. When he had gone some way he chose to separate from the double-faced ones who accompanied him and set off with seven companions. They all disguised themselves by shaving[4] off the hair on their faces, etc., and he departed like a madman to obscurity and ruin. At the time of failure the zamindar of Gawāric[5] joined them, and out of old acquaintance took him to his house. By pretended friendship, and by humouring their folly, he took from them what money and goods they possessed, and then sacrificing the maintenance of old obligations to brigandage,[6] he dismissed them. M'aṣum sometimes rode himself, and sometimes mounted his son. He crossed the Saru (the Gogra or Sarju) in a wretched condition. Rajah Man, the landholder of that part of the country, took him to his house, and helped him. Shahbāz K. heard of this and held out threats and promises to induce

---

[1] *Bam dirham shikast.* The Iqbāl nāma has bām i darwāza so that apparently *bām* does not mean the roof of the gun.

[2] Presumably th s means that *he* did not commit suicide.

[3] نعل وارون بربسته رو چلپا (چلیپا) در نوشتند

Probably the expression is used metaphorically.

[4] *car ẓarb shuda.* Cf. text 307 and translation p. 574 of vol. I. The Iqbālnama has *qalandar war* like Calendars.

[5] Text کوارح. But apparently it is the Gawarca of J. II. 174 and Ain text I. 435. The word is Gawāric. It is a pargana in the Gonda district. See *Oude Gazetteer*.

[6] *qazzaqī.* But this is not the word in the I. O. MSS. Apparently the true reading is افتراقی (or it may be firāqī) iftarāqī 'separation' and the meaning is 'giving a sorry ending to old obligations. The Iqbāl nāma says he kept him 2 or 3 days.

him to deliver up M'aṣum or to kill him He refused,[1] but secretly consigned him to vagabondage, giving him some companions under pretext of their being guides On account of the jewels which, it was supposed, he possessed, he arranged to have him killed M'asum read on their foreheads what was intended and corrupted them by gold, and made wide steps to the abode of obscurity On the day after the victory Shahbāz K entered the city of Awadh and the whole of his family, etc fell into his hands One hundred and fifty elephants were captured, and everything that M'aṣum possessed, whether of physical goods or of honour, was plundered An instructive lesson was given to mankind and the evil consequences of ingratitude were again impressed on the heart of the age The news was communicated in the neighbourhood of the capital and the far seeing ones of the court regarded it as the presage of other victories H M offered up thanksgivings to God and exalted the loyal servants by great favours From abundant kindness he ordered that Shahbāz K should preserve the family of the rebel, for what crime had these weak and secluded ones done in this insurrection? **341**

It was reported that M'aṣūm would convey himself by the skirts of the northern mountains to the rebellious Kabulis Out of caution Qulij K was sent off with some active men to that neighbourhood On 10 Isfandarmaz Delhi was distinguished by H M's advent, and the shrines of the saints were illuminated by his intercessions Hitherto the advance camp had not preceded by more than four *kos* It was now ordered that it should precede by not less than six *kos* On the 12th the royal standards cast their shade on the town of Sonpat (28m N W Delhi) Qulij K came back from his expedition and did homage The vagabondage and wretchedness of the turbulent-brained one (M'aṣum) were confirmed

One of the occurrences was that the cup of the life of Qiyā K Kang (or Gang) became full From the time that the pleasant land of Bengal became stained with rebellion he with some brave and loyal men was passing his days in Orissa Though he had not the ability to calm the disturbance yet he kept that country free from

[1] *ba rah i inkar khilāfi* 'He has tened along the path of denial Apparently the meaning is that he only ostensibly refused but in reality meditated the putting him to death

the dust of opposition At the time when it became denuded of the imperial troops, Qutlū K with a large force showed fight and gained the upper hand Qiyā K brought together warlike materials and took refuge in a fort On account of the length of the war, and the desertion of his comrades, he fell into distress At last he, together with some heroes who loved their honour, made a good fight and gathered an eternal good name [1]

On the 17th [2] H M *encamped near Thānessar As he pays* little regard to himself and always seeks the company of the servants of God he visited the cell of S Jalāl, who had spent his life in the worship of God, and whom men regarded as a saint The Shaikh made his supplications according to the measure of his knowledge and represented, "At this day our wishes are bound up in the assistance of the truthful throne occupant For his pleasure, the heavens revolve" He implored his blessing and begged for a statement of truths The world's Lord made some acute remarks and solved some difficulties He (Akbar) discoursed eloquently Many heart impressing words illuminated the holy temple of the dervish At a hint from H M the author of this noble volume asked the Shaikh saying, "You have spent a long life, and have enjoyed the society of the good Can you tell of a cure for melancholy?" And have you obtained a remedy for a heart distracted by opposing desires?
342 At first he answered by tears, and then he recited this verse

Verse [3]

Oh, for sweet content, Oh, Oh!
It has closed to pride the path of both worlds!

---

[1] There were two Qiyā K —Qiyā Gang and Qiyā Ṣāḥib Ḥasan It seems that Qiyā and his companions *sallied forth and as the Iqbālnāma* expresses it bought everlasting glory with the coin of life

[2] The 17th Isfandarmaz 28 February 1581

[3] I am not sure if I have understood the verse correctly, and if the saint wished to extol resignation or renunciation (istighnā) or to regret it The interjection Ah occurs thrice and seems to be intended to express sorrow However the lines may mean ' *Had contentment, for* has closed the path of ambition for both worlds There is an account of the Shaikh in Badayunī Lowe 322 and in III 3 He says he was the successor of S 'Abdu l-qaddūs Gangohī and that he attained the age of 93 He died in 989 (1582) See also J III 374 where there is an account of

One of the occurrences was the death of Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr the Diwan. Alexander Zu-al-qarnīn was accustomed to say to his special intimates, "Boon companions and jesters are of one class Their business is nothing but to promote mirth by means of witticisms and wonderful stories, without regard to their truth They replenish with oil the lamp of enjoyment, and by effective hits enhance pleasure, and trick out the bride of delight in every limb (*ba har haft*, lit with all seven. See Vullers II, 1458[b]). The class of the pillars of the court, who are, as it were, the hand and arms is different All their business is to arrange for ministering to the dissensions of the world, and curing the aged, old, and stricken ones of the Age They utter things which may heal the distractions of the time and may compose what is confused and so tranquillize the world They make joy allied with security, an if purchasers be not at hand, they meditate remedies in silence and right thinking Every evil which occurs to the palace of dominion is chiefly occasioned by those two classes leaving their proper work." He also continually said to his officers, "Whoever, with the idea of flattering us, leaves the highway of truth, and lets drop the reins of right consideration, and promotes our prosperity by harsh dealings with the soldiers and subjects, and who seeks by improper means, and incorrect statements, to increase the treasures of domi nion will assuredly cause the stewards of destiny to turn our hearts from him, and will receive condign punishment" The case of the Khwāja is a fresh instance of this From love of office and cupidity he was always laying hold of trifles in financial matters, and dis

'Abdu l-qaddūs, and B 538 where the Shaikh is called Jalalu-d dīn See also the Khazīna-al Aṣfiyā, vol I, p 440, where it is stated that the saint died at the age of 95 on 14 Zi ḥajja 989 (9 January 1582) He was originally from Balkh and be longed to the Cistī order See also the Safina-al auliya of Dārā Shikoh ed. Newal Kishore, p 101 It is curious that Dārā says nothing about his great grandfather's visit to the Shaikh The Iqbālnāma tells the story and helps us towards understanding it It says that A F asked the Shaikh, at the end of the interview, what was the remedy for the pain of search (dardtalab) and the near way to the attainment of desires, the Shaikh wept and then repeated the lines The Iqbāl nāma adds that the Shaikh was respected by all, that for eighty years he read the whole of the Qoran every day, and that he never went out of his cell

playing harshness Sympathy with debtors (?) never touched the hem of his heart. His whole idea was to fill his own house He advanced his business by fair speeches while behaving badly All at once he fell into an evil state and sank into the pit of annihilation He did not know that wrong doing is not permanent, and that a lamp is not brightened by the application of water Before this, some *parwānas* (orders) in the handwriting of M Ḥakīm's munshi were found among the effects of Shādmān, who had been killed Kuar Mān Singh sent those to court One of them was addressed to the Khwāja and its purport was that petitions of unanimity and well wishing were increasing the estimation (of the Mirzā for the Khwāja) Shortly proceedings would be taken to *recognize them The tolerant sovereign regarded those papers as the* work of forgers, and did not show them to the Khwāja In the
343 neighbourhood of Sonpat, Malik Sānī,[1] an old servant of the Mirzā, came to court with his family, and it was reported that they (i e the Mirza) had sent him in order that he might make a pretence of indignation, and act as a spy,[2] and also win over the hearts of the simple, and increase the activity of the wicked From foresight and caution—which constitute the strength of the arm of power, and give might to the hand of fortune—he (Khwaja Manṣūr) was suspended On that day *many one sided expressions* of the Khwāja came to light, and the dust of uneasiness rose high Fortune aided in stirring up strife, and the times were critical He was called into the privy chamber, and the letter was read to him As his star was sinking, his answers increased the suspicions against him He was not allowed[3] to communicate with others, and circumspection was exercised On the 19th (Isfandarmaz) Malik 'Ali the chief constable of the camp (kotwāl i urdu) produced several letters, and these increased the suspicions against the Khwāja From these *letters it appeared that the soldiers (sipah) of the* Khwāja who be

---

1 Text Malik Mānī but the MSS and the T A show that the variant Sānī is right

2 Text *cāplūsī* but the variant *jāsūsī* is supported by MSS and by the Iqbālnāma

3 *az tikhtilat bāz dāshtand* From the Iqbālnāma etc it appears that it was the Khwāja and not Malik Sānī who was thus dealt with Some MSS add that the Khwāja was imprisoned and this is supported by the Iqbālnāma

longed to Fīruzpūr—which was the Khwāja's fief—had opened negotiations with the Mirzā (Ḥakim) and would soon join him At this news the wrath of the sovereign blazed forth, and an order was given that if the Khwāja would engage to produce the man (the writer) and give proper security for this, he should remain, as before, in prison Otherwise, he was to be put to death in order that the short-sighted and covetous might be punished, and that a lesson might be given to the wicked and those of crooked mind He in reply uttered injudicious words and could not furnish security Out of kindness H M ordered that if Khwāja Sulaimān,[1] who was related to him by marriage and had a brotherly friendship for him, would engage for him, his security should be accepted That cowardly one was struck with terror, and turned round, and from fear of his own life went aside Inasmuch as the time was confused owing to the presence of envious people, and the season was critical, and the grandees were plotting against his life, of necessity an order was passed for capitally punishing him The servants[2] were bound by an order and hung him on a tree near the serai of Kot Kacwāha. From want of understanding and narrow-mindedness (*tabiy'at dosti*), Turk and Tajik (i e all classes) were pleased, and there was great rejoicing in the camp It generally happens that envious and artful persons who are self interested act in this way, and that there is retribution for selfishness and for evil mindedness towards the weak

Verse

Be not severe in the world's work,
For every oppressor has a severe death (?)
Beware, and have pity on the weak,
Be afraid of the severity of fortune

He was contentious, or had not the art of living He ruined the houses of men in order to improve his own For his own advantage he destroyed a number of poor people He did not read the signs of the times and did not distinguish between the season of conciliation and that of strictness But there is seldom found

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that when Akbar found out his error K Sulaimān fell into disgrace

[2] *Khidmat pazīran.* The servants meant are the Khidmatiyyas of B aro

such an acute accountant and one so laborious, so discriminating, and so plausible of speech If he had had a little piety to God a little
344 loyalty to the lord of the universe, some kindness to the people, and a little absence of cupidity and injuriousness he never would have come to this end from the wrath of the Shahinshāh, nor have been caught in this illustration of the Divine anger The appreciative monarch often uttered with his pearling tongue, " From that day the market of accounts was flat and the thread of accounting dropped from the hand " He assigned the office of Vizier to Qulij K, and gave orders that Zain K Kokaltash and Hakim Abu l fath should also be present in the Vizier's office, and should superintend matters

Notes

In Faizi's poems B M MS Add 25981, p 282*b*, and also on p 287 of another B M MS of the same author there is an epigram which describes the joy of the public at being delivered from Manṣur's tyranny

NOTE ABOUT SHĀH MANSŪR'S DEATH

The story of Shāh Manṣūr is a very sad one and throws a lurid light on the morals of Akbar s officers A F s account is, as usual obscure and has to be explained by the T A the Iqbālnāma Badayunī Lowe 300 and the Maaṣir al Umara I 653 See also Noer s Akbar Mrs Beveridge s translation II 52 We learn from the T A Elliot V 422 and from A F that Man Singh sent to Akbar some letters that he had found in Shadman s portfolio Shadman was defeated and killed near the Indus on 12 Dai (about 22 December 1580) and Akbar got the news before leaving Fatḥpūr Presumably Mān Singh sent the letters he had found in Shādman s portfolio along with the news of the victory The T A tells us there were three of them viz one from M Muḥammad Ḥakīm to Ḥakīm al mulk one to Muḥammad Qasim Mir Baḥr and one to Khwāja Manṣūr They purported to be replies by Ḥakīm M to friendly letters received from these three persons We are told by A F, p 342 that Akbar considered these letters to be forgeries and did not show them to Manṣūr They either were forgeries or very stale documents for one of them was addressed to Ḥakīm al mulk who had gone off to Mecca in August 1580 (see A N 317) Possibly, however, the person meant is Ḥakīm Ain al mulk the faujdār of Sambal See text III 348 From Fatḥpur Akbar moved out to Bad Serai 15 kos off and there he heard of Shahbāz s victory near the city of Ajodya (Elliot V 422) He continued his march and reached Delhi on 10 Isfandārmaẕ (about 20 February 1581) Two days later he was at Sonpat 28 m N W Delhi and here it was that Malik Sānī formerly in the service of

M Ḥakīm, arrived, and as the T A informs us put up at the qu arters of Manṣūr (Sonpat is the place mentioned by A.F The T.A says Panipat which is a station some 25 m further on) Here Akbar, whose former suspicions had been increased by Malik Ṣānī s arrival, showed Manṣūr the papers that had been found in Shādmān's portfolio On 17 Isfandarmaẕ (about 27 February) Akbar reached Thānesar and had the interview with Jalāl S From there he went on to Shahabad in the Ambala district, and here it was that the kotwāl of the camp, Malik [1] 'Alī produced on 19 Isfandarmaẕ the letters which he said had been obtained in Sirhind from a courier of Sharaf Beg who was Khwāja Manṣūr s agent and in charge of his estate at Fīruzpūr These letters sealed Manṣūr s fate and led to his being hanged at Koṭ Kacwāha, which according to Blochmann 431 n 2 is a village on the road from Karnāl to Ludhiāna Presumably it is near Shāhābād The Khulaṣat Tawārīkh states that it was between Shāhābād and Patiāla The same authority denies that Todar Mal had any hand in the intrigues against the Khwāja It adds that Akbar found out his mistake ten days afterwards We are told by Niẓamu d dīn, Elliot V 426, that the letters on which Manṣūr was hanged were forged by Shahbāz K s brother Karam Ullah According to the Maaṣir I 157 Karam Ullah was the tool of Todar Mal The Maaṣir gives the chronogram of Manṣūr s death Ṣānī Manṣūr Ḥallāj "A second Manṣūr Ḥallāj alluding to the martyrdom of this Ṣūfī in A D 922 The B M MS Add 27, 247, Rieu s Cat I 247, contains some remarkable variations from the Bib Ind text and from most MSS, in its account of Shah Manṣūr s death It is evidently a different recension One valuable thing is that in several places it gives the corresponding Hijra date instead of only the Divine era dates as in the Bib Ind text Thus at p 343 it tells us that 19 Isfandarmaẕ which it calls the Farwardīn day corresponds to 23 Muḥarram Consequently it was 28 February 1581 Then it adds that the letters were obtained by Malik 'Alī from the enemy s camp It also states that two days before—viz 17 Isfandar maẕ Sunday, 21 Muḥarram—Pāk Dās was made *dīwān* It also says that Akbar did not want to put Manṣūr to death but was induced to do so by Rajah Bīrbar and others and it adds that Manṣūr was hanged on a *Kaikar* i e bābul or acacia tree The explanation of his death too is differently worded. A F in this MS admits more clearly than in text that Manṣur was wrongly convicted and suggests that he must have committed sins on former occasions (in a pre vious life?)

[1] Probably this is the Khwāja Malik Alī mentioned at B 515

The title Mīr Shab may mean that he was the night watch

CHAPTER LVIII

THE FAILURE OF HAKĪM M AND HIS HASTY RETURN TO KABUL.

The enlightened[1] gatherers of experience, and the illuminated souls of those who walk with circumspection, do not accept truths in advance of evidence, and do not hasten on to beliefs with poverty in arguments Every great man, who at the time of increase of realm and power keeps the rose-garden of his heart fresh and verdant by the irrigating waters of justice, and who regards his prosperity as material for supplication to God and gives to his thoughts and actions the adornment of auspiciousness, and who regards himself as a trustee appointed by God, and watches over soldier and subject, and who applies the balm of soothing speech and kindness to the distressed and broken, shall assuredly have his wishes accomplished without having to entreat the help of sellers of service and will execute easily difficult enterprises These things are apparent in the early career of the world's lord, and this noble record tells somewhat of them The ruin of the Mirzā is a fresh instance of this, and will be recognized as such by the awakened and fortunate

When some disaffection arose in India, and the fire of discord attacked part of it, the villains of that country and the foolish ones of Afghanistan[2] bewildered that misguided young man and led him to indulge in vain thoughts He sent some soldiers and stirred up strife Retribution followed, and he ought to have awaked from his somnolence, and have felt ashamed and have endeavoured to remedy his backslidings On the contrary, he hastened to make war

When he crossed the Indus, the officers of that quarter obeyed

[1] There are variants and the paragraph is obscure Apparently it means that prudent people do not believe without evidence and that Akbar's career furnished the necessary evidence of the statement that great men who are good attain their ends without the help of self interested persons

[2] Text Zābulistan At p 408 of J II A F says that Ghaznīn was formerly called Zabulistān and that some reckon Qandahar as included in it

the royal command and gathered together at Lahore and prepared to defend the fort M Yusuf[1] K. put down his foot to defend Rohtās and no one joined the evil thoughted one Far less did any of the enlightened ones He read the writing of failure on the soldiers,[2] and he did not see any of the peasantry inclined towards him Hopelessness from time to time augmented his anguish He 345
pleased himself with the lies of foolish talkers, and spent his days in idle fancies He brayed the wind in a mortar, and sifted water with a sieve! At last he came to besiege Lahore By untimely efforts he laboured to open the knot of his own destruction! Though the retreat of the imperialists rejoiced him for a time, yet he had heard much of the deeds of those lovers of honour and foes of life Their not fighting at this time encouraged his hopes He trembled at the courage and activity of the world's lord, but was supported by not hearing of his advance

When the moment chosen by heaven arrived, H M turned his sun towards the Panjab Joy circulated in the brain of the age.

Verse

The world's lord marched on tranquilly, hunting by the way Though he advanced from stage to stage, no report came of his (M Hakim's) having fled! No dust of apprehension clouded his soul The evil minded rejoiced from thinking that he (M Hakim) intended to fight while the auspicious and acute were glad from the thought that he would be defeated With his pearl laden tongue he (Akbar) said, ' Something tells me that his standing his ground comes from his not believing that the royal standards are approaching Idle talkers have impressed a different opinion on him Probably when we reach Sirhind, we shall hear of his flight.' What that knower of the secrets of destiny had said, came to pass On the same[3] day that the standards left the capital the Mirzā stirred

---

[1] B 346 He was a Saiyid of Mashhad

[2] The soldiers meant are Akbar's and the sentence means that M Ḥakīm did not find any readiness on their part to mutiny

[3] If Ferishta is correct, this statement is not quite correct. Akbar left Fathpūr on 2 Muḥarram 989 (6 February) and Ferishta says M Ḥakīm arrived at Lahore on 11 Muḥarram 989—15 February 1581 In Add MS 27 247 it is stated that M Ḥakīm arrived at Lahore 2 Muḥarram stayed 22 days, and left on Monday the 23rd Muḥarram

up the dust of strife near Lahore and spent twenty[1] days in melancholy joy in that garden of Mahdi Qāsim K., *and shot arrows at an imaginary target* S'aid K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kuar Mān Singh, Saiyid Hāmid K. (Bokhāri), Muhammad Zamān and other fief-holders of the Panjab strengthened the fort somewhat and prepared for war. As the order was, not to engage, they abode in the batteries and from prudence they restrained the beturbaned (i.e. the
348 learned) foolish talkers of the city from making confusion. By the help of God they prevented the gates from being opened.[2] Several times did Sher Khwāja, Nād 'Ali, Qorbān 'Ali and Mir Sikandar make attacks from the side of the besiegers, but they received[3] buffets from God's hand. The Mirzā became from time to time more distressed on account of the non-advancement of the work, and showed dissatisfaction with his prating companions. Suddenly his brain was worsened by the sound of the approach of the Shahinshāh. He quickly turned to fly. He crossed the Rāvi one kos above Mahdi Qāsim K.'s garden and hastened off in confusion to Kabul. On that night he halted for a while in the neighbourhood of Shāham 'Ali and then crossed the Cenāb near Jalālābād.[4] Many of his companions lost their lives in that crossing. Near Bhera he crossed the Bihat, and many also perished in its waves. He crossed the Indus by the way of Khip[5] and returned to his own country. When H. M.

[1] The variant twenty days is supported by the I. O. MSS. and by Add. 27,247. That MS. says 324*b*, that M. Ḥakīm reached Lahore on the day of Zamyād the 28th (Bahman) Divine month of the 25th year corresponding to 2 Muḥarram (6th February, 1681) and that he left it on 19 Isfandarmaz—Monday, 23 Muḥarram. This makes his stay there to have been 22 days.

[2] Probably the meaning is—"they, the turbaned citizens relying on God, wanted to open the gates and fight."

[3] *Māliḥ yāftand*. I think this must mean "were punished," and that these are names of M. Ḥakīm's men, and the Ikbalnama takes this view. See also p. 363 where Sher Khwājah plunders the royal treasure. But B. 508 speaks of a Nādī 'Alī serving against M. Ḥakīm in the 26th year. He did join Akbar afterwards, but in the end of the 25th year he was on M. Ḥakīm's side.

[4] The Iqbālnama has Jalālpūr, and says that M. Ḥakīm plundered Bhera. Add. 27,247, says he crossed on a raft.

[5] There is the variant Khīt. But I believe the word to be Karpah, the Carrapa of Elphinstone. See J. II. 401 n., and A. N. II. 239.

heard of this, his royal clemency was put in motion and an order was issued that the army should refrain from pursuit lest in the rush of waters the Mīrzā's boat should be sunk, and his condition pass beyond the power of remedies "If that unfortunate one does not understand matters, and does not acquire enlightenment, why shall we, who have such glory of wisdom, erase his existence Possibly he may in time gain sense, and the highway of vision may be manifested to him Moreover in the balance of appreciation a brother is weightier than a son (because the former cannot be replaced)

(Here follow about five lines of rhetoric)

On the 24th (Isfandarmaz ?) the army encamped at Sirhind and H M rested in the delightful gardens[1] of that city

One of the occurrences was the revival of the laws of administration Inasmuch as the far-seeing prince from time to time gives a new foundation to prudence, and regards the improvement of the world as the worship of God, on this occasion a pleasant thought occurred to him An order was issued that the *jagirdars* *shiqdars*, and *daroghās* of the empire should reduce to writing the numbers and the occupations of the inhabitants, village by village, and should classify[2] them They were not to allow any one to live without some trade or occupation, and they were to look narrowly into 347
the income and expenditure of men—who are composed of the good and the bad—so that in a short space of time the outwardly good, but inwardly bad, might be discovered, and the false, gold incrusted coin might be brought to the place of weighment By this enlightened order there was a market day of graciousness, and the wide territory of India received a great calm On the 28th he crossed the Sutlej at Maciwāra by a noble bridge In that neighbourhood the Panjab officers did homage Each was exalted by special favours Thanksgivings were offered up for the successful results

[1] *Bāgh-i-dilkushā* Probably the allusion is to the gardens of Ḥāfiz Raknah. See J II 281

[2] This passage about the census is translated in Elliot VI. 61.

Elliot renders this—"that these lists should all be collected together," and perhaps the true meaning is that the lists should be digested and made into a general statement.

CHAPTER LIX.

Beginning of the 26th Divine year from holy accession, to wit, the year Ardibihisht of the third cycle.

Verse.

The dominion-flag of the New Year was unfurled on the plain,
The bounty of the Holy Spirit was shed from on high.
Such an air it was that Paradise halted in surprise.[1]
Such an earth that heaven rose up in astonishment.

On the night of Thursday, 5 Safar 989, 10 or 11 March 1581, after the passing of 6 hours 22 minutes, the light-dispenser of the spiritual and physical world, the lord of the visible and invisible universe, cast a glance of favour on the Sign of Aries The material and spiritual kingdoms became full of light A feast of joy was prepared, and there was a loud sound of delight As the protection of the community is a thing inscribed on the frontispiece of sovereignty, it struck his celestial mind that, as by the aid of heaven the pleasant land of the Panjab had been swept and cleansed of the weeds and rubbish of sedition mongers, so might the inhabitants of the banks of the Indus be refreshed by the irrigation of justice, and the sorrow of the afflicted be ended Also some prudent and diplomatic persons had been sent and had by salutary counsels amended the disposition of the Mirzā. Wise words spoken close at hand make an impression such as thousands spoken from a distance do not make. H.M. also had the intention of laying the foundation of a lofty fortress on the bank of the river so that the savages of that region might speedily acquire bliss, and the imperial servants might receive protection. With this holy design he proceeded towards that quarter.

18 One of the occurrences was that H.M. turned his thoughts

[1] Text *takhyīr*, "giving the preference," but the I O MSS. have *taḥayyar* "being astonished"

towards Nagarkot [1] When he heard of the wonders of that ancient place of pilgrimage, and especially of the restoration there of tongues that had been cut off, his truth-seeking heart was attracted towards that place At this time, when he was near that spot, the wondrous tale again occurred to him, and on the 15th [2] (Farwardin) he went thither with a few special intimates to see the marvel At the first stage Rajah Jai Cand the ruler of the fort came and was exalted by doing homage When a watch of the night had passed, H M, in order to give men a rest, alighted in the town of Desuha [3] Rajah Birbar, who was the fief holder there, came and offered presents The difficulties of the way and the rugged defiles had somewhat fatigued the companions of dominion, but from awe of the Divine majesty—which is a powerful closer of the tongue—no one ventured to say anything During that night a spiritual[4] form—which had wondrous powers—appeared in the secret place of dreams It recited the lofty rank of the world's lord and restrained him from his intention In the morning he mentioned the vision and returned A great delight took possession of every one

Between Khokowāl[5] and Kānwāhan[6] he crossed the Beās by a bridge, and on the 17th arrived at the pleasant city of Kalānūr He enjoyed himself in its garden[7]

One of the occurrences was the defeat of 'Arab Bahādur When M'aṣūm K. Farankhudi went to ruin from his ill fatedness, 'Arab Bahādur, Niyābat K, and Shah Dāna and many evil minded

[1] Kāngra See I G XIV 397 J II 312 and J III 306 where there is a good deal said about Nagarkot See also Murray's Guide to the Panjab A F B 114 records how a recluse who cut off his tongue and flung it towards the threshold of Akbar's palace had it restored

[2] B M MS Add 27 247, has 11th lay of Khūr corresponding to Tuesday 15 Safar (21 March 1581)

[3] J II 316 The Dasūya of the I G XI 194

[4] B M MS 27 247, calls her Mahāmāyā and says that the goddess said that she and a 100 like her were not worthy of Akbar's visit

[5] In the Bārī Dūāb J II 319 Gladwin has Ghoghowal and the Khulāṣa t Tawārīkh seems to have Gobindwāl which approaches the variant Khondwāl

[6] The text has Kānwadahan, the Khulāsat has Kānūwahan which it says is a royal hunting place See the Index of Aurangzīb by Jadū Nāth Sarkār p 103

[7] Called by Add. 27, 247 Bāgh Rūḥāfzā (the inspiriting garden)

persons stirred up the dust of sedition in Sambal Their idea was that they might collect the accumulations of that province and make them a means for increasing their wickedness If they did not succeed in this, they would convey themselves by night to M Ḥakim Hakim Ain al mulk the faujdār of that country heard of this and set himself to strengthen the fort of Bareilly, and to collect troops The above mentioned persons thought they would bring him over to their side and so held out hopes and threats to him They soon saw that they had failed and came to attack the fort Hakim by firmness and wisdom gained the victory Night came on, and those black thoughted ones lost their way and postponed matters till daylight As there was broken ground, and a report of the approach of troops, the evil-doers withdrew from the investment of the fort and went off to some distance That wise officer sent an intelligent spy to their camp that he might let himself fall into the hands of the enemy's scouts After much ill treatment he said, and confirmed the statement by an oath, that the imperialists were gathering together from all sides and were going to make a night attack, and had sent him to convey news. The plot succeeded, and at midnight they departed The garrison rejoiced and roses bloomed on the cheek of joy, and the drums of joy beat high In a short space of time, Bakhtiyār[1] Beg came from Budāon and S Muhammad Ghaznavi from Shamsābād, S Muazzam and Mir Abu l hasan from Amroha, Ghulām Husain from Sel mpūr, Qāsim from Lakhnau,[2] and Maulāna Mahmud and Abu l Qāsim from Sambal The imperial servants had a fortunate time Ḥakim sought for an engagement The bewildered enemy, who were in the desert of failure, and the demon haunted rebels, though they had gone far off from that place, yet they opened the hand of plunder in the confines of the country and troubled the weak They looked upon *oppression of the feeble as if it were daring, and stretched out long* arms The Rajah of Kumāon Rām Sāh Mukut Sen, Rajah Karn and many crooked minded zamindars and presumptuous and empty

---

[1] B. 204 Apparently he was a son of the unfortunate Shāh Manṣūr

[2] I presume that though it is spelt without an r in the MSS this is Lakhor in Sambhal See Elliot IV 384 n., and Supplemental Glossary II 136

braіned ones assembled together and stirred up strife Hakim first disseminated dissension among them, and brought Rām Sāh, Mukut Sen, and Rajah Karn into the way of good service By their instrumentality, also, Niyābat K joined the victorious army In the confines of Akli the lovers of work prepared for battle and guarded their fame They preserved the respect of the new comers by giving them the name of the vanguard (*harawal*) In fact, Bakhtiyar Beg and some noted men formed the advance party The battle began by Shah Dana's falling upon the vanguard Bakhtiyār Beg and some loyal warriors stood manfully shoulder to shoulder, and brave men joined them from every side. The fortune of the Shāhinshāh brought the news of victory The enemy were stained with the dust of failure and fled Saiyid Miyān and Saiyid Mustafa and many ill fated ones went headlong to the pit of annihilation

The world s lord made a bridge over the Rāvi at Kalānur and crossed it Then he crossed the Cenab at Ramgarh The Bihat (the Jhilam) he crossed by a bridge between Jhilam ferry and Rasulpur He stayed for some days near the Bihat in the enjoyment of hunting The landholders of that country obtained their wishes At this time, when there was a daily market for the springtide of justice, and the fountain of fortune grew larger every day, on 10 Ardibisht he made a delightful garden H M always 350
gives attention to material and spiritual culture He crossed over to the town of Nandana [1] for the purpose of hunting As it had good soil and water he thought of making a garden In a short time this was excellently accomplished For the sake of enjoyment he went to the top of the fort, which is an ancient building and lofty as the genius of exalted saints

Also at this time he visited the shrine of Bālnāth [2] Jillah It is

[1] Perhaps the Naudon of J II 317 and the Nādon of Tiefenthaler I 111 The Iqbalnāma has Dāman i Koh Kirhāk Perhaps Kirhāk should be read Kirjhāk or Girjhāk J II 324 and n 1 and so the place may be the Bucephala of Alexander and the present Jalālpur Possibly Jalālpur got its name from Jalāludīn Akbar See I G XIV, 15 The Khulasat Tawarikh in its account of the Bihat or Jhīlam has Girjhāk u Nandana

[2] J II 31 and n 1 Originally the temple was dedicated to the sun it is now devoted to the worship of Sīva See Cunningham Ancient Geography of India 165 In Mr

loftily situated and near Rohtās. It is so old that its beginning is not known It is regarded as the prayer-spot of Bālnāth Jogī, and is held in veneration, and visited by many people In the extensive country of India there are various ways of obtaining deliverance (azādi). One set are called Jogīs Their tenets are according to the Pātanjal[1] Canon, of which some account has been given in the final volume.

They place[2] eternal existence in the kingdom of annihilation, and act, in many respects, contrary to customs Many are distinguished for contentment and innocence, and, one by one, attain to enlightenment Bālnāth was at the head of these enthusiasts. They say he was the younger brother of Rām Cand, and it is commonly said that he became an ascetic, and that he chose this place in order to mortify his passions In short, the world's lord did not regard his own spiritual beauty, and searched for servants of God, and always offered up supplications to God with every body of men who seemed to have attained the truth, or wherever men offered up prayer With this view he went to that retreat[3] of worshippers of God The company of ascetics in that neighbourhood obtained enlightenment from the glory of the presence of the world's lord On the 31st the advent of the Shāhinshāh conferred eternal bliss on the quarters of M Yūsuf K. The famous fortress of Rohtās was in his fief. As H M was in the neighbourhood he begged that he would visit him H M graciously consented Presents were tendered, and eternal bliss accepted Though it was the general opinion that H M. should stay there some days, yet as he considered that the nearer he came
351 to Kabulistān, the better would the affair of the governor of that country be transacted, he marched on to Sind-sāgar which is known as Nilāb

One of the occurrences was the death of the eunuch Khwāja

Oman's recent work on the Mystics etc, of India there is an account and a photograph of Tilla Jogī

[1] See J III 177 for a long account of Patanjal's system He wrote a commentary on Pānini

[2] Apparently the meaning is that they place happiness in the extinction of the passions Nisti seems to correspond to Nirūddha See J II 179

[3] There is the variant Khairpūra This was the name of a place outside Fathpūr Sikrī where poor Hindus were fed

'Ālam. He was a hard taskmaster. Several pahlwāns (wrestlers) were under his charge. At the stage (?) of Kharbūza (?) he beat *one of them with a stick, and in retaliation the latter put an end to* him with a dagger. The Shāhinshāh lamented the death of that old servant, and capitally punished his murderer. The lamp of enlightenment was thus kindled for many, and a road was opened for the presumptuous and crooked in their ways.

CHAPTER LX

Arrival of the army on the bank of the Indus

H M encamped on the bank of the Indus on 13 Khurdād, and soldiers and subjects returned thanks to heaven Every one received special favours, and the Afghan tribe, who were bewildered in the desert of ingratitude, rubbed the forehead of good service. As the object which H.M held before himself was the amendment of M Hakim, a gracious order was issued, and that was an irradiation of right thinking and of counsel, and graciousness He dispatched skilful, loyal and sweetly spoken persons in order that they might in the first place not make a parade of their own wisdom, but deliver the whole of their message (to M Hakīm), and afterwards should utter good words

Verse

Hearts of steel can be made soft
By the strength of warm expressions

Though the perversity of his mind was evident to the wise, yet H M thought that "the withholding again of our troops from pursuing him, and the various favours we have shown may induce him to accept advice, and to come to the garden of truth" But the understanding of every one whose fortune slumbers, and whose reason is flattered in the bitter land of lust, swiftly carries him to destruction The biography of this young man of slumbrous intellect shows this

The gist of the message was, " Whenever a majestic prince who has abundance of power withholds his hand from chastisement and addresses himself to counselling, and the utterance of truth, and has
352 no other design than to show good will and graciousness, those who are fortunate and of happy star, but who have made a slip, come to his assembly with ashamed faces and hearts receptive of truth, and amend their conduct by submission and supplication The wicked and evil fated ones remain in their dark and dangerous position, and make use of subterfuges and tricks, and gloss over their evil deeds.

Now let that brother, who holds the position of a son, receive knowledge, and gather eternal bliss Princes of illustrious houses and the great men of every land receive radiance from our benevolence Why shall he who is so connected with us sit in the defile of irrecognition? How long shall he do so? How long will he, in company with base people, move about in the hollow of loss? It behoves him not to give ear to the buzzings of fly-like men but to come and do homage at our threshold so that our love for him may be impressed on all, far or near, and that he may spend the few days of life in a proper manner, and that his worldly rank and future position may be exalted, and that he may end his days with a good name The wretched and tiny ant is not withheld by feebleness from entering on the desert of purpose; perchance it may after the manner of the fortunate arrive at the pinnacle of desire! Why should a son of man possessed of such enlightenment fall into the fool's sleep of carelessness and not make even half a step in the wide plain of search?

Verse

There are many steps to the lofty roof,
Why are you contented with one?
If you cannot fully succeed, struggle
In the path, it will not hurt you

If you design to be successful, what experience can be gained by testing oneself only How long will you keep yourself on the edge of the sword? If from shame and evil behaviour you do not come to court, and out of fear do not apply your heart to service, the tale of our daily increasing graciousness from the beginning of our reign till now—which is the vernal season of fortune—and of our bounty and our forgiveness of great criminals, is patent to all, far and near!"

Inasmuch as the distracted ones of the desert of destruction hear with difficulty the words of counsel, he, from somnolence of fortune, and unwisdom, regarded the pleasing speech of enlightenment as deception, and returned an inglorious reply As it was the market-day of gentleness, H M forgave him, and intimated that if his heart and tongue were in unison in the matter of good service, but out of fancies he could not for some days appear in person, he

should send one of his sons along with the chaste Bakhtu n nisa Begum[1] If from narrowness of heart and ignorance he could not
353 even do this, he should send Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi with some leading officers to execute oaths and treaties Assuredly this would be accepted by H M and be a reason for forgiving and returning

As counsel had no effect on slumbrous ears, an order was issued that Rajah Mān Singh and some brave and loyal men should cross the Indus and proceed to Peshawar, and bring to submission the refractory ones of that quarter As H M 's sole desire was that the slumbrous witted one should learn wisdom by the majesty of the imperial army, Prince Sultān Murād and many officers were sent off on 11 Tir (end of June 1581) that they might cross the river and proceed slowly towards Peshawar If the Mirzā should waken up and take the road of obedience, they were by various favours to inspire him with hope Otherwise they were to hasten on to Kabulistān For greater security the troops were put into battle array The centre was adorned by the light of the Caliphate (Murād), M Yusuf K, Rai Rai Singh Rai Durgā Gujar K, Suraj Singh, Madan Cohān, S 'Abdu r rahīm, Bālkā Rai[2] Rām Cand, Thākur Sai, Selim K, Kākar 'Ali, Saiyid Muḥammad Mauji, Karm Ullah Kambū,[3] Prithi Rāj, Rām Dās Cohān, Mathrā Dās, Sānwal Dās, Kala Kacwāha, Askaran, Kajra, Hazāra Beg S Wali Jalāl, Mir Muhasan and a large number of brave men and cavaliers took part in this army The left[4] wing was commanded by Saiyid Hāmid Bokhāri, Makhṣūṣ K, Saiyid Mahdi Qasim, Abu l qāsim Tamkin, 'Arab Saiyid Husain, Hasan 'Ali Beg, 'Abdullah Biluc and others The right wing was commanded by Qulij K, Jalāl K, S Jamāl

[1] Wife of Abū l-maālī and afterwards of K Naqshbandī (Gulbadan s Memoirs p 214)

[2] Variant Bānkā, which seems right See B 495 He died suddenly at Burhānpūr in the beginning of 1601 See III 786 2nd last line, where he is called Akhīrāj and the note giving Faizī S s account

[3] This is the brother of Shahbāz K who according to the T A Elliot V 426 forged the letters for which Shāh Mans ir was hanged

[4] It would seem as if here and also in the account of Shahbāz s first fight with M ṣ im A F s copyist and others put left for right He would surely not begin by mention ing the left wing and the Iqbālnāma has in this place 'righ ing (baranghar)

Bakhtiyār, Nur Quli, M Faulād, Jamāl K Biluc, S Gakhar, Malik Darvesh Jānoha 'Ālam Nohāni, Maulānā Ilhadād Ambaroha, Shahbāz K Lodi, and others

Rajāh Mān Singh, Naurang K, Shiroyah K, Mādhu Singh, Muhammad Beg Taklu, Mān Singh Darbari, Jagmāl Silāhdar Bahadur K Qurdar, Surjan, Pahlwān 'Ali, Sakat Singh, Jagat Rai, Ram Cand, Bhagwān Dās, S Kabir, Jabbar Quli, Naqib Diwāna and others were in the van Out of graciousness and innate kindness again was a rescript of advice—such as might be an amulet of fortune—sent along with Hāji Habibu l lah Kāshī (The letter) stated that "the time for an expedition to that province (Kabul) was passing away and that a large army would have some difficulty in the defiles It behoved him to perform one of the ceremonies of sub- 354
mission so that the army might return from Bigrām and that he (the Mirza) might have a good name and that favours might be shown him' The sole apprehension of H M was that the Mirza might be alarmed by the might of the victorious army, and resort to the desert of failure, and seek help from aliens Inasmuch as foresight is the sun of the portico of fortune, an order was issued to the officers that they should make a bridge over the river The able servants busied themselves in collecting boats, and the hebdomadal watchmen and the high officers exerted themselves to construct river stages[1] since if from ill fortune the Mirzā should listen to babblers, and take the road of loss to himself and not listen to commands, it would be necessary that the august cavalcade should also go to that province

One of the occurrences was the death of Fath Dost, the son of 'Ali Dost[2] Baibegi He had a disposition for service and he outwardly displayed the jewel of purity He frequently represented to the writer that he wished to become a disciple of H M and asked him to represent the matter so that his wish might be fulfilled As this reader of the lines of the forehead did not find that his heart and tongue were in accord, he used to put him off At this time, when the standards of fortune had reached the bank of the Indus, he spoke to me about having the thing done The far sighted Khedive came to know of this, and made inquiries of this least of

---

[1] *manazil i-darya* Pontoons?

[2] B 403 where he is wrongly called Fath Daulat His father is referred to in B 533

men I described the circumstances, and he smiled and approved From good intention I represented that as the gracious sovereign had come to know of the case, perhaps the great boon (of discipleship) might have the effect of converting him, and might lead him to bliss He said, "Although a felicitous day (*rūzbihī*) does not shine on his forehead, yet I'll grant his request The becoming a disciple of this supplicant to God is a test of men, and brings out their internal qualities He administered the *shast*[1] according to holy rites, and recited with his pearl filled tongue

"The pure shast and the pure glance err not"

He gave him weighty counsels As he was not pure of soul, and his heart did not accord with his tongue, he in the course of two days ceased to exist

The negligent, heavy sleepers were awakened somewhat He had intimacy with a certain person and went to drink wine with him in a pleasure house in the neighbourhood Jealous and turbulent men came upon him and killed him They said that Mattalib[2] K was mixed up in the affair They brought that young man out of his house and Mattalib K was taken to the place of examination They deferred the investigation until the arrival of his father (i e 'Al Dost Bārbegi)

55 One of the occurrences was the founding the fort of Atak[3] Benares It was the secret design of the world-adorner that when

[1] See B 166 where the line is given and where *shast* is *shast* The process of initiation is described there The Ayin variant text I 160 of *narasad* for *nakanad* is supported in the I O MSS of the Akbarnāma The story of Fath K s murder is fully told in the Iqbalnāma He had been drinking with a *cela* named Hasan Beg After the murder Hasan was sent for and was found in Mattalib s house and hence he was suspected Hasan was beaten and imprisoned and Mattalib was kept till the arrival of Fath K s father but the latter declined to prosecute saying it was his son who was in fault'

[2] See Maasir II 769 and B 403 Mattalib was eventually pardoned The young man is Hasan Beg who as the Iqbālnāma tells us was found in Mattalib s house

[3] Pronounced Uttak B tells us that the name was chosen by Akbar to rhyme with Katak (Cuttack) the other frontier town Indeed this is what A F here says Apparently Katak was then known as Katak Benares

the army arrived at this boundary, a lofty fortress should be built On this occasion the place which far-sighted men had chosen was approved of On 15 Khurdād (near the end of May 1588) after the passing of two *pahars* two *gharis* the foundation was laid by the holy hand in accordance with this name, just as in the extremity of the eastern provinces there is a fortress named Katak Benares It was placed under the charge of Khwāja Shāmsu-d-dīn Khāfī, who had come from Bengal about this time. In a short time it was beautifully finished There was a noble barrier[1] placed between Hindustan and Kābulistan, and it was made the material for enforcing the obedience of the turbulent of that border The helpless obtained a means of subsistence, the seekers of traffic obtained confidence, and world-traversers had security

[1] *Barzakhe shigarf*

CHAPTER LXI

Expedition to Kabul

When the army was encamped on the bank of the Indus, the design was to cross the river and proceed to Zābulistān. Most of the principal men in the army spoke in favour of abandoning this expedition Some were influenced by ignorance, some by smallness of intellect, some by dread of a cold country, some by considerations of health and a love for India, some by the inconveniences of travelling. Some were influenced by good will towards the incompetent and ill-fated one and being emboldened by the gentleness of the world's lord, they loosed the bridles of numbers of men (i e made hem, slack) As the thread of acuteness and profundity was of double strength, the artifices of the tale bearers were ineffectual At this time an order was given to the writer of the noble volume to write down the views of the officers, and after having understood them, to represent them to H M I was astonished at their talk, but by God's help I was not deceived by it I had not white hair and long beard, nor did an old, blue-stained cloak adorn a face of hypocrisy When I did not accept their plausible speeches, they took to conspiring against me but as I had the favour of the holy heart, apprehensions of this or that one did not touch the hem of my soul The delay in the Shāhinshāh's carrying out his designs was wholly due to his hope that the Mirzā would be aided by reason and do what was right But he from foolishness and somnolence fell into evil thoughts, and his pride increased

Verse

Enemies become proud from your soft words,
'Tis a time when fair speech does harm

Though this was clear to his celestial mind, and he used constantly to say with his pearl filled tongue, "The wise have an excellent rule, and it is a proper practice that whenever owing to the constitution's deviating from equability a member of it becomes evil, it

should be removed from the body so that it may not injure the other members So also among men, if an individual cause a defect in the substance of auspiciousness, and create disaffection in others it is assuredly proper that the record of his existence should be erased from the book of the world" But his loving heart could in no way agree to this, and he put off the crossing of the river. He feared lest by the crossing of the army things would go beyond the prospect of peace, and the life of this careless young man come to an end [1] When graciousness had gone beyond bounds, and dissimulation had ended in imposture, the world's lord was compelled to order a crossing on 31 Tir (about 11 July 1588) He encamped at the place where the Indus and the Kabul river meet He left the main camp with an immense quantity of baggage on the banks of the Indus, and gave the command of that spot to Qāsim K in order that he might subdue the refractory spirits there and construct a bridge On 8 Amardād (about 19 July 1581) Hājī Habīb Ullah did homage and reported the Mirzā's petition to H M Though he showed some shame and repentance, and confirmed his obedience by oaths, yet as he had not done what was ordered, his words did not bear the lustre of truth. Excuses are accepted when deeds accord with words Otherwise word-spinners send the tongue in supplication and neglect performance Many simpletons in old times have from inexperience accepted words as deeds, and have suffered heavy loss It is proper for a peaceable being that if his deeds be not greater than his words, they be not less Otherwise feline [2] tricks and deception are brought to the market Accordingly the prudent sovereign did not accept the Mirzā's apologies and issued orders that the prince should advance

[1] In the Memorabilia at the end of the Ayin J II 383 Akbar takes credit to himself for not consenting to a plot for assassinating M Ḥakīm

[2] About 12 July The T A Elliot V gives 15 Jamada-as ṡānī on 17 July 1581 as the day of crossing Akbar arrived at the Indus in Rabī-as ṡānī, May, and stayed on the east bank for more than 1½ months Though he crossed in July, the main army still remained on the other side waiting for the completion of the bridge

[3] So in text, viz *garbizal* but the I O MSS and the Lucknow ed have *guresal* or *karesal* which last means dotage and harmonizes with the next word *ablatarāsī* folly Unless a gentle, peaceable person does at least as much as he says he brings folly to market, i e he plays the fool

from Bikrām,[1] and that he himself would also proceed in that direction. *On the 9th (Amardād) the standards moved forward and stopped* on the bank of the Kabul river. As the sea of graciousness was commoved he sent Khwāja Muhammad[2] 'Alī and a party of men. Perhaps one of these interviews might have effect, and the Mīrzā might not fall into eternal ruin. Next day he encamped at Daulatābād. *On this day he exalted M. Ghyāsu-d-dīn 'Alī of Qazwīn, who* was the unique of the age for knowledge of history, and was also possessed of excellence and right-thinking, by the title of Naqīb[3] K. He was presented with a splendid dress of honour, a special horse and abundant riches (*khwāsta*).[4] The idly talking genealogists had their mouths shut, and the speakers of improper things had
57 guidance. At this stage a courier brought a petition of the Mīrzā. It expressed regret for the past and promised good service for the future. As it did not appear to be sincere, it made no impression on H. M. Inasmuch as choice meditation and the taking counsel are a praiseworthy habit of the Shāhinshāh, he directed that the great officers to the number of twenty should hold a special meeting, and should give answers in accordance with acuteness and knowledge. He also ordered the writer to ascertain the opinion of each, and to report the result to him. The order was carried out, and every one spoke as he had hitherto done. As none of them wished to march, they all spoke in favour of pardoning the Mīrzā and of returning, and they dressed up one idea in various fashions. The writer said: "When a large army under the command of such a fortunate and majestic chief has made a long journey and when the goal is not more than seven or eight marches off, and when the frequent pardoning of offences and the return of the august standards are

[1] The proper spelling appears to be Bigram, from the Sanscrit Vigrama, the word meaning city. It is applied to three ancient sites near Kabul, Jalalabad and Peshawar. J. II. 371. Here it stands for Peshāwar. A. F. mentions it as a district in the Sarkar of Swat. J. II. 391, 392, 404, 411.

[2] B. 423.[1] If so he came from Jām. The Iqbalnama gives him the title of Khazāncī (Treasurer).

[3] See B. 447 and Elliot IV. 295. Naqīb means a leader and also a genealogist. Perhaps this is why A. F. speaks of the prating genealogists (*nashsāz*) having their mouths closed by his elevation.

[4] The Iqbalnāma says he got Rs. 1000. He is generally Mīr and not Mīrzā.

linked with one of those four[1] conditions, how can retreat be proper in the absence of these, and solely because of the utterances of obscure envoys and of writings without the lustre of truth Moreover, it is now the rainy season in India How will it do to remain near the Indus till it is over, and if we march back now great damage will be done in this rainy weather to the war-material and the result will not be good It is proper to finish the work which is nearly completed, and then to punish or forgive " Owing to a mixture of interested motives they were angry, and consulted together (lit put their heads down) with evil intentions A cautious[2] man said to me from ignorance, but with friendly feelings (or it may be without understanding the laws of friendship), "Though I know that the degree of your knowledge is being revealed, and that truth-speaking is being displayed, yet in the troubled state of society it is indispensable that one should act along with one's contemporaries and especially with those who are powerful in the state" I replied "It has been reckoned as one of the worst things to conceal what is fitting for the time, in a meeting for uttering confidences, and in the pure place of counsel, and to speak contrary to one's real sentiments Such a course is destructive of realm and religion. Why should I for the sake of security in an outward world, which is soon to be destroyed, knowingly choose what is deadly injurious spiritually? Seeing that I have not spoken foolishly for the sake of applause I am in hopes that no dust will fall upon my skirt." It was suggested that every one should lay his opinion before H M and that no mention should be made of me unless he inquired With this understanding we separated On that day[3] I had headache and fever and was unable to pay my respects (*kornish*) Some evil disposed

[1] I do not know what the four conditions are It looks as if some *thing had been omitted but all the* MSS seem to agree Perhaps the meaning is that before the return of the army M Ḥakīm would have had to conform to the four degrees of faith, B 191, by agreeing to surrender property, life, honour, and religion It should be noted that the account of this incident in Add 27,247 is differently worded from the passage in text

[2] *Salāmatraeī In the dictionaries* this is given as meaning an economist Here it seems to mean a safe or politic person or one who is an economist of the truth It may however mean "an honest man.

[3] Probably this means next morning

opportunists made a compact among themselves and resolved upon injuring me They seduced many simple-minded and honest persons by improper language, and they represented to H M that all the officers were of opinion that M Hakim should be forgiven and that the army should return The Khedive of the world asked, "What is so and so's opinion, meaning the writer of the book of fortune" One of them, who was shameless, from audacity and plausibility
358 said ' He too agrees with this opinion." The short sighted ones from envy and selfishness (*tandari*) took this wrong course, and were firm in their evil imaginings H M was indignant and said "Such short-sighted views do not approve themselves to me Apparently the officers are afraid of the cold of Afghanistan (Zābul), I'll leave them all behind, and go there with my disciples (*shagirdpesha*)" Next day I had recovered, and without delay I went and saluted H M (*kornish su baland shud*) The marks of glory were shining on the holy forehead and there was a new splendour to the great assemblage There was a *deep deliberation and a profound inquiry* At this time the sublime sovereign called me near him, and made inquiries after my health, which were mingled with reproaches He asked why I had changed the opinions which I always[1] used to entertain It became clear that hostile persons and fabricators of words had played a trick and laid a plot I fell into despondency, and came into a condition which may[2] no evil doer fall into The turbulence of youth, the exuberance of devotion, the intoxication of honesty, the hatred of life were aroused Prudent counsel was nearly deserting me, and the revolutions of the spheres were almost over for this faster in Society's morning, that is, this new traveller[3]

---

[1] *az khilafrai-i-hama ruza baz pirsid* The expression *hama ruza* is not clear I O MS 23 has *hama ruiā* or *rai iyat* (opinion) but the last word may also be *ruba* Another MS has *rūs* instead of ruza Possibly the true reading is *rūbabā-ī* vulpine tricks That is Akbar asked why A F had been behaving in this foxy manner *hama rūz* means all day long but what *hama ruza* means here is not evident to me Possibly for *ruza* روزا we should read *wazra* وزرا and then the meaning would be he asked about the opposition of all the ministers

[2] *hec badkāri rā marasād* Apparently it was too terrible to be suffered even by evil doers Or perhaps the meaning is that no evil doers could experience such feelings

[3] The I O MSS have a conjunction after traveller

in the inexperience of the disposition of the Age By virtue of my happy star, God's help lifted me up from the pit of irreflection Right thinking Reason cast the shadow of benignity over me I emerged somewhat from my sorrow of heart and I petitioned H M, saying, "Was what they allege me to have said spoken to one person's ear, or was it uttered in that meeting?" The audacious one chose to answer, "The latter was the case" The justice living sovereign sent for them all and questioned them Some who were in league took, one after another, the same road of impudent assertion The jewel of wisdom was nearly destroyed, and I was almost consigning myself to the repose of non-existence The far seeing prince read on the tablet of my forehead the marks of honesty, and the confusion was being diminished, but things were altered [1] by the audacity of the wicked men, and he was believing their statement to be true in this confused and hopeless condition one of the brave and truthful men, who was not afraid [2] about himself and did not regard the numbers of adversaries, and whom I in my [3] imperfect acquaintance with him did not believe to be truthful, said, "In that meeting a certain one (i e A F) was speaking against this set of men, perhaps the conversation (they rely upon) may have taken place elsewhere" The knot on my heart was loosed In the abundance of his capacity H M folded up the roll (*tūmar*) of discussion In gratitude [4] for this great boon from God for the medicine for the crisis is not due to any one else, and by the hair splitting acuteness of the world's lord, the real truth became impressed on far and near—I abandoned [5]

---

[1] The sentence is obscure and I am not sure of the meaning of the expression *darust guẓārī* The Cawnpore ed has *dast guẓarī* assistance Possibly the sentence means H M came to rightly understand the audacity of the evil doers

[2] Text *balarzad*, but this is corrected in the Errata and both the I O MSS have *nalarzad*

[3] Perhaps the meaning rather is 'From not knowing me he did not believe me to be speaking the truth

[4] There seems to be an anacoluthon in this sentence and it is not intelligible why everything should be referred to H M's acuteness when it appears that it was the honest speaking of a stranger that saved A F

[5] In text there is no conjunction before mushkafī and there is one in the same line before *aza i k͟hiyāl* but both these mistakes are corrected in the Errata

swift cavaliers of the army used to continually arrive, and give new of the evil thought of the Mirzā, and of the activity of the imperialists (those under Murād who were in advance) But at thi station no one came, and the scouts too returned, saying that th road in front was held by the Afghans Next day the standard halted at Gandamak At the end of the day Hājī Muḥamma Ahadī, who was one of the noted brave men, and who had been sen on purpose, returned after going half way, and from misunderstanding brought news which was far from being correct He reporte that the victorious army had met with loss H M observed that th news did not appear to be true, otherwise some men of the grea army would have come in From foresight, he held a council, an asked what was proper to be done A number agreed that he shoul delay until the army which was with the prince (Selim) should com up Some represented that if some thing untoward had happened they were few in number, and that it was not safe to stand still, an that they should go back to the camp, and after that prepare fo war Some, who looked to the favour of God, and the daily-increasing fortune, represented that although they were few, how coul they add to their numbers? H M 's men were all brave and experienced, and the proper thing was to go on If by heaven's decree anything untoward had happened, the enemy would be terrified by the sound of the august retinue and would disperse H M approved of this opinion, and proceeded onwards On the way, some headmen came in, and uttered peaceable and affectionate words The unique pearl of wisdom remarked that it was evident from their language that the report was not true, and on that day he halted at Surkhāb From skill and foresight he drew up his troops in battle array H M was in the centre Zain K Kokaltash had command of the right wing, and Maṭṭalib K commanded the left wing Some Begs and Ahadis were in the van At the end of the day, when the heroes were ready for battle, news of victory arrived But as the couriers were Afghans, and the report was from Karm-
361 ullah Kambu, prudent persons did not put much faith in it They thought it might be fabricated, as otherwise they would have ha reports from the prince and the other leaders H M inquired from

---

Skhirī (31 July 1581) Next day which was Bahram the 20th and = 1 ...

some of the zamindars, and it appeared from their statements that a victory had been won He observed to judicious persons that though they (the zamindars) did not, out of hypocrisy and evil nature, tell the real facts yet they had left off the original story Next day he proceeded from Surkhab to Jagdalak Some active[1] men came and brought reports from the Prince, and gave news of victory Men were delighted, and thanks were returned to God by the tongue of action

[1] A B M MS Add 27 247 says that it was Khwāja Muīn who brought the news about the Prince

CHAPTER LXIII

Victory of Prince Sulṭan Murād, and the disgraceful defeat of M Hakim

(This chapter begins with twelve lines of turgid rhetoric It then proceeds as follows)

The Mirzā left the highway of obedience on account of the intrigues of wicked wretches who dig up the foundations of houses, and cast down the roof of palaces At the time of the rebellion in the eastern provinces, he made the pleasant land of India full of
362 the dust of opposition From the day that he returned in an ashamed condition, sometimes he blamed his star, and sometimes he became aware of his own folly, at one time he censured his foolish companions, and blamed himself for having listened to them In this state of bewilderment the sound of the coming of the august retinue still more disquieted him He could not stay as he was, nor yet could he devise any plan He had not the clearness of intellect to induce him to prostrate himself at the holy threshold, nor had his companions the sense to take his children to do homage His sister and Khwaja Hasan from fear of the consequences of disobedience hastened off to Badakhshan Faridun and some others who knew that they were the staple of disaffection, were afraid to come and kiss the threshold Sometimes he thought of fortifying the ravine of the Khaibar, and sometimes he thought he would go via Bangash and stir up trouble in India Sometimes he thought that he should fortify the citadel of Kabul and hide himself in the hills On account of the majesty of the imperial army he could not carry out any of these things, and the inhabitants of Kabul could not bring themselves to defend the city or to fight How can we, they said contend with our benefactor? He was obliged to make over the keys of the fortress to the men of the city in order that they might deliver them to H M and to betake himself with some men to Qarabāgh Every one removed his family to some distant place

His (the Mirzā's) sole thought was that if the army of fortune pressed upon them he would go to Turān Otherwise he would stay in the hills and deserts Whoever has not wisdom from within, nor has from without a friend to speak bitter truths, becomes stained by failure One day he was in a state of confusion on the bank of the Ghorband river and held a council as to what should be done Some said that the imperial army would not come beyond Peshāwar, and that there was not unanimity in it By thousands of futile speeches they restrained him from his intention (of flying to Tūrān, etc) and made him eager for war Ignorant and foolish friends did the work of wise enemies Faridun was sent off with a number of companions to Āqserai[1] to collect troops, and to look after the peasantry The Mirza himself followed him and sought for an engagement As the imperial army had nearly approached, and his troops were somewhat disorganized, he resolved to remain in Sanjad dāra until his soldiers were assembled Faridūn chose ambushes in order that he might, if possible, inflict some injury on the imperial army Haidar[2] 'Ali was sent off with some troops to Kabul in order that he might put that place in a condition of security and then come to the battle field The ruined men waited for their opportunity in Bani Badra[3] which is between the Dūāb and Butkhāk The imperial army had marched from Bārikāb That evil disposed one (Faridun) had gone to Cinārtu (?) and was in a hollow[4] When the victorious troops had passed that ambush, 363
Saiyid Hamid Bokhari, Makhsūs K, and a party of heroes, who were the rearguard, let fall the thread of circumspection and hastened on No one remained behind except Saiyid Bahau d-din and a few others On the 18th[5] Amardād (30 July 1581) the rascals fell upon the baggage and carried off some of it At this time the brave men of the rearguard heard of this and hastened to

[1] N Kabul and about half way between it and Charīkār

[2] B M MS Add 27 247 has Haidar Ali Khwesh, i e relation

[3] Bini Padrāo in text but the variant is supported by the Iqbāl nama and J II 406

[4] مغسی which according to Vullers is a bad reading for مغفی a hollow place or a marsh, i e a low *place where water collects*

[5] Add 27 247 has the day of Rashn 18 Amardād = 29 Jamāda al ākhirī (31 July) Haji Muh Abadi's account occurs *supra* p 360 of text Cf Elliot, Hist., p 425

the fighting-place. The scoundrels were not successful and fled Farīdūn took refuge at Bādāmcashma,[1] and the others went off rapidly towards Quraqsāī and 'Ulughpūr. Apparently what the Aḥadī saw when on that day he brought unpleasing news—as has already been related—was something that he had seen of this disturbance S Jamāl Bakhtiyār wished to go with a body of men by way of Cinārtū to the halting place (i e. to Khurd Kabul) and to engage the enemy if he fell in with them. On the same day the Mirzā came to Cinārtū to find out the condition of Farīdūn Suddenly an army appeared in the distance and it appeared that this was a portion of the imperial troops The Mirzā[2] dispatched a number of daring men under the command of 'Alī Muhammad Asp The Shaikh (Jamāl) halted on the edge of a melon-field, a battle ensued, and while the fighting was going on, Farīdun came up from behind The enemy thought this was a reinforcement for the imperialists, and stopped fighting and retired. By God's help the Shaikh recognized them (Farīdun's men) as hostile and turned his attack in that direction A hot engagement took place, and the spectators were amazed S Daulat, Mathrā Das and a number of brave men distinguished themselves On the side of the enemy Bakht Beg, Ghaiūr Beg, Shadman Parghaliq, Mulla Ghaiurī fought gallantly[3] The imperial servants fought their way to Khurd Kabul, where the prince's camp was Also on this day Shigunī Qarāwal (scout), who had gone to make inquiries, offered up his life. Ahmad Beg, Bakht Beg, Zāhid and others, who had returned from plundering, came upon him, and he died like a brave man. Those who imagined a vain thing had their pride increased by this circumstance Also Mir 'Abdullah[4] played away the coin of courage (i e behaved in a

[1] Between Little Kabul and Barīkāb. J II 399

[2] The troops which the Mirzā saw in the distance were S Jamal's The text omits the word Mirzā as also does the Cawnpore ed, but the two I O MSS have it

[3] The Iqbālnāma says that Muḥammad Sharīf a young man who was related to the Mīr Khalīfa, was unhorsed and made prisoner by the Afghans

[4] Apparently the correct reading is 'Abād Ullah as in the variant One MS has in this year and month' Add 27 247 has 'Abdullah, and adds that he was the brother of Hājī Habībullāh It is interesting to notice that 'Abd Ullah was the name of the ambassador whom

cowardly manner) in this year. A large sum of money had been sent with him for the troops Sher Khwāja, Lal Beg and a number of others met him, and from cowardice he was caught, and the money was plundered

Hakim M came with a number of rebels to a height near the camp of fortune, but though the plundering and fighting encouraged the evil crew, yet he could not bring his heart to engage in a battle 364
by day For a night and a day there was no engagement Apparently they were collecting troops Out of cheatery he sent some letters by the hand of a doomed man to Qulīj K, M. Yusuf K., Naurang K, 'Alī Murād and some of the Caghatāī tribe They contained proposals for acting in concert M Yūsuf K in the excess of his anger tore up those letters in the assembly and put the bearer, 'Ali Murad, to death It is an old custom [1] that tricksters send such letters at such times so that they may pervert people Men of small capacity have injured the lives of devoted servants, and have believed in their disloyalty. Far seeing persons of profound views have relied upon their fidelity and increased their favours to them Those who favour the enemy do not know that the imperial servants have learnt wisdom at the threshold of fortune, and that the dust of double heartedness is not raised by such evil schemes

In fine the Kābulis were dumbfounded by the might of the victorious troops They abandoned good courses and sometimes turned their thoughts to the making of a night-attack. Some thought of a battle by day On the eve of the 20th they kindled fires on the top of the hill, and proceeded to acts of turbulence. Evil thoughts took possession of them They sent off on the right hand, Qazzāq, Amīr K. Islam-abādi, Afẓal Tulakcī, and a number more; and on the left hand they sent Nur Muhammad Khwāja Khizrī, and a number of Hazāra infantry, in the hopes that they might cause

Akbar sent to Goa in December, 1578, to procure the attendance of priests

[1] Apparently A.F is thinking of the time when Shāh Manṣūr was destroyed by the forgery of letters addressed to him Considering the way that Akbar accepted letters written to Mansūr is proof against him, it was but natural that M Yūsuf should tear up the letters from M Hakīm and kill the messenger

confusion in that dark night The majestic dominion which is conjoined with eternity drew courage from seeing them The heroes of the victorious army stood their ground and sought for battle They regarded not these wiles and threatenings (*gao tazi*) On 20 Amardād corresponding to Wednesday 1 Rajab, 1 August 1581, the Mirza came out from the defiles and dressed the field of battle The strenuous combatants of fortune set themselves with a bold heart and tranquil view to giving their lives

Verse

From the blare of the trumpets
Trembling fell on hand and foot
The heat of combat waxed so hot
That sparks came from the horses hoofs
From the roarings of *mast* elephants
Knots formed[1] in the throats of lions

By the celestial aids which are always allied to the servants of daily increasing fortune, the time of fighting had not yet reached the whole of the vanguard, so that there is no need to mention the other corps The Mirza lost heart and took to flight The imperial
365 servants rejoiced Next morning Faridun with a body of men did not take account of what had happened, and stirred up the dust of battle Of the officers of the vanguard, Naurang K had come near the mouth of the ravine The Kābulis attacked him, and gained some advantage The victorious army was some distance behind Nuram Beg and Tarsun Beg Andijani fell bravely The Mirza plucked up a little spirit and came out of the ravine to the plain The brave men of the vanguard, such as Shah Beg Kulabi, Rafi' Rustiqi, and Fath Mubarik brought the jewel of courage to market, and then with the brightened face of a good name packed up the baggage of existence (died)

Verse

Two rivers of blood came into commotion,
The ground grew tulip coloured from the fiery waves

[1] The variant *shikast* broke is [illegible] rently the meaning is that the lions supported by the I O MSS Appa[illegible] the [illegible] became speechless

They came face to face for battle,
Woes and calamities fell upon the heroes
What can I say of that engagement
When I cannot tell one jot of it.

While the battle-field was adorned by the flashings of the scimitars the Zabuliyans were nearly getting the best of it At this time Rajah Mân Singh came forward with a rush First, Madhu Singh, Surat Singh and a number of brave men formed platoons (*tōp tōp*) and went into battle They sent ahead the rank breaking elephants Ibrahim K Faujdar was on the special elephant Ran Mohan and Jajhar K on the special elephant Jagat Rai Muḥammad K was on the special elephants Gaj Mangal (the elephant of Mars) and Cānd K. on Lakhmi Sundai Though this last was not a special one it showed its quality this day and was placed in the special Filkhāna (elephant stables) Husain K was on the special elephant Mukut The life destroying guns which were on the elephants were discharged When the vanguard which was like so many iron walls, came into action, the Kābulis lost courage 'Ali Muhammad Asp and some well wishers seized the Mirzā's rein and took him to the desert of retreat The breeze of victory blew on the rosebush of the hopes of the strenuous fighters A watch and something more of the day had elapsed when the rays of fortune took possession of the earth The fortunate prince in spite of his youth, showed such courage and steadfastness that veterans remembered his firmness and his exertions Many were of opinion that the Mirza would attack the army in the rear, and kept the other troops ready for 366 this contingency For good reasons they did not pursue the foe A great victory was gained Many soldiers were killed in their flight. The ingrates and foolish talkers met with their deserts and fell into the wide tract of ashamedness The boasters and the impudent continually said to one another, "The Tūrānis and Persians who are in the imperial army will join us without fighting and the brave Rajputs and gallant Afghans[1] will end their days The other

[1] The use of the word Afghan here as if they were on the side of Akbar, is curious. Perhaps it means that the fight would only be between the Afghans and Rājputs B M MS Add 27 247 is worded differently It says that Ḥakīm's people told him that the Qandahāris would come over to his side

natives of India will be made prisoners" By these fictions they increased the Mirzā's hallucinations No! No! Though that inexperienced youth knew nothing of the spiritual world, yet his amount of external knowledge was not such (i e little) that he should be led away by this incorrect language Nor had the foolish and confused such a stock of infatuation as to suppose such things of the fidelity of the Turanians and Persians, which is known to the whole world Nor were the great deeds of the Rajputs and the Shaikh-zadas of India unknown to them Evidently they thought that by this prattling they would increase the courage of the Zābulis and would inspire terror into the victorious army

On the day that Mirzā was leaving Bigrām one of the bare-footed men of enlightenment (i e a religious mendicant) told him that a battle with the victorious army would not be propitious to him It would be best for him to draw rein and leave of this enterprise From presumption and self will he did not listen to him The Mirza now had his time of attacking and being defeated Several of his intimates were reduced to ashes by the fire of the guns Qāsim Khwaja after experiencing the might of the victorious army represented to the Mirza the turning back of his men, and seizing his rein, wished to lead him away The Mirza, because he was a little confused, did not hearken to him and abused him Meanwhile 'Ali Muhammad Asp came up to help him The Mirza became angry and threatened to kill him That excellent man (lit full of auspiciousness) said, "First send me to the abode of non existence, and then fly" By this devotion and right-thinking, the Mirza understood his object, and went off rapidly In the neighbourhood of Kotal Minār some victorious soldiers arrived, and the Mirza with great difficulty extricated himself That day he rested at Qarā Bāgh, and then went on to Istarghach (N Kabul) Many of his near relatives, and among them his eldest son Kaiqobād, joined him there From thence he went off to Ghorband

The fortunate prince went on the 21st (3 August) to the *jalgah* of Siāh Sang and held an assembly All sorts of men beheld the
367 light of true rule, and rejoiced, and that ancient place, which is a delightsome spot, was refreshed by the irrigation of justice At the time[1] when the standards of fortune were moving from Surkhāb to

[1] A F here repeats what he had said at p 301, end of previous chapter

Jagdalak, swift messengers brought the news of victory, and the marvels of heaven aided fortune *were* impressed anew on high and low Supplications and thanksgivings were offered up anew Next day he encamped at Bārīkāb, and on 25th he halted at Butkhāk The soldiers and the peasantry, male and female, of Zabulistan, flocked in from every side, and became the recipients of various favours At this stage Kuar Man Singh and many other officers did homage, and were exalted by the favour of the Shāhinshāh Next morning he marched On the way the prince and other high officers paid their respects He halted at Siah Sang, which is known by men as Safed Sang, and there Turk and Tājik performed the *kornish* He observed the precepts of the astrologers and halted there for some days Then he went and visited the Shahrārā garden[1] (Pride of the city) and other recreative spots in that blissful city He remembered the places which he had seen in boyhood and described them by special marks, and when these were inquired into, his descriptions were found to be exactly correct Fresh proof was given of his intelligence and memory About this time Lashkar[2] K of Baqlāna, who was famous for turbulence, was brought in chains by the husbandmen of that country, and was put to death in retribution for his crimes As H M 's intention was to spend some time in this country, which is a garden, and a heart delighting spot in worshipping God, and in administering balm to the wounds of the inhabitants, he sent off his elephants to Jalālābad under the charge of Sayid Hāmid, Sayid Bahāu d din and others At this time news came that the Mirzā was bewildered and almost mad On hearing the reverberation of the royal cavalcade he *had gone off to Ghorband,* and *his idea was that if an army* should come to look for him he would become like a Qalandar and go off to retirement in Tūrān Out of abundant graciousness H M sent Latif Khwaja and Qāzi 'Abdu-l latif to him with salutary counsels His whole design was that he should be convinced of the royal clemency and come to court In an auspicious hour, on the

[1] J II 404

[2] This man does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere and I do not know if Baqlana here mentioned is the Baglān in Nasik described in an earlier page But probably he was an Afghan The Iqbalnāma seems to have Naghlānī (a strifemonger?)

29th (9 August 1581)[1] H M. seated himself in the citadel of Kabul Splendour took possession of that country, and a court was held
8 there and a great feast Also during this year the weighment (of Akbar[2]) took place, and was made against choice articles Mankind were filled with joy by the royal bounties

---

[1] The T A Elliot V 425 says Akbar entered Kabul on Friday 10 Rajab and remained there for 20 days If 10 Rajab is correct, then Akbar entered on 10 August 1581 Add 27 247 says he entered Kabul on the day of Isfandārmuz 29 Amardād = Friday 10 Rajab

[2] This is the weighment which apparently took place a few days after the day of Akbar's birth according to the Hijra era that took place on 5 Rajab 949, and Akbar *entered the city of Kabul on* 10 Rajab

CHAPTER LXIV

Forgiveness of the offences of M Hakīm, and return of the army to India

(The chapter begins with eleven lines of laudation of Akbar for his forgiving nature It then proceeds as follows)

It many times occured to some loyal and devoted ones that some servant should form an ambush and put the Mirza out of the way From feelings of true affection he did not approve of this, in spite of the increase of his turbulence With his pearl-loaded tongue he said, "Why should the sons of men employ their God-given strength in accomplishing the desires of the juggling sensual soul? And why should I for the sake of my own repose endeavour to take the life of a brother? or ungratefully allow a devoted follower to be slain? If he (the Mirzā) is going the wrong road, thinking it is right, he is doing a religious act, otherwise, he is suffering from the malady of ignorance We ought not to trouble those who are suffering pains in the desert of unwisdom" At the time that the august retinue was in the pleasant place of Kabul, the Mirzā's roll of life was nearly being folded up [1] In that dangerous state the envoys of the Caliphate brought the good news of forgiveness, and showed to that distracted and hopeless one the succour of daily-increasing favour The Mirzā for a time thought it was a dream, and thinking that reproaches were intended did not believe the news When he knew the truth, and saw that the court of acceptance of apologies was open he fell into weeping and lamentation, 369
and told the story of his own want of wisdom, of his misfortunes, the infidelity of companions, and his shame, and said in reply, 'I ought to have rubbed my forehead on the holy threshold before this,

[1] Apparently this refers to some illness of the Mirzā. Akbar refers to the proposal to kill Muḥammad Ḥakīm in the conversations reported in the Aīn See Jarrett III 383

and to have made its dust the collyrium of my eyes and heart Now that I have fallen upon this day, and the horror of my soul has increased, how can I have the heart or assurance to present myself before H M and what would such a coming evince and what petition should I make? Owing to my misfortune I cannot bring my sister and Khwāja Hasan to make apologies for they have out of fear, and on seeing my evil day, gone to Badakhshan But I have been comforted by the inspiriting message I am hopeful that on this occasion I shall be excused from coming to pay my respects I am sending my son to do homage When my mind has become a little eased, I shall gather eternal fortune by the bliss of the *kornish*" To this effect did he send a petition along with 'Ali Muhammad Asp

On 1 Shahriyur Latif Khwaja[1] and Qāzi 'Abdu-l-latif came to H M and reported the confused condition of the Mirza H M was displeased, and he issued an order that some strenuous men should go, and bring that slumbrous witted one to the path of good service At this time, 'Alī Muhammad Asp obtained, through the courtiers, the privilege of an audience As he was one of the old servants of the sublime family, his supplications were accepted The offences of the Mirza were forgiven, and Zabulistān was conferred upon him anew And as the presence of the royal standards was a cause of confusion to the Mirzā, H M proceeded next day towards India He went in the first place to the cemetery[2] and the holy tomb of H M Firdus Makānī (Bābur) and said his prayers After that he enjoyed himself in the Shahr arā garden At the end of the day he ordered the high officers in attendance on Prince Sultan Murād to proceed stage by stage, and he himself went on by relays to Jalālābād where the great camp was Makhsus K, S Jamāl, and the writer of this noble volume and some others had the privilege of accompanying him At the beginning of the night he rested for a while near Bigram (the one near Kabul) When a watch of the

---

[1] B 196

[2] Gazargah A ferry or passage But used here I think to mean a place of passing away, i e a cemetery Or perhaps it is another form of gazur gah i e a bleaching ground but which according to Major Raverty, means a graveyard as being a place where the dead are bleached

night had passed he went on again and at midday rested at Bārīkāb He went on on horseback again at lighting up time, and next day at midday reached Jalalābad The prince (Selim) placed his head on the blessed feet and paid his respects, and the chaste ladies were filled with joy The officers prostrated themselves and offered up thanksgiving Babblers had told various lies about the Mirza And there was a report that the standards of victory were going towards Turān The officers had been somewhat apprehensive of the strange country, and of ambushes on the part of the 370
Kābulis, when all at once the cavalier of enlightenment's plain (Akbar) arrived There was great rejoicing in the camp On the 7th (Shahriyūr) he proceeded towards India and encamped on the river bank H M and some of the ladies visited the Bāgh Safā and at night came to the camp Next day the prince(Murād) and the officers came up from behind At this stage S Farid came from Bihar and did homage He reported the failure of the enemy and the freedom of the province from rebels On the 15th he passed through the Khaibar and halted at Jamrud

One of the occurrences was the pardoning of M'aṣūm K Farankhudi From the time that he had been disgraced in the engagement with Shahbaz K, and had escaped from the hands of the landholders as has already been described he was wandering about in the jungles Every day he tore the foot of exertion in the thornbrake, and by fresh griefs heaped up the punishment of his wickedness In this state of misfortune and bewilderment he was joined by one of his servants named Maqṣud who poured out to him his accumulations Rebellious thoughts again made that evil conditioned man mad He increased his turbulence and distressed the peasantry In a short time a number of fly like men who were slaves of gold assembled and the city of Bahraich was plundered Fakhr 'Ali (son of ?) Wazir K made a small fight and owing to his evil star, and the bad conduct of his companions, was unsuccessful The city and its suburbs came into the possession of that evil doer Wazir K, Mihtar K., and the other fief holders united together and by the might of daily increasing fortune came to a fight with him The battle began with the discharge of cannon and muskets with the river Saru intervening The rebel from fear of the new arrivals remained that day in camp and at night went off with a few compa

mions Soon the landholders took the side of the chosen servants, and their might increased At night he left family and home and fled The victorious troops pursued him to Kalyānpur and then returned M'asūm went off to Jālupāra, and stirred up strife there also Many fly-like creatures joined him and the town of Muhammadābād was plundered There were fears that Jaunpur would be sacked Shāham K came from Tirhut, Pahār K from Ghāzipur, and Qāsim K from Cāndpur to remedy matters They were active, and that crooked one became distracted His men dispersed and he abandoned his plunder and crossed the Saru with a few men at the ferry of Haldi When the victorious troops were chanting *pæans on every side he dropped his strife-mongering somewhat* and proceeded to subterfuges The Khān 'Āzim M Koka was in Hajipur He sent him a letter of supplication and begged his pardon The Khan 'Āzim remembered old acquaintance and behaved with humanity He helped him with money, goods and an estate He also begged H M to forgive him The forgiving sovereign in his acceptance of excuses and love made the Kokaltāsh hopeful of such a favour, and the world became like a blooming garden

Verse [1]

The penitent even in dreams won't listen to the word " Repentance,"
If he see the loving wiles of His forgiveness of sins

One of the occurrences was the death of Saiyid Hāshim Bokhari In the beginning of this expedition the Mir had been sent off to the government of Sirohi Mir Kalān, Kamālu d din Husain Diwana and some other strenuous ones accompanied him When he had

[1] I am indebted to Maulavī Abdul Haq for the explanation of this verse It means that as sinners knew how eager Akbar was to forgive them they would not even in dreams think of repenting They would rather go on sinning in order to receive more forgiveness The Maulavī quotes parallel passages from Niẓāmī s Sikandarnāma and from the poet Qudsī The latter says that on the day of judgment God will be there with the coin of forgiveness while he (Qudsī) will have the goods of his sins under his arm That is he will keep them hidden till a good price be offered for them by God

taken up his quarters there, Sultān Deora,[1] a great landholder in that place, pretended to be obedient, and made the semblance of friendship, by plausible words he won over some wicked Rajputs to his side and lay in wait for an opportunity to do deadly mischief At a time when the loyal were far off and the rebellious at hand, he attacked the negligent Saiyid On 2 Amardād he and some others bravely fell and played away in a proper manner the coin of life A few who behaved in that battle in a cowardly manner were punished (by Akbar) and that crooked one received a severe chastisement

On 16 Shahriyūr H M halted near Bigrām News came that Qāsim K had made an excellent bridge over the great and turbulent river Indus Crowds of men crossed over and rejoiced

One of the occurrences was S Jamāl[2] Bakhtiyār's being seized with melancholy When H M was emerging from the defile of the Khaibar he perceived that he had been drinking He denied somewhat, and then made proper excuses H M rebuked him and did not allow him to perform the *kornish* From excess of madness he became light-headed and destroyed his property and became a beggar H M from kindness and in order to teach him put him into confinement S 'Abdu-r Rahīm[3] of Lucknow and some others of his boon companions were rebuked and excluded from Court

On the 22nd H M crossed the Indus by the bridge, and glorified the land of India by his world adorning footsteps The guardianship of the Indus province was entrusted to the activity of Kuar 372
Mān Singh H M had some *qamargha* hunting in that neighbourhood, and enjoyed himself Also at this time Rajah Todar Mal came and did homage He had been with the army, and engaged in administering the eastern provinces As much work did not remain to be done in Bihar, and the officers had not the privilege of going to Bengal, he had been sent for to take charge of the viziership Fresh life was given to him, and he entered into service He took office in the beginning of Mihr In this month H M left the banks of the Indus, and went hunting On 20 Mihr he crossed the Bihat at Rasūlpur by a bridge, and on the 25th he crossed by a

[1] According to B the name is Sultan Deodah

[2] B 425

[3] B 470 and M aṣir, II 564

bridge the Cenāb in the neighbourhood of Hailān[1] at the ferry of Jugālī On 5 Ābān he crossed the Rāvī, which was fordable, and encamped near the Serai of Daulat K. On this day he appointed Sadrs,[2] and the garden of the hopes of the unsuccessful was irrigated H.M. had regard to the number of tenure holders (sayūrghaldārān) and to their convenience, and abolished the single office, and distributed the work among a number of honest and experienced men, so that applicants might not have the pain of delay, and also that there might not be room for fraud. The Sadārat of the provinces of Delhi, Malwa and Gujrat was made over to Ḥakīm Abu-l-fath, that of Agra, Kālpī, and Kālinjar to S. Abu-l-faiz faiẓī, that from Hājīpūr to the Sarū to Ḥakīm Hamām, that of Bihar to Hakīm Alī, that of Bengal to Hakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk, that of the Panjab to Qāẓī 'Alī-Bakhshī.[3] Also, here and there, in large cities, he appointed an able and unbigoted man to be head of the Qāzīs of that quarter, so that he might look after that crew of large-turbaned and long-sleeved men Also at this time Rajah Bhagwān Dās, the commander in chief of the Panjab, petitioned for a visit from the world's lord, and his request was granted On the 8th H M cast the shadow of his favour over him, and he obtained everlasting happiness On the 21st he crossed the Beās (Hyphasis) by a bridge and on the 28th the Sutlej, also by a bridge. Next day he halted at Sirhind, and enjoyed the gardens thereof At this stage, Rajah Bhagwan Dās, Rai Rai Singh, Saiyid Hāmid Pokhārī, Jagannāth, and other fief-holders of the Panjab were allowed to depart At Panipat on 7 Āzar Shahbāz K. was exalted by doing homage From the time when he had driven off M'aṣum K Farankhūdī to the wilds, he had been in Fathpūr in charge of the orders of the Caliphate. When he heard of the return of H M he came away, and obtained

[1] S Chilianwala See B 457 n 1, and 360

[2] B 268 270 and Badayūnī, Lowe 304

[3] The text has Badakhshī but the variant Bakhshī is supported by the I O MSS Qazī 'Alī was a Bakhshī but he is described as of Bagdad not of Badakhshān See also Tūzuk J, p 50 where it is mentioned that Aṣaf K was made Mīr Bakhshī at Basawal 28 years before 1016 This should be 989 not 988 The Maāsir U states that Aṣaf K was made Bakhshī in the room of Qazī 'Alī The latter probably vacated the appointment on being appointed to the Panjab

bliss On the 10th[1] H M reached Delhi He visited the tomb of H M Jannat Āshiyānī (Humāyun), and distributed bounties to the guardians thereof He also visited the abode of Haji Begam (his 378 stepmother) and paid his devotions There was a joyful meeting, and desires were accomplished At the end of the day he was informed that the litter of H H Miriam makānī was near at hand The world's lord treated her with great respect Prince Sultan Daniel was in attendance on her and now did homage (to Akbar) Sultan Khwāja, Shāh Qūlī K Mahram and many other loyal servants did homage On the 17th he encamped near Mathura, and he went to that ancient place of pilgrimage and witnessed the spectacle of the benighted ones (lit the slumbrous ones of the land of recognition) For a short time he at the request of Mathura Dās who was one of the chosen servants, glorified his house by his advent

[1] The T A., Elliot V 426 states that Akbar reached Lahore on the last day of the Ramzān (October 28 1581) and that he reached Delhi on 25 Shawal (24 November) Badayunī gives the date of arrival at the Indus as 12 Sh abān (11 September)

CHAPTER LXV

Arrival of the royal retinue at Fathpūr

The just lord of the world by wisdom and foresight, and the guidance of daily-increasing fortune led the great army of India to Zābulistān, and by skill and planning brought the work to a successful end The dignity of counsel giving was exalted, and a new jewel of humanity was displayed Prudence and courage went shoulder to shoulder, and graciousness and magnanimity embraced each other By wisdom he laid the foundations of war, and led a world into an open plain He disregarded self, and showed the path of courage to a crooked foe The retribution of the wicked was accomplished in an exquisite manner A great expedition, such as had not occurred to the minds of the rulers of India, was effected in an admirable way The jewels of endurance, wide capacity and knowledge of mysteries, were displayed to the four quarters of an astonished world Though the rebels of the eastern provinces went the roadless way, and the officers requested that he would make an expedition in that direction, he took up the rebellion in the Panjab, and did not grant their prayer Such calm and endurance were exhibited as to be extolled everywhere, and a splendid remedy was applied to the distractions of mankind Appreciation and arrangement received fresh splendour, and he was made glorious by not permitting the chastisement of his ungrateful brother whom he looked upon as an elder child By not leaving administration to the officers he strengthened the cords of discrimination In spite of so many offences he granted to the Mirzā his country, his property, his life and his honour He fulfilled the obligations of battle and
4 banquet, rewarded the loyal servants, and punished the wicked
On 19 Āzar,[1] after ten months, he glorified the capital by his advent

---

[1] 5 Zilqada 989—1 December 1581 Elliot V 426

Verse

A breeze of joy comes from Fatḫpūr,
For my King returns from a long journey.
What bliss is his advent, for from every heart
Thousands of rejoicings come forth.
O Faiẓī, glorious be his arrival to a world.
For a world comes into his presence.

On this day of joy the great officers, the loyal servants, and others were drawn up in two sides of the way for a distance of four *kos* from the city. The mountain-like elephants stood there in their majesty The Khedive of the world proceeded on his way on a heaven-like elephant, attended by the "Avaunt" of the Divine Halo. The obedient princes moved on in their order. Many grandees proceeded in front of the mace-bearers (yesāwalān). The panoply[1] was there in its splendour and was followed by various officers. The noise of the drums and the melodies of the magician-like musicians gave forth news of joy. Crowds of men were gathered in astonishment on the roofs and at the doors At the end of the day he sate in the lofty hall (daulatkhāna) on the throne of sovereignty. He dispensed justice by rewarding the loyal and punishing the hostile and made the increase of dominion and success a vehicle for worship and supplication.

One of the occurrences was the capital punishment of Bahādur That evil man was the son of S'aīd Badakhshī[2] and owing to wickedness of brains he distressed the peasantry. He showed conspicuous folly, as has been in some measure described. He made the hill-country of Tirhut the abode of turbulence, and emerging from there when opportunity offered, he opened the hand of plundering As that quarter was in the *jāgīr* of Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, and the Khān 'Āẓim assisted him, and he joined skill to courage Bahādur sustained heart-breaking defeats His home and family were plundered and his children captured Therefore he had recourse to wiles, and sued for mercy. He came and paid his respects to Ghāzī K. As the

[1] *Qūr* B 110

[2] The Iqbālnāma and I O MS 236 have Safed, and this seems correct for in the verse quoted by Badayūnī. Lowe, 307, the name of Bahādur's father is given as Isfed, which is

marks of sedition and turbulence were seen in his words and actions, Ghāzī K arrested him and sent him to the Khān 'Āẓim at Hājīpur The latter sent him to court, at the time of H M 's arrival he was brought in with chains on his neck, and stocks (*kunda*) on his feet, and met with his deserts [1]

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Haidar [2] to do homage H M asks nothing from the princes of the age beyond obedience, and when they render this he does not exert the might of sovereignty against them Accordingly he had sent Ṣālih 'Āqil to advise Yusuf K the prince of Kashmir He had the good fortune to accept such counsels and to send his third son to court along with the choice things of the country He was distinguished by royal favours

One of the occurrences was the placing of Shahbāz K in the prison of schooling It is indispensable that man should at the time of smiling fortune and of increase of wealth keep watch over himself Instability [3] and too much of the coquetry of the world—which is the demon land of success—soon unsettle one and cast him into eternal ruin As by the virtue of daily increasing fortune, good service was performed by him, and he drank more of the world's wine than he could digest, he showed some self will At the time of inquiry he exhibited presumption and self auctioneering Inasmuch as the world's lord was relieved then from the stress of the administration of the world and was taking counsel (*jangī*) with wise and disinterested men, he looked closely into the conduct of this

[1] The T A, Elliot V 426 and Badayūnī Lowe 307 seem to say that he was killed by the K Āẓim's servants but probably Niẓāmu-d dīn only means that he was caught by them

[2] He was the third son of Yūsuf Cak B 479 where he is wrongly described as son of Yaqūb Ḥaidar Malik says I O MS 510 182b that M Ṭāhir and Ṣāliḥ were sent as ambassadors, and he gives an abstract of Akbar's letter In another letter p 185a Akbar reproached Yūsuf for sending first Haidar who was not fit for service and then Yaqūb who was somewhat mad

[3] Tongdastī I O MS 236 has tezdastī The Iqbālnāma says that Shahbāz had offended Miriam makānī by behaving disrespectfully to her servants when he was in charge of the capital (Agra) and that she had complained about this See Badayūnī Lowe 333

narrow-souled, foul-tongued[1] man. On 24 Dai he went off to hunt in the direction of Nagarcīn, and arrived there on 3 Bahman On that day, in drawing[2] up the guards (*taslīm-i-caukī*) the Bakhshīs of the court of the Caliphate had placed him (Shahbāz) below M Khān, who now has the lofty title of Khān-Khānān He went wrong and did not obey the holy commands, and severed the links of gratitude and loyalty Or rather he let go the thread of mercantile considerations As his capacity was small, and the wine was strong, he was unable to keep quiet at the banquet of service He came out of the cool abode of reason, and worshipped his idiosyncrasy. H M in order to instruct him made him over to Rai Sāl Darbārī, *and placed him in the school of practical wisdom* Next morning he returned to the capital

One of the occurrences was the death of the (Malika Jahān) Queen of the world, Hājī Begam From the time that she[3] had returned from the Hijāz she had, in order to perform the duties, taken up her abode near the tomb of H M Jinnat Ashiyānī (Humayūn) and had looked after it She regarded this service as the material for gathering bliss in realm and religion The poor of that spot gained their desires from the table of her bounty Inasmuch as the world is not a place of permanence, and a commercial ferry (guzargah bāzargānī[4]), not a spiritual resting place, that secluded one packed up the goods of life from this treacherous inn on the 7th (about 17 January 1582) and turned away her face from the caravanserai A world grieved, and Time became sorrowful How 376 can I write about the condition of the loving throne occupant The capacity of mortals is not sufficient for this, and it does not fall into the mould of speech And why should it not be so! The manage-

---

[1] Jahāngīr Price's translation p 35 calls him foul mouthed and scurrilous

[2] See 'Aīn of 2nd Book, B 257, where the word *taslīm* is used to describe the drawing up of the guards on the first day of the solar month

[3] It appears that she returned in the beginning of 1580 for Aquaviva and his companions met an escort going to fetch her from the coast when they were journeying to Fathpūr in January—February 1580

[4] *guzargāh bāzargānī* Guzargah means a ferry but possibly it means a cemetery, i e a place of passing away, or it may be meant for gazargah a bleaching ground

ment of this material world is a great fact and the accomplishments thereof a great task (?)[1] Seeing that that fountain of gentleness is filled with grief whenever a human being dies who has had some goodness in him, an estimate may be made of what his feelings were at the severing of an existence so bound to his soul This lady of the family of dominion was an ocean of goodnesses, and loved the sovereign from his earliest years He also was wonderfully attached to her The ladies of the harem wept and tore their hair on account of pain for which there was no medicine Inasmuch as H M was primate of the spiritual world, and there is nothing extravagant there, and no wrinkle on the heart's brow, he refrained from impatience, and took up his station in the pure shrine of resignation, and administered balms to the wounded hearts

The awakened and enlightened well know that three caravans move towards this three to five days' inn The first is the spermal caravan which proceeds from the loins of fathers to the wombs of mothers, the second is the becoming a celestial soul and a body descending into clay, the third is the strange condition of the beings who in this variegated abode partake of joy and sorrow. Whiles man becomes fixed there, whiles his nature is restless in it. The enlightened heart moves on with firm foot in this turmoil, and endeavours to help both itself and others He who does not understand gets confused and bewildered

Out of abundant kindness he sent Qāsim 'Alī K to Delhi in order that he might convey the graciousness of H M to the servants of that secluded one, and might restrain them from grief, and might console them He was also to perform in a proper manner what was necessary for the lady on her journey (i e help her soul by almsgiving and prayers) May Almighty God cast a ray of His own eternity on the plane of the existence of this wisely-walking sove-

[1] *dastāfsārī* The next clause is not quite intelligible to me There are variants in the MSS but they do not throw light on the passage Possibly the meaning is that Akbar showed wonderful resignation see what follows Ḥājī Begam appears to have been a good woman Even Badayūnī has a good word for her She commenced if she did not finish Humāyūn's tomb and also made the Arab Sarai See Keene's Delhi and the Āsār Sanādīd of Saiyid Aḥmad p 32. She is said to have brought 300 Arabs from Mecca

reign! And may mortals receive life from his glorious graciousness and equity

Quatrain

May his soul have an eternal mansion,
May his threshold be life's sanctuary,
May his beauty long glorify the world,
May his nights be ascents heavenward, his days New Year days

One of the occurrences was the coming of M'aṣum K Faran khudi to court In the middle of Bahman that wanderer in ruin's wilderness came to Fathpur Inasmuch as his infatuation was not yet laid, he did not bring the face of supplication to the threshold of fortune, but chose a place outside the city near the shrine of the hidden saint (*Pirghaib*)[1] In spite of so many crimes his sole and 377 evil idea was that the sovereign would notice him If repentance had wholly possessed his soul, he would have come to the court and have stained his forehead with the dust of repentance so that the Incomparable Deity should have forgiven him, and he had attained the shade of graciousness

The adventures of this young man of slumbrous intellect and fortune are as follows When helplessness took possession of him he for a time sought protection with the Khān Āzim M Koka by means of fawning The Mirzā, from honesty and simplicity, believed his deceitful expressions to be sincere and assisted him He helped him in various ways with money, goods, and a *jagir* The territory of Mahisa[2] which is on the skirt of the hills was part of the last And he promised that when the royal standards returned to India, he would take him to court, and obtain favour for him Inasmuch as he was bad at heart, and cherished evil thoughts he took leave and went to his estate Many shameless men gathered round

1 The Iqbālnāma says that after some days he went to Miriam Makānī and got her to use her influence with her son Probably M'aṣūm's living outside of Fathpūr made his assassination—which took place not long afterwards—of easier accomplishment I do not know where the Pīr Ghaib is

2 I O MS has Mahsī and it is perhaps the Mahsi in Campāran J II 155 and Beames J A S B for 1885 p 173

him The Mirzā repented of having sent him, and set himself to remedy the situation As M'asum had not the strength for battle, he gave up the idea and went off, intending to go to court His whole notion was that if an opportunity offered, he would raise the head of sedition Otherwise he would go to court and have recourse to wheedling The Mirza at the instigation of evil men allowed this strifemonger to go off without an escort of troops (?) and a great mistake was made in the matter of administration He exerted himself in going astray and in stratagems, but as he had little means of fighting and as there were many imperial servants on all sides of him, and his mother sister and wife were in confinement, *he could not stir up the dust of dissension,* and *was unable to* hale himself to the corner of ruin From helplessness he came to the city of abundance and fell into the crapulousness of arrogance

Also at this time Qāzi 'Abdu s sami'[1] was exalted to the position of Qāẓi[2] of the army (*'askar*) He was of a noble family in Andijān, and was one of the first of the age for the usual sciences, powers of exposition (*tanqih i taqrīr*), and right thinking Formerly Qāzi Jalāl[3] Multāni held that office When it was discovered that worldly interests had depraved the intellect of that avaricious man, and that he had deviated from truth and rectitude, and also it became notorious that his son had embezzled treasury money, he was removed from office and from trust, and the pen of supersession was written over the forehead of his circumstances And in considera

[1] B 545 and Badayunī Lowe 324 He is there called Miyankālī i.e from Miyānkal tract between Samarkand and Bokhara Perhaps in saying that he belonged to the grandees (*ayan*) of Andijān which is in Farghāna A F merely means that his family originally belonged to that place

[2] بتصاى عسكر Apparently *'askar* army here means ' realm, for the office is described by Badayūnī (text 210) as that of *qaẓāī mamālik* See also B 175

[3] He was one of those who signed the declaration about Akbar s being more than a Mujtahid Badayūnī has an account of him in vol III 78 and also in Lowe 213 and 323 Badayūnī gives him a high character, but says he had a dolt of a son who disgraced him by his embezzlements The original of Lowe 323 does not say more than that a charge (*taqrīb*) of fraud was brought against Jalāl He says one cause of his banishment was that he did not study the age and its rulers i e he did not support Akbar in his religious innovations

tion [1] of the circumstances that one who had been exalted by the King should not appear contemptible in the eyes of the public, he was exiled to the Deccan in order that he might go by that route to the Hijāz The avaricious man remained in that quarter (Mecca) and died there After that no one had been nominated to the 37
lofty post As H M was impressed by the skill and disinterestedness of this excellent man, he exalted him to this high office On the 24th the Khan Āzim came from Bihar and was received with royal favours

[1] I am indebted to Maulvi Abdul Haq for the explanation of this difficult passage It means that one who had been honoured by the King should not be publicly disgraced and so he was sent nominally to the Deccan but in reality to Mecca According to Badayunī Akbar sent him to the Deccan in hopes that the Shīa rulers would torture him and kill him

CHAPTER LXVI.

Beginning of the 27th Divine year, to wit, the year Khurdâd of the third cycle

At this time of the smiling of the spiritual and physical Spring, there was a tumult of joy in the kingdoms of nature Each of them unfolded in a wondrous manner It occurred to the over-vernal mind of the decorator of fortune's garden to celebrate ancient festivals, and to knit together the external world Although H M always reverenced that noble season (Spring), yet on account of the prevalence of custom and the general ignorance, his feelings were not manifested As the eyes of the hearts of the enchained in bigotry were purblind, and sound reason had the rust of disuse, the truth choosing Shahinshah had regard to the disposition of his contemporaries, and did not bring forward his views from the closet of the soul to the hall of manifestation The physicians of the world and enlightened rulers know that it is indispensable to refrain from forms of worship which cause disturbance among men, and they regard the soothing of the various sections of mankind as one of the greatest methods of piety to God At this day, when reason was exalted, and small and great were searching for proofs, and when enlightened old men and felicitous young men and alert sages were impledging their hearts to demonstration and seeking for certitude, the holy thoughts of the Shâhinshâh turned to ancient usages and preferred wisdom to custom

Verse [1]

Hail the carriage (*jambash*) of the guides of faith
For they kindle the lamp of certitude
Hail to the cavaliers who traverse the horizons
For they carry off the ball in realm and religion
Among those arena-adorning cavaliers there is one
Of whom great praise is but little,

[1] Most of the lines have already been quoted See p 297

Two words may sum up my adoration,
He is Afẓal[1] by quality, Akbar by name

On account of the glory of piety in his soul linked with heaven he does not highly regard orators[2] (perhaps eulogists) nor does he attach much importance to writers[3] However insignificant outwardly one may be, he receives honour if he utter words of choice wisdom, and however grand one may be outwardly, if his utterances do not accord therewith, the hand of rejection (*dast-i-radd*) is laid upon him. In his splendid equity, if some account of the ancients please him, he brings it into prominence, and does not take into consideration the charge of following others He regards the orders of 379
Sultan Wisdom as the Divine commands, and is active in carrying them out It is clear that awakedness does not learn from slumber, *nor is light sought from darkness*

From this[4] year there was the commencement of New Year feasts and other ancient festivals, and they became current throughout the world Fresh glory was given to the holy spirits of former times, and the great men of the Age obtained their desires both in spiritual and physical matters The rising generation too which sought for enlightenment received a great boon Divine worship assumed its place, and under the guise of appearances, spirituality developed The season of the equability of tempers, and the periods of other feasts of the Persian months, which former sages had devised for the worship of God and the subjugation of hearts, became resplendent—as has been in some measure stated in the beginning of this palace of enlightenment (the Akbarnāma)—and in the last volume When the New Year was approaching, H M gave orders that the able workmen of the Court should decorate[5] the great Daulat-Khana (hall of audience) which is surrounded by 120

[1] The I O MSS have Āqil Wise It is Afẓal in the quotation at p 297

[2] *Goīnda* A word which has various meanings

[3] *Nigāranda* Possibly this means writers of panegyrics It also can mean painters We are told in the Ain B 548 that Akbar did not care for poets

[4] Cf Rodolfo Aquaviva's letter J A S B for 1896 p 57 where he speaks of the new institution of the Mihrjan or autumnal feast He wrote in September 1582 See also Badayūnī Lowe, 316 etc

[5] Cf Badayunī Lowe, 310 The daulat-khāna was at Fatḥpūr

stone verandahs (*aiwān*) The great officers and other blissful servants applied profound thought to the adornments thereof Gold embroidered stuffs of great price were used, and there were varieties of jewels On Sunday 15 Safr 990 of the lunar year, 11 March 1582, after the passing of 14 minutes, and 37 seconds, the sun conferred fresh glory on the Sign of Aries, and the flush of exuberance adorned Time The beginning of the year Khurdād of the third cycle took place The enlightened Shāhinshāh mounted on the throne of fortune, and there was fresh splendour, outward and inward The jewel of theology was displayed, and there was a new beginning for talent and love [1] (*Verse*) The lock was taken off the Treasury, and the coin of hope was scattered among mankind It was arranged that every year from the time of transit (to Aries) to the time of culmination there should be a great festival and that each day an auspicious servant should have charge of the glorious banquet

In this great assembly he announced, "On this day every one will do some special thing, and make the adornment of felicity" The first to speak was the world s lord who said with his pearl filled tongue,
"Lordship (*Khudawindi*) in truth is only applicable to the Incomparable Deity, and Service (*bandagi*) is appropriate to the man born What strength has this handful of weakness to take upon itself the name of Mastery (*sahibi*) and to make slaves of the sons of men?' At the same time he set free many thousands of slaves and said, ' How can it be right to call those seized by force by this name, and to order them to serve ' And he directed that this happy band should be distinguished by the name of *Celas* [2] (disciples)

H M had previously directed that the illuminated ones of the presence should submit their sentiments, [3] but owing to the brisk

---

[1] Nizamu d din under the date of the 28th year devotes several lines to the description of the New Year s feast These are not translated in Elliot V 427 The feasts lasted for eighteen days Apparently Akbar was elated by the success of his expedition to Kabul See also Badayuni Lowe 310, who has the year (the 27th) right It seems that Akbar regarded the year 990 as the completion of 1000 years from the beginning of Muhammad s mission

[2] See B 253

[3] The sentence seems obscurely worded It looks at first as if it was a reference to a request that Akbar should assume the position

ness of the market of dissimulation, and the want of justice on the part of the guardians of orders, this had not been carried into effect. Among these representations was that of Prince Sulṭan Selim. He represented that marriage should not take place before the age of twelve, that much harm and little advantage accrued from the contrary practice. The Khan A'zim M. Koka represented that the governors of the imperial provinces should not have the boldness to cut the thread of life, and that until they had laid the matter before H. M. they should not stain their hands by destroying what God had built. Where could deep discernment and far sightedness, both of which were rare, be found conjoined with absence of motive and of malevolence? M. Khan-Khānān said it would be good if fragments of life such as small birds and creeping things[1] were not taken, and if many lives were not destroyed for a small benefit. Rajah Todar Mal said, every day, charities should be distributed at the palace, and that it should be an order that the officers also should every week, month, or year have a care of the empty-handed. M. Yusuf K. (No. 35 of B.) represented that a daily journal of events should be obtained from all the cities and towns. Rajah Birbar expressed a wish that some right-minded and energetic men should act as inspectors in various places, and should represent impartially the condition of oppressed people and seekers after justice, and report unavoidable calamities. Qāsim K.'s[2] suggestion was that serais (rest houses) should be established on the routes throughout the empire so that travellers might obtain repose. S. Jamal (No. 113 of B.) represented that some disinterested and experienced men should be appointed who should bring to court those who were in distress and want. S. Faiẓi begged that some experienced and sympathetic persons might be appointed in the cities and bazars who should fix

of a teacher and have *celas* or disciples. But the beginning of the sentence about S. Selim implies that the representations were the ideas of the officers as to what was expedient. Selīm (Jahāngīr) was born on 31 August 1569 and so was in his thirteenth year at this time.

[1] The text, probably from copying the Lucknow ed., has ماسي *mahī*, fish, but the I. O. MSS. have مای *mai*, reptiles and insects, and this I think must be correct. But perhaps tiny fish are meant.

[2] He was an engineer and architect.

the price of articles Hakīm Abū-l-fath wished for the establishment of hospitals The writer of the noble volume petitioned that the *daroghas* of every city and town should record the householders thereof, name by name, and trade by trade, and should always keep a close eye on their income and expenditure, and should expel the do nothings, the mischievous, and the bad When they had made their suggestions to H M he accepted all their representations The dejected world assumed a new face The door was opened for the Divine bounty and a collyrium was applied to the eye of seeing The earth rose up to give praise, and the heavens joyfully uttered thanksgiving Every day one of the great officers had charge of the assembly The world's lord cast the shadow of graciousness on that ornamented place and gave voice to bounteousness Prayers to God were arranged according to excellent rules, and every one of the fortunate servants gave a little out of much as peshkash, and
'81 heaped up eternal bliss The delicate-minded Shāhinshāh received a small thing and made it the material of (conferring) great rank When the time of the culmination (of the sun) drew near, the special hall of audience (*daulat khāna khāṣ*) was decorated Wonder-working magician like men performed marvels and wisdom had a daily market The souls of the sages of old times revived, and an excellent excuse (for liberality) was furnished to the bounty-loving Shāhinshāh

In the beginning[1] of this auspicious year the world's Khedive gave some attention to the arrangements of the affairs of the empire, and bestowed new lustre on administrative and financial regulations Before[2] this, the duties of the viziership had been entrusted to Rajah Todar Mal, but on account of the perils of the great enterprise, and the activity of double-faced, ten-tongued persons, he had not applied himself heartily to it This far sighted and incorruptible man, who understood the secrets of administra-

---

[1] See translation of this paragraph in Elliot VI 61

[2] The meaning is that Todar Mal had previously acted as Finance Minister, and had made settlements, but that he shrank from the task of revising the settlements of the whole empire In the 18th year he made the settlement of Gujarat and filed the papers thereof (A N III 17) He again settled Gujarat in the 22nd or 23rd year See A N III 207 and 213, and Nizāmu d dīn, Elliot V 403, 405

tion, was appointed to the lofty office of Head of the Diwân (*ashraf i-diwan*), and virtually the position of Vakîl (Prime Minister) was conferred on him Everything was referred to him, and a choice ordering of administrative and financial matters was the result By the blessing of a happy fate he sullied not the skirt of wish, but regarded what was good for the State, and acquired an ever lasting good name With a stout heart he maintained the laws of the Caliphate, and had no fear of the powerful and crafty From far sightedness and knowledge of the world, he proposed several regulations (*fasle*) so that the holy orders might be promulgated anew, and have fresh vigour For better enlightenment I proceed to record them and so present a boon to posterity

First The collectors (*'amalguzaran*) of the Crown lands (Khâlsa) and the jagirdârs should collect the rents[1] and taxes in accordance with the code (*d istur al 'amal*) If from wickedness and tyranny they took from the cultivators more than the agree ment, it was to be reckoned as the legitimate rent, and the oppres sors were to be fined, and the amount entered in the monthly accounts They should at every harvest inquire into the minutest[2] details, and protect the subjects The thread of the administration of justice was to be a double one, (that is) suppliants were to be reimbursed and extortioners to be punished

---

[1] *Mal u jihat* The text errone ously has an izâfat after *mal* as if the word were *wajahât* *Jihat* means taxes on manufactures see J II 58 If the collector took more than the stipulated rent such excess was to be regarded as part of the collections for which he had to account and he was also fined and the fine was entered in the accounts Presumably the cultivator was to get credit for the excess It is not improbable that the word *mâhîâna* here means wages and that the order suggested is that the sums extorted should be deducted from the collectors salaries *mal îana* seems used in the sense of wages at p 382 six lines from foot

[2] The text has *jazû* but some MSS read *khabar* Elliot trans lates At every harvest they were to carefully guard the rights of the lower classes I have taken *jazû* to mean details I am by no means sure that fasl in this sentence means harvest It seems possible that it is used here in the same sense as at line 13 of the same page, viz to mean section or chapter of instruc tions The collectors were to fully acquaint themselves with every sec tion (*fasl*) *Jazû* is used in Aîn III 347 to mean subordinate or local

2nd. The collectors of the crown lands had two clerks (bitikcī)—a kārkūn and a khāṣnavis Generally, both of these men were corrupt, and in collusion with the village-headman (kalāntarān), and they oppressed the peasantry If in place of these two dishonest men, one[1] trustworthy and rightly-acting officer were appointed, the country would be developed, and the peasant would be at peace

3rd It appeared that in the crown-parganas the cultivated lands diminished year by year If the cultivable land were measured once for all, the peasantry would cultivate more and more land in proportion to their ability and the arrangement of progressive payments should be made They should give one another as securities and should execute documents Consideration should be shown in the exaction of dues In the case of land which had lain[2] fallow for four years, only half of the stipulated rent should be taken for the first year, three-fourths in the second, and in the third the peasants should be responsible for the[3] full rent For land which had been uncultivated for two years, one-fourth of the rent should be deducted for the first year In the case of uncultivated lands they were to be allowed to keep back a small amount of grain so that their lands might become capable of yielding rent If destitute cultivators were assisted (by advances), documents should be taken from known men, and recoveries made, partly at the spring harvest, and partly at the autumn harvest so that the country might soon be cultivated, the peasantry satisfied, and the treasury replenished When the collectors increased the (total) rental, demands should not be made (from them) about[4] deficiencies in some items Every year reports about the collectors should be submitted to H M in order that good

---

qānūngoyān jazū 'the local qānūngos'

[1] Apparently this reform was carried out, for only one bitikcī is spoken of in Jarrett II 47

[2] This is the *oacar* land described in J II 63, and 67 The arrangements there described are somewhat different from those in the text

[3] *Muāfiq dastūr* Elliot has "they were to pay according to established rule and perhaps there is a reference to the rule in J II 67

[4] *Kamī i-b'azi mahāl* Some of the MSS have kamīn The meaning seems to be that if the collectors showed an increase on the total rental, they should not be challenged on account of a deficiency in some items

servants might be rewarded, and promoted, and those who were of another sort, punished

4th When the crops are standing, let several measuring parties[1] be appointed, in proportion to the amount of land, and let the measurement be started in an intelligent manner, and the kind and quality of the cultivation be noticed The collector will choose a central[2] spot for himself, and carefully visit every part of the land and examine its condition

When there has been an abundant rain[3] and the fields are lying in water, an amount of land up to two-and-a-half *biswas* should be left out of account, and in jungle and sandy tracts as much as three *biswas*, Abstract accounts (*siahha i zabta*) should be sent in weekly, and the daily journal of collections month by month to the head office

5th An imperial order should be issued that a list[4] of damaged lands should be sent to court so that orders might be passed concerning them.

6th The dwellers in ravines, who are of a turbulent disposition, think the ruggedness of their country a protection and make long the arm of oppression Orders should be issued to the Vicegerent (*sipahsalar*), the *faujdar*, the fief holder and to the collector that

---

[1] *Tanāb* measuring rope but here used for the survey party

[2] Cf the instructions to the collector J II 43 where it is said that he should "establish himself where every one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator"

[3] Elliot has "In seasons when a sufficient quantity of rain fell, and the lands received adequate irrigation two-and a-half *biswas* (in the bigha) were to be left unassessed The word for irrigation is *ābnushkhin* and I have thought this meant that the lands were covered with water and so could not be properly measured A *biswa* is the 20th part of a bigha Cf J II 44 where *half a biswa* is given as a perquisite to the headman *Donīm* which Elliot and myself have rendered 2½ may also mean *two halves* or half and half It seems to me that the passage about the rainfall is corrupt I O MS 235 has *dādkhwāh* instead of *dilkhwāh* The passage then may mean when there is a want of rain or when the fields are flooded, that is in two contingencies a deduction was to be made

[4] The text has *rāst karda* ' drawn up or made correct but the variant *tipkarda* has the support of most MSS Tip, see Wilson's Glossary, means a note of hand and also a register

they should act together and remedy matters. First, they should admonish, and if this prove ineffectual, they should raise the flag of activity and chastise the malefactors, and devastate their crops (*ābādī*, perhaps, habitations). The jāgīrdār should get an exchange[1], and the *mastaufī* should not make a demand on this account If the soldiers should be[2] injured in these operations, a fine should be levied (*tāwān*). Further, the sums extorted from the peasantry are to be produced before the treasurer and he is to give credit for them in the ryots' receipts. The collectors should be paid their wages quarterly, the last payment being made when there are no arrears due from the ryots

8th. The ryots[3] should be in such a state of obedience that they should bring their rents to the treasury without its being necessary to set guards over them. Sufficient security should be taken from the refractory, and if such cannot be found, watchmen should be set over the harvested grain and the rent be realized. An account of the rent to be collected from each person according to the amount of his cultivation should be prepared, and the date should neither be postponed nor anticipated The patwārī of each village should allot these, name by name, among his subordinates. The collectors should send the cash along with the patwārī's signature to
383 the treasurer. They should be vigilant to put down oppression, and should make their words and their works accord.

9th. The Treasurer should receive muhrs, rupis and dāms which bear the august name (of Akbar) and make allowance for obsolete coins so that the collectors and the money changers may reckon the old and new and ascertain the difference. The L'al Jalālī, of full weight and fineness, is worth 400 *dāms*, the square rupi is worth 40 *dāms* The ordinary ashrafī, and the round Akbarshāhī rupi which has become worn, shall be rated as follows.

---

[1] *'Iwaz.* Elliot has "the land was to be granted to *jāgīrdārs*" but the meaning seems to be that the jāgīrdār was to get compensation for his damaged lands or crops either by damages, or by getting other lands or crops in exchange The *mastaufī* is the deputy-dīwan B VI, n. 13

[2] There is the variant *asāmī*, but āsānī seems right I O MS 235 has "*tan āsānī sipah ke pur ziyān sadagī kashad*" If the soldiers suffer by their repose being disturbed (?)

[3] A F records, J II. 122, that the ryots of Bengal bring their rents to the Treasury eight times a year

If the *ashrafi* be deficient by two grains of rice (*birinj*), but be of good quality, it should be valued at 360 dāms. If deficient by three grains up to one[1] *surkh*[2] its value should be 355 *dams* If deficient by 1½ to 2 surkhs its value is 350 dāms A rupi deficient by one surkh of the full weight should be valued at 39 *dāms* If deficient by 1½ to two surkhs it should be valued at 38 *dams* The L'al Jalāli of full weight and fineness the Jalāli deficient from 1½ to 2 *surkhs* and Sikka Sanwāt Akbarshāhī deficient by 3 *birinj* up to one *surkh* were to be received at the treasury If the deficiency were greater, the *tahwildar* (cashier) should keep the coins separate and the accountant should enter them in the day book and send an account of them daily to the head office The *jagirdars*, treasurers, and *sarrafs* (money changers) were to act upon these rules

10th The officers of the Khalsa and the jāgirdārs should make correct reports about the well conducted, and the ill conducted, the obedient, and the disobedient, in their estates so that recompense and retribution may be bestowed, and the thread of government be strengthened.

11th Instead of the old[3] charges, one *dam* per bigha of cultivation should be fixed It is hoped that by this arrangement 24 dāms would be allowed to the measurement party Their allowances would thus be—

15 sirs	flour at the price of	7 *dams*
1¾[4] „	butter (*roghan zard*, presumably ghi)	5 „
2½ „	grain (for animals)	4 „
Cash		8 „
		—
		24 „

[1] B 32 It was a gold coin

[2] The seed of the Abrus precatorius B 16n

[3] The text has *pasbanī* but the I O MSS and Elliot show that the true reading is *pastanī* or *bastanī*

[4] The text following the Lucknow ed., erroneously has *do sir ya kam* two sirs or less instead of *do sir pao kam* Cf J II 45 and Ain text I 286 The translation is not quite accurate The daily allowance is 13 not 16 dāms. There were only three thānahdārs and the and the chainman only got eight sir of flour among them The daily allowance for the measurement party was 13 dāms or 31 sīrs. Apparently Todar Mal afterward raised it to 24 dāms For the wor

Of this—

The amin would get	...	5 sirs flour
		½ sīr butter
		7 sīrs grain
		4 *dāms*
The writer		4 sīrs flour
		½ sīr butter
		5½ sirs grain
		2 *dams*
Three servants		6 sirs flour
		3½ ,, butter
		3 *dāms*

In the time of the *rabī'* crop when the days are long, not less than 250 bighas should be measured, and at the time of the Kharif, when the days are short, not less than 200 bighas

H M examined these proposals with a profound eye, and accepted them.

One of the occurrences was the pardoning of M'aṣūm K and Niyābat[1] K The former, from the time when H M reached Fathpūr, had had recourse to blandishments, and had also been in a state of confusion, and had by the help of some well-disposed persons come to H.H Miriam Makānī The latter evil-doer had from exhaustion (wāmāndagī) joined 'Ain-al-mulk,[2] and (then) had, owing to his slumbrous fortune, separated himself, and indulged in thoughts of turbulence. When he did not succeed, he too had come with entreaties to the same asylum of the world, and had come into the hands of the people of Shahbāz K. As he held in his hands the protecting letter (*zinhārnama*) of that great lady of the age it was
34 forwarded to the holy threshold, and forasmuch as the commands of that secluded one of fortune received acceptance, on 16 Farwardīn

thānahdār, which seems out of place, there is the variant *thāpadār*, but possibly the true reading is *tanābdār* rope holder

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that Niyābat had married the daughter of Adham K., and Badayūnī Lowe, 308 says he was the nephew of Shihābu dīn K He was sent to Rantanbhor as a prisoner and was executed in 997 (1589) M'aṣūm met with an earlier death, having been assassinated shortly after his pardon See *infra*

[2] This is Hakīm Aīn al mulk B 481

(26th March 1582), these unforgivable ones took their repose in the shade of the Shāhinshāh, and a world blossomed forth

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān A'ẓim M Koka to subdue Bengal When the joys of the New Year had come to pass, and devotions had been paid to God, H M turned his attention to administration He laboured for the arrangements of the universe and taking compassion on the oppressed ones in Bengal appointed an army to go there On the 27th the Kokaltāsh was sent off as the commander, and Tarson K, Shāham K., Shāh Quli K Maḥram, S Farīd and many other officers were attached to the army They received robes of honour, chosen horses, and salutary counsels. Orders were issued to Ṣādiq K, Muhibb 'Alī K, and the soldiers generally of Bihar and Oudh, that they should make ready for war and join the victorious army News came that the Bengal rebels had stirred up strife, and that Jabbārī Khābita[1] Tarkhān Diwāna, and many other evil doers had come to Bihar, and were oppressing the subjects They had taken possession of Hājipūr and some other towns Ṣādiq K and Muhibb 'Alī K hastened to dispose of them M'aṣūm K Kabulī had also become active owing to the assistance of those rebels Bahādur Kūrūh[2] (?) came with an army of Qutlū's Afghans to the neighbourhood of Tānda, and the rebel (M'aṣum) turned back there to help him (?) The world's lord had already from foresight arranged for the work which was now to be accomplished, and men's eyes and hearts were invigorated by his forethought

One of the occurrences was that Shamsunisā[3] Begam withdrew her face behind the veil (died) That nursling of the house garden of the Caliphate was six months old, and the loving heart of the Shāhinshāh was illuminated by beholding her Owing to the jugglery of fate her spirit fled on the 31st (Farwardin, April 1582) from the straits of the bodily elements She left this prison and

[1] B 356n

[2] See text infra p 407, where this name occurs again Can this be the Bourah of another Bahādur K mentioned by Ibn Batuta and which Mr Blochmann says is the Hindustani برا brownish ? J A S B for 1874, p 289 note Or is Kūrūh a mistake for Kārfarmā? J A S B id p 200

[3] Perhaps this was the child about whom S Cānīldah made a mistaken prophecy Badayūnī II Lowe 294

departed to the pleasant abode of heaven Owing to this heart smiting occurrence the ladies of the sacred harem were filled with sorrow, and an universe was plunged into the whirlpool of grief

(*Verse*)

Much grief accrued to the world's lord on account of his being the caravan leader of the world of association, and he withdrew his heart from everything But inasmuch as he was primate of the spiritual world, he recovered himself, and the secluded ladies also, under his guidance, entered the garden of patience, and took repose in submission to the Divine will

CHAPTER LXVII

RETURN OF GULBADAN BEGAM AND OTHER CHASTE SECLUDED LADIES FROM THE JOURNEY TO THE HIJĀZ

Inasmuch as enlightenment, and action in accordance therewith, are the source of eternal dominion, and the adornment of eternal dominion, and as the fulfilment of great desires, the increase of outward dominion, and the exquisite service of the capable men of the earth lead many wise men to the dormitory of insouciance, but cause awakening in the incomparable personality of the vivid sovereign, he offered up various thanksgivings to God on receiving the news of the return of this noble caravan When the litter of that chaste lady reached Ajmir, Prince Sultan Selim, the pearl of the crown, was sent off to meet her Every day one of the court-grandees was sent to convey salutations, and when the neighbourhood of Khānwa[1] received the light of bliss by her auspicious advent, the world's lord met her on 2 Ardibihisht (about 13 April 1582) On the way Khwāja Yaḥiya arrived and did homage He produced a petition from the dignitaries of the Hijāz together with a list of presents H M encamped there The loyal votaries attained joy and were comforted by graciousness and inquiries after their health The sorrowful ones of the arid desert of separation were refreshed, and they produced various gifts before H M There were hospitalities, and that night they remained awake and in pleasing discourses Next day there was a glorious return (to Fathpūr) The ladies had spent[2] three years and six months in that country When the Khwāja Yaḥiya showed earnestly the Shāhinshāh's wish, they were obliged

[1] In Bhartpūr State On the road from Agra to Ajmere, and 37 miles N W Fatḥpūr Sīkrī where Akbar then was

[2] *Tawattan* I am not sure if the reluctance to leave refers to the ladies or to the Arabs whom K Yaḥiya induced to emigrate to India See Mrs Beveridge's Gulbadan Introduction, 74

to give up their residence.[1] They embarked in the ship Tezrav (the Swift) while the Khwāja and the pilgrims took their places in the ship S'ai[2] (effort?) Near Aden most of the boats were wrecked. They were in trouble there for seven months. The governor there did not behave properly, and when Sultan Murād,[3] the ruler of Turkey, heard of this he punished that ill-fated one. They arrived

[1] The ladies left Gujarat in October 1576. If they stayed 3½ years at Mecca they should have left in March or April 1580, but they must have started earlier if they were at Aden in April 1580 Probably they left in February soon after the completion of the pilgrimage of Zīl-hajja 987 The seven months' detention at Aden would take them to the end of the Muh year 988 or to January 1581 As they did not reach Fathpūr till April 1582, they must have stayed a considerable time in Gujarat Badayūnī, Lowe 316, seems to say that Gulbadan B and Salīma Sultān left Agra for the pilgrimage in 982 (1574 75) and arrived at Mecca in Sh'abān 983, November 1575, after having been detained a year in Gujarat They performed the pilgrimage four times, viz in ends of 983, 84, 85 and 86 Nigāmu d-dīn under the 28th year says they performed several greater and lesser pilgrimages On the return voyage they were detained for a year at Aden and returned in 990 But I think that there is some mistake and that Gulbadan did not leave Agra till 983, i e the 20th year, and that as she was detained for a year in Gujarat, she did not reach Mecca till 984 (See also Lowe, 320) The four pilgrimages then would be those of the last months of the years 984-87. which would start her on her homeward journey in January-February 1580 Bayāzīd found her in Aden in April 1580, but this must have been about the beginning of her stay The seven months of A F, or the one year of Badayūnī, would bring her to the end of 1580 or beginning of 158, and the voyage to Surat, the detention in Gujarat, and the journey to Ajmere, where they performed a supplementary pilgrimage, and to Fathpūr, would occupy another year

[2] The text has *jihāz-i s'aī*, ship of effort? There is the variant *saifī*, and the I O MSS seem to have *safī* سفي which may perhaps mean swift B M MS 27, 247 seems to have *Har do* for the ladies ship, but possibly this is only an error for Tezrav A F says *most* of the ships or boats were destroyed Perhaps some went on to India, and it was these that the cavalcade was going to meet which Aquaviva and his party met on 8th February at Sanmarian between Ujjain and Sārangpūr Murray's Discoveries *infra* II 87

It would seem from B M MS 27, 247 that Miriam-makānī came (from Delhi or Agra) to welcome the pilgrims

[3] Murad III who came to the throne in 1574

at Gujarat when the standards of fortune had gone[1] off to Kabul, and on account of the rains and of H M 's being in Zabulistân, some delay occurred

One of the occurrences was the pardoning the offences of 386 Khwājagi[2] Fath Ullah He was one of the near servants of H M and gathered bliss in waiting upon him From associating with evil doers he departed far from daily-increasing dominion From evil fate he became a vagabond in the desert of failure When the world's lord disembarked from his boat and went off posthaste to Ajmere, he was sent off to bring Quṭbu d-din K, and an order was given that he should bring him by the way of Mālwa in order that he might send from there able envoys to give counsels to the ruler of Khāndes, and hold out promises and threats to him about sending (to Akbar) Mozaffar Husain M When they arrived there they (the ambassadors) obeyed the order and used eloquence in persuading (the ruler of Khāndes ?) The Khwājagi also craftily went to Burhānpūr along with them After completing this affair he went off to the Hijāz Apparently on account of sloth and narrowness of capacity he did not like the burden of service, and from ignorance brought such great evils on himself The wondrous sphere of fate inflicted retribution on him and he fell into thousands of calamities But by the goodness of his disposition he became aware of the wickedness of his conduct, and reposed for a while in the shelter of the chaste ladies, who were returning from the Hijāz Now by their intercession he was pardoned, and laid hold of the skirt of daily-increasing fortune

One of the occurrences was the shamefaced arrival of S 'Abdu-n nabi and Mullā 'Abdullah Sultānpūri It has been mentioned that when H M proceeded to test the learned men, and when the gold incrusted nature of the sellers of tales (the fraudulent) was revealed, the position of these men became difficult and they fell into confusion They had not the vigour of intellect to bring to market the jewel of knowledge with suitable replies, nor had they the candour to com-

[1] Akbar left for the Panjab and Kabul on 6th February 1581 and returned on 1st December of that year

[2] He was the son of Ḥājī Ḥabību l-lah B 499 Badayūnī Lowe 323 mentions that he was sent to the Deccan along with Qāẓī Jalāl Multānī He was a Shīa. Apparently his offence was the going off to Mecca without leave

mence their studies anew, nor the guidance so as to come to shore out of the confusion Owing to abundant cupidity their sole thought was how to mend the old scarf of their hypocrisy and to make their days pleasant by attaining their desires The respect-loving sovereign perceived that a journey to the Hijaz would be for their good, and sent them off, willing or unwilling They were made comfortable by having the control of the body of pilgrims, and the veil remained suspended over their wretchedness An order was given that they should not return without being commanded to do so As their minds were full of cupidity, they had resort to vulpine tactics, and made use of fawning language Might they be excused from going? Their improper ideas did not succeed, and their trickery was unsuccessful They went off, injured spiritually and temporally At this time babblers stirred up commotions in India, they made one into a hundred and exulted in envy They thought the world was made for their pleasure, and knocked at the door of return, thinking that perhaps they might be shone upon, and that the desires of the black-hearted ones might be accomplished Though their friends and acquaintances reminded them of the royal 38
orders, and the rulers of that country (the Hijāz) observed H M.'s commands, and did not give them leave, they contrived to escape When they heard in Gujarat of the failure of the rebellion, and of the punishment of the wicked, they were struck with shame and sought protection from the secluded ladies When H M heard of their arrival, and of their designs, he ordered that some active men should go and bring into prison those ignorant and evil men in such a manner that the ladies should not know of it Mullā 'Abdullah had died of error The other scoundrel was seized in that manner, and was out of a love for justice subjected to an examination He could give no answer except silence and ashamedness From graciousness and a desire to save him from contempt he was sent to the school of instruction and there the cup of [1] his life overflowed (he died)

[1] The Iqbālnāma in the account of 27th year says that he was put into the charge of A. F and that the latter by reason of an ancient enmity, and because he knew Akbar would ask no questions, had him strangled. Badayūnī, Lowe 321, says he was put in charge of Todar Mal, and this statement also appears in the A N MS 27, 247, p 333b Badāyūnī

does not name A F, but he also says that 'Abdu n nabī was strangled See id Lowe 244 There seems no reason to doubt that Abdu n nabī met with a violent death A F must have known this and his silence tells against him Mulla Abdullah died in 990 (1582) at what must have been an advanced age 'Abdu n nabī seems to have been killed in 992 (1584) See his biography and that of Mulla Abdullah in Darbārī Akbarī pp 311 and 320 Mullā 'Abdullah died in Aḥmadābad The Maaṣir III 256 mentions a rumour that he was poisoned by Akbar s orders The Iqbālnāma has the curiously worded remark that he vacated his body to escape the hand of the king s wrath It would appear from the Iqbalnāma that the real charge against Abdu n nabī was that he had defamed Akbar at Mecca and represented him as not being a good Masalman See also Akbar s letter to the sharifs of Mecca which seems to refer to this

CHAPTER LXVIII

VICTORY OF SĀDIQ K AND DEATH OF KHABIṬA

(Eight lines of reflections about the good fortune of Akbar are omitted)

When the Khān Āʿzim and many of the officers of Bihar had come to court for the New Year festivities, Khabiṭa with a number of ill-fated, turbulent men came to Bihar from Bengal, and stirred up commotion and oppressed the weak The Khān Āʿzim's men were unable to protect Hājipur, and the rebels took possession of it and of many parganahs Sādiq K maintained himself bravely in Patna and assembled the fief holders of that country They acted in harmony and resolved to give battle, and drew out their forces Sādiq K commanded the centre, Muhibb ʿAlī K was on the right wing, Ulugh K Habshī on the left Bihār K and Abū-l mʿaālī were in the van Muhammad Qulī Beg Turkamān had charge of the artillery The rebels also made ready for battle Khabiṭa, who was the sword of the vain thoughted, was in the centre, Jabbarī was on the right wing, and Dastam and Rustam, the sister's sons of Khabiṭa were on the left Tarkhan Diwāna, Sʿaid Beg, and Shāh Dāna were in the van The imperial servants sent some brave men along with the artillery across the Ganges to Hājipur, and constructed a fort on the bank of the Gandak Fights continually took place between the two armies, and there was daily market for the merchandise of life sacrifice As fortune favoured the imperialists they were victorious and the rebels fled in disgrace When these combats had gone on for forty days, and the owlish natures could effect nothing in the light of day, they made a night attack The brave soldiers of the eternal fortune behaved still more nobly ʿAlī Beg, the cousin of Ṣādiq K, lost his life after fighting gallantly Many applied themselves to the work and raised the pæan of joy The enemy were defeated Next morning on the 24th the officers crossed over the river and engaged The enemy, whose confidence

had been increased by the chief officers not having crossed and the soldiers taking refuge in the fort, came forward to do battle First the sister's sons of Khabita left the van and fell upon the imperial wing Muhibb 'Ali K stood firm While the battle was doubtful, the enemy's van attacked the imperial left wing Habib 'Ali K, the son of Muhibb 'Ali K, did wonders, but the imperialists were nearly being worsted Just then the imperial van displayed bravery Hamza Beg Ghazā 'Ali and Hasan Miāna came from the centre and gave fresh lustre to the fight Khabita with a large force drew up in front of Sādiq K Muhammd Quli Beg Junaid Marai and many strenuous men distinguished themselves While the contest was going on so keenly, the right wing of the enemy 389
suddenly took flight, and in a short time the audacious rebels were stained with the dust of defeat The imperialists were somewhat astonished at this celestial aid, and sought to understand it Then they recognized that it was the wondious work of fortune, and turned to the giving of thanks Suddenly Mirak Husain, the brother of 'Arab Khānjahani, brought the head of Khabita and gave the news of joy It appeared that in the heat of the attack a cannon ball had struck that ringleader of the enemies of God, and had destroyed the success of the shameless ones His followers lifted up the lifeless body and set off, but from confusion and cowardice they threw it down and fled The above-mentioned person cut off his head and brought it in Thus the wondrous work of fortune became known to small and great Thanksgivings were offered to God The enemy numbered more than 5000 experienced soldiers, while the imperialists had less than 2000 fit for battle It does not enter into the ideas of ordinary observers that the latter could withstand the former Khabita was of the Moghal tribe, and had served in the Badakhshān army He had distinguished himself by acts of daring in company with M'aṣūm K Kabuli, and had in a short time become the head of the rebels of the day His punishment was a lesson to the turbulent His head was sent to Court as a proof of the heavenly aids The officers were exalted by various favours, and as the rainy season was near at hand Shāh Quli Mahram, S Ibrāhim and S Farid Bokhāri, who had been sent off on account of the disturbances in Bengal and Bihar, were recalled

One of the occurrences was the failure and return of M Khān

from Sorath[1] Shihabu-d din Ahmad K sent an army under M Khān who was related to him against Amin K Ghorī and to conquer Sorath He from cowardice and want of planning did not succeed, and an easy task became a difficult one If the evil of foolishness happen to the reason which is the ruler of the bodily elements, the subjects of this king cannot maintain their health, so if the commander fail in skill and courage, what can be expected of his men? The world's lord reproved him for his self-conceit and ignorance, and he had the good sense to atone for his fault by humility and entreaties

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to the pleasant land of Kashmīr When Sālih Diwāna represented to H M the loyalty of the ruler of that country and his alarm at no
00 one's being sent to him the Khedive who receives little and gives much, sent Shaikh Y'aqub Kashmīri[2] to him with kind commands, and valuable favours, and also gave leave to his son Haidar

One of the occurrences was the death of M'aṣum K Farankhūdī H M in his abundant kindness forgave this man who was worthy of death, and left the retribution of his actions to the incomparable Deity, as has been in some measure related Inasmuch as the picture of his life was doomed to be erased, the stewards of fate brought him to an end, to the glory of the throne, the prosperity of justice, and the retirement of the turbulent On 23 Tir (July 1582) at midnight he was going from the Palace to his house when some men fell upon him and killed him In spite of much investiga

[1] This is part of the peninsula of Kāthīwār and not the fort of Surat The text has سورت but I O MS 235 has سورٹھ See J II 243, 258 The M Khān here mentioned is M Khān Nīshāpūrī and Shihāb's brother's son. He is sometimes called M Jān B 502 There is an account of the expedition in the Mirāt Sikandarī Bom lith., p 372 Fatḥ K, the general of Amīn K Ghorī, offered to Shihābu-d dīn to make over Jūnagarh to him, and Shihābu-d-dīn sent his nephew with 4000 horse But Fatḥ K died and M Khān was eventually defeated by Amīn K Ghorī and was wounded and had to fly

[2] Also called Sairafī or Sarfī that being his *takhallas* He was a poet See B 479 and 581 Badayūnī III 142 has a long notice of him He died in the 11th month of 1003 July 1594 The Iqbālnāma says that he had the advantage of knowing the Kashmīrī language

tion and close inquiry the affair was not cleared[1] up H M had compassion on his circumstances and placed his children under the shadow of his graciousness

Another occurrence was the capital punishment of Jalā[2] As in the dispensary of bodily physicians both poisons and antidotes are employed and it is essential that both be kept in stock, so also in the drug shop of just kings who are spiritual physicians, both the pure and the impure are cherished, and good is wrought by the evil, and the wicked suffer retribution Former rulers have watched carefully over this class of men and have by the "Avaunt" of majesty kept them in check Whenever they make use of this greedy, selfish crew they do so after much consideration, and they make goodness of object the foundation of such use Those who think it proper to abstain from seeing this injurious crew, and still more from superintending and supporting them, seem not to have fully comprehended matters, or they have confined their tasks within the limits of their abilities Those of wide capacity are not confounded by hearing of such men (the wicked), they do not give way to anger, and inflict retribution slowly and with deliberation Such is the praiseworthy conduct of the sovereign of our age Under circumspection this class of men are admitted to the court of fortune Such gentleness is shown to them that they forget themselves, and open their hands for various kinds of oppression The Shāhinshāh in this way makes trial of men and converts poison into antidotes His sole desire is to preserve equability, and to worship God A fresh proof of this was given by the circumstances of

[1] It was generally supposed that Akbar had brought about his murder The fact that he was living outside the walls made the assassination easier, and Badayūnī, Lowe 307, says he was cut to pieces in his litter outside of the city gates The Iqbālnāma says that he deserved death, but that out of deference to Miriam makānī, who had interceded for him Akbar could not openly order him to be killed As however he did not show signs of repentance, Akbar ordered Sikandar Qalmāq who was a trusted *cela*, to put an end to him privately, and accordingly this was done There is a notice of him in the Maasir III 246

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Jalābī or Ḥalābī Cābuksawār, and says he was the best horseman of the day Probably he is the Rūmī K Ustād Jalabī of the Aīn B 441, who accompanied Gulbadan Begam to Mecca, A N III 146

this easily-intoxicated wretch He was a broker's son, and though shameless and rough in manner, he got admission to court by his profession of horse dealer[1] He was highly trusted, and as the time of retribution had not arrived, he for a long time actively
391 engaged in ministering to his passions At this time it came to the royal hearing that he had seduced a woman and had killed her husband H M sent him to prison, and when the charge was investigated, it was found to be true Many other evil acts of his came to light, and the record of his wickednesses was read out On the 30th (10th July 1582) in spite of long intimacy and exceeding graciousness he received his punishment and became dust stained, in the earthbin of annihilation Deceit ceased to be current, and truth was exalted Mankind received instruction, and the wicked were terrified

Abundance of collyrium was bestowed, and crowds of men opened their eyes to the daily-increasing beauty of the world's lord

At this time an order was issued for the coming of that compendium of ancient sages, Amīr Fatḥ Ullah of Shīrāz H M had long wished for him The latter also had for a long time desired to come to court but fortune had been unpropitious At last he came to the Deccan from Shīrāz at the instance of ʿĀdil K When the latter died, his old idea was renewed, and he was relieved from his distress by various kindnesses An order was sent to the rulers of the Deccan and to the fief holders of the empire that they should assist him and guide him on this way He very eagerly brought his jewel of knowledge to the market

Among the occurrences was that the cup of life of Jīvan[4] K Koka became full On 10 Amardād he died of an abdominal complaint, and of piles H M craved forgiveness for him from God, and visited and comforted the mourners in his family

One of the occurrences was the bursting of a tank[5] On the top of the hill of Fatḥpur, to the north of the gateway (dargah), a

[1] The text has *asp dallālī* but the true reading apparently is *asp jallābī* which however means much the same thing See Vullers and Behar Ajam S U

[4] Jīvan is mentioned as a soldier on p 331 of this volume

[5] The Iqbālnāma calls it the Anūptalao tank But this seems doubtful The position does not

reservoir had been made by H M Many pleasure-loving servants met on its banks, and H M was present The princes, the officers and other special persons were assembled there Every one of them was paying his respects in some special manner Inasmuch as the wise make use of sport, and test men when they are at ease, pleasure was being keenly pursued Some were playing at *caupar* (draughts), some at chess, and many were occupied w th cards H M was studying all the groups with the norm of knowledge Inasmuch as the lordship of the outward world, and the primacy of 392
the spiritual world, have been bestowed on H M in full measure, the incomparable Deity preserved H M's holy person from everything bad Though it was his holy idea that there should be celebration [1] (of his birthday), yet he did not approve of the playing of games on such an occasion

Half of the day of the 18th (Amardād) had passed away when suddenly a side of that little ocean gave way, and the water rushed out. Though by the blessing of the holy personality none of the courtiers was injured, yet many persons of lower rank suffered loss (were drowned (?), and many houses of the common people were carried away by the flood In spite of the crowd of people only one of those known to the king, viz Madadi citabān, lost his life He who knew the mysteries of the heavens regarded this as a Divine message, and became averse to the celebration of such occasions, and perceived that God did not approve of this business of recreation In thanksgiving for the Divine protection he opened the hand of bounty and made a world attain its desires The courtiers

seem to agree and the Anūp talao —at least the one which was filled with coin—was a small tank and could hardly have produced so much damage

[1] *Nigāshta āmid* The catastrophe occurred on 18 Amardād or about the 28th July 1582 which corresponded to 5 Rajab 990 i e to Akbar s birthday A F says Akbar wished the day to be marked or celebrated (*nigāshta*), but he did not approve of the playing of cards etc and so did not take part in this The phrase *nigāshta amid* is however obscure It might be expected that the text was corrupt but all the MSS seem to have the same reading

Generally *nigāshta āmid* means "was written

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Madavī

all awoke and became followers of enlightenment, and recognizing that the holy personality had saved them from this celestial disaster increased in their devotion That receiver of Divine instruction, in order to pay his devotions and in memory of this great mercy, resolved that meat should not be tasted on this day (the 18th) of each solar month He also resolved that every year he should be weighed twice According as from his birth he had been weighed on 5 Rajab in conformity with the lunar calendar, so also he should be weighed on the day of Ormuzd of the month Ābān of the solar year The courtyard of bounty was thrown open, and twelve articles were prescribed for the solar weighing viz (1) gold, (2) silk, (3) quicksilver, (4) perfumes, (5) copper, (6) pewter,[1] (7) drugs, (8) butter, (9) rice and milk,[3] (10) iron, (11) various grains, (12) salt A vow was also made to God that meat would not be tasted in this month (Ābān) Also a similar fast was to be observed from the month of Āzar[4] in accordance with the number of years of the venerable life And in accordance with the number of years, sheep, goats and fowls were given separately to the sects which do not take life An order was also issued to the chosen disciples that in every solar year they should observe the month of their birth by not injuring living creatures and should not make their bellies the burying place of

[1] Text *bassad* coral But coral was rare and so unlikely to be made the 6th article in a scale of diminishing values

Besides *bassad* is not a common word even in Arabic for coral and there is no sign of a *tashdīd* in the MSS The I O MSS and the Iqbālnāma have *jasad* saffron This is more likely, but I believe the real word to be *jast*, which is Hindustani for pewter and so agrees with Ain 18, B 266, where the 6th Article is *rūh i tūtiya* which as we know from B 40 is thought by some to be the same as *jast*

[2] *Makayif* Intoxicating drugs, perhaps opium

[3] *Shīrbirinj*. A recipe for making it is given at B 59 It was to contain milk, rice sugar candy and salt

[4] *Āzar* is the month following Abān The whole of Ābān was a fast owing to its being a birth month The fast was therefore continued into the next month The passage in text is explained by the chapter on *Sūfīānā* Fasting, in the 'Ain It is said there, B 62 "When the number of fast days of the month of Abān had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of Azar also were kept as fasts At present the fast extends over the whole month

animals For the lunar weighing eight[1] things were appointed silver, cloth, lead, tin, fruits, sweetmeats, vegetables, sesame-oil. As the weighings of sons and grandsons which took place according to the lunar year were at this time made according to solar year, Prince Sultan[2] Selim's weighing was fixed for the 16th Shahriyūr 39
instead of the 17th Rabi-al awwal that of Prince Sultan Murād for the 27th Khūrdād instead of the 3rd Muharram, that of Prince Sultan Daniel for the 28th Shahriyur instead of the 2nd Jamāda-al-awwal

One of the occurrences was the testing of the silent of speech (khamūshān i-goyā) There was a great meeting, and every kind of enlightenment was discussed In the 24th Divine year H M said that speech came to every tribe from hearing, and that each remembered from another from the beginning of existence If they arranged that human speech did not reach them they certainly would not have the power of speech If the fountain of speech bubbled over in one of them, he would regard this as Divine speech, and accept it as such As some who heard this appeared to deny it, he, in order to convince them, had a serai built in a place which civilized sounds did not reach The newly born were put into that place of experience, and honest and active guards were put over them For a time tongue tied (zabān basta) wetnurses were admitted there As they had closed the door of speech, the place was commonly called the Gang Mahal (the dumb house) On the 29th (Amardād—9th August 1582) he went out to hunt That night he stayed in

[1] In B 266 only seven articles are specified, though it is stated that the weighment was against eight This is because B has left out the shīrīnī which means sweetmeats Another account, which is that given in the Iqbālnāma, makes up the number eight by giving two classes of fruits, viz the sour, and the sweet, turshī u shīrīnī By the turshi pickles are probably meant B has mustard-oil for the second-last article but the word is kunjud and in the 'Aīn, Book III, p 299, kunjud is explained as what is called in Hindi til i e sesame See J II 64 The importance of the list of articles lies in the fact that they were afterwards distributed to the poor

[2] Under the 28th year Nizāmu d dīn mentions that on Thursday 19 Shabān 991 Akbar went to the house of Miriam Makānī to celebrate the weighment of Prince Selīm 19 Shabān is = 7 September 1583, but probably it should be 19 Shabān 990, which is = 18 September 1582

Faiẓābād,[1] and next day he went with a few special attendants to the house of experiment No cry came from that house of silence, nor was any speech heard there In spite of their four years they had no part of the talisman of speech, and nothing came out except the noise of the dumb What the wise Sovereign had understood several years before was on this day impressed on the hearts of the formalists and the superficial This became a source of instruction to crowds of men H M said, "Though my words were proved, they still are saying the same things with a tongueless tongue The world is a miserable abode of sceptics (*namuharaman*) To shut the lips is really to indulge in garrulity They have hamstrung the camel of the Why and Wherefore, and have closed the gate of speech with iron walls [2]

Verse [3]

Enough, Niẓami, be silent of discourse,
Why speak to a world with cotton in its ears,
Shut your demonstrations into a narrow phial,
Put them all in a phial and place a stone thereon

---

[1] Not found

[2] cf Badāyūnī, Lowe 296, and the account given by Akbar himself to Father Jerome Xavier J A S B for 1888 and 1896 (General Mac lagan's articles), p 77 A F represents Akbar as making the experiment in order to prove that speech was not spontaneous with children, and as having proved his point But Xavier's account shows that Akbar had an idea that he might find out the sacred language It was a cruel experiment Akbar's comment on his critics is obscure Apparently it means that though he proved his case, they still are unconvinced

[3] These four lines occur in Niẓāmī's Khusrau and Shīrīn, in an apologue of Plato near the end of the poem, but all four lines are not consecutive in the poem

CHAPTER LXIX

Exaltation of M Khan by being made the Guardian to Prince Sultan Selim

[This chapter begins with a dissertation on the evils of bad companionship and the advantages of a good education It then proceeds to state that M Khān was made the prince's tutor (Atālıq)]

Though Qutbu d dın Khān had been promoted to the office of 394
Atālıq yet as at this time he had charge of a distant country (Gujarat), M Khan, son of Bairām K, who possessed far-sighted wisdom and daily-increasing loyalty, was appointed to the post In thanksgiving for this he gave a great feast, and begged for the presence of H M On 27 Shahriyur the world's lord honoured him with his company, and crowds of men attained their desires

One of the occurrences was the illness of H M and his return to health Just as those whose foot has slipped in search are brought by an injury into the high way, so does it happen to the prudent walkers in the pleasant lands of holiness Short sighted and crooked minded persons regard such things as a retribution, and the acute and profound perceive that they are in the nature of rue (a protection against the evil eye) On 20 Mihr (beginning of October 1582) H M had an internal pain, and a world was seized with dread When even the wicked and impure became sorrowful 395
what conception can be formed of the grief of the good, and of those who regard things in a business light? Who can conceive the melancholy condition of the true and loyal, and of the devoted followers? The pious sovereign looked to the True Physician, and did not regard the medicine of mortal physicians He comforted those standing around him by weighty counsels. At length, after much talk, he yielded to the faithful and distressed ones and took medicine The Greek and Indian doctors proceeded to use their remedies Laxatives are of most use in such a case, and Indians

do not employ these May Providence grant that there be no such experience in the case of a distinguished man, and still less of a just king! On one hand was the indifference of H M. to the taking of medicine, on the other there was the uproar of those self-conceited men The heart of the writer of the Book of Fortune (A F) was stirred up, and he cast away the thread of humility. I represented (to Akbar) in a gentle manner, "I admit that all are true and well-intentioned What can come of various methods? What is the use of soft speech out of season when the mind is sick? The Persians say that unless aperients are used, there will be blood (dysentery) and an easy matter will become difficult Choose one who is less bigoted, and who is good and enlightened and experienced, and converse with him." My remarks were nearly being accepted, and the matter was about to be made over to the Greek treatment. But some of the envious did not permit this, and accordingly blood came Out of necessity recourse was had to Greek medicine, and the tongues of the envious were closed. On the first day of Ābān (about 10th October) there were signs of recovery, and in a short time the sacred elements (of Akbar) became whole[1] For three days he did not touch food, and for 17 days he was benefited by eating without using oil After one month and six days he was restored to complete health. The loyal received fresh life, and the traders in good deeds opened the shops of thanksgiving and the general public obtained deliverance from bewilderment, and rejoiced

(Verse)

Also at this time the beginning of the solar weighment took place according to the rule which has been mentioned, and there was a daily market of liberality

One of the occurrences was the deliverance[2] of Shahbāz K. from

[1] Ferishta notices this illness and says that people were alarmed because Akbar, like his father, was an opium eater Khafī K says that there were various rumours, etc, and that to quiet them Akbar, though much broken, held many assemblies He says he sent Shahbāz K to Bengal as he was not able to go himself Bartoli, pp 40 and 42, also alludes to Akbar's drinking propensities, and accounts for his falling asleep at the religious discussions owing to over-indulgence in arrack and opium

[2] Ferishta says that he was set at

the straits of prison As the marks of repentance were visible on the forehead of the condition of that one who had stumbled into neglect, he was raised up from the school of instruction to the pleasant abode of favour, and he from thanksgiving increased his 396
loyalty and service, and gathered the flowers of success, as will be related in its place

One of the occurrences was the appointment of acute and unavaricious overseers As it came to the royal hearing that from the abundance of business and cupidity, there was much oppression in the conduct of the work of buying and selling, and that the traders were injured, he from a love of justice and from graciousness, ordered that various articles should be put into the charge of tactful and honest men in order that the unjust might be placed in the corner of failure M Khan had charge of horses, Rajah Todar Mal of elephants and grain, Zain Khān Koka of oil, Shāh Quli K Mahram of fruits and sweetmeats, Sadiq K of gold and silver, 'Itimad K Gujrati of jewels, Shahbaz K of gold brocade, M Yusuf K of camels, Sharif K of sheep and goats, Ghazi K Badakhshi of salt, Makhṣuṣ K of armour, Qasim K of aromatics, Hakim Abu-l fath of intoxicants, Khwaja 'Abdu-ṣ Samad of leathern articles, Naurang K of dyes Rajah Birbal of cattle and buffaloes, S Jamal of drugs, Naqib K of books, Latif Khwaja of hunting animals, Habib Ullah of sugar, and the author of woollens An order was given that the auspicious overseers should receive ½ p c from purchasers, and one p c from sellers, and the half should be their reward The title of Tui begi[1] was bestowed on Baqi K and he was to get 5 p c on what was assessed on the two parties (to the marriage)

By this excellent regulation the rules of inspection were ob-

liberty in Ramzan 990 September October 1582 But Badayunī Lowe 333 says he was released and sent to Bengal on 17th Jamāda aṣ ṣanī, 9th July 1582 He also says A F procured his release

[1] The text has toman bēgī but the I O MSS and even the Lucknow ed show that the true reading is tūi begi i e director of marriages See B 278 The subsequent clause too seems to be wrong Instead of ba-an giroh the I O MSS and the Lucknow ed have ba tarafīn and the passage is explained by B 278 where we read His Majesty takes a tax from both parties to enable them to show their gratitude

served, and the garden of the outer world was kept irrigated and verdant. The general public had repose, and lustre was given to the obedient

One of the occurrences was the bringing of Nur Muhammad to court He had become notorious among the rebels of the Eastern Provinces, and had been active in oppressing the subjects When the Khān A'zim M Koka came to Jaunpūr, intelligence was received that that evil-doer had come from Bengal by way of Tirhut and had joined with Khwāja 'Abdu l Ghafūr and stirred up commotion, and been plundering in the district of Sāran As the heavenly superintendents arrange for the retribution of evil doers, they were disgr ced before the arrival of the victorious troops Having heard of the approach of the troops, they prepared for battle A large caravan of salt[1] merchants was passing, and the scoundrels went to plunder it The merchants made a breast-work of their bags and stood firm The assailants were soon repulsed After that they took refuge twelve *kos* from Tirhut, and meditated oppressing the
7 weak Just then the victorious army unfurled their banners, and addressed themselves to the making a bridge over the Ganges, and to the punishment of the rebels When the bridge was nearly finished, the rebels lost heart and sought protection with the zamindar of Kalyânpur,[2] but could not find it, and returned unsuccessful Brave men pursued them 'Abdu l Ghafur was about to go to Bengal by way of Tirhut[3] The Kasih[4] tribe destroyed him and

---

[1] *The text has mulk but the I O* MSS 236 and Elliot V 428n show that *nimak* is the true reading

[2] In Sarkār Saran, J II 156 This was Kalyan Mal an ancestor of *the Hatwa Raj See G N Dutt* Hist Hutwa Raj, J A S B for 1904 pp 181 and 225

[3] I O MS 236 and Lucknow ed have "in Naihan, and this is possibly the true reading It is given in Bib Ind ed as a variant

[4] Text کهیته Khītah, but several variants are given one being کسه kisah I believe this last to be a mistake for *کسیه Kasih* the dots having been taken as coming before the ی instead of after it The tribe then is the Khasī, or Khāsī tribe of Assam and Sylhet commonly written of as the Cossyahs Whether A F is correct or not in extending their habitat to Santhalia or Bhagalpur—apparently the place where Abdu l Ghafūr and his companions were cut off—I do not know But I think there can be no doubt that it was the name of the Cossyah tribe that he meant to write Possibly the men were murdered in

seventy others, and cleansed the earth of the disturbance caused by *that strifemonger* There are many of this tribe in the hill country *In* appearance and manners they are like Qalmıqs, but they are dark *complexioned* Nur Muhammad, the son of Tarkhan, who was proceeding towards Gya, was caught by *the* Khān *Ā'zım's* men near Campāran [1] They put chains on his neck *and clogs* (*kunda*) on his arms Out of regard to justice he was capitally punished, and *evil-*doers had their eyes opened

Also at this time Rajah Birbar's abode was made illustrious by the advent *of the* Shāhinshāh He was among the intimate associates For him H M had ordered the erection of stone palaces When they *were* finished, he expressed a wish that they might be glorified by the advent *of the* Shāhinshāh On 7 Bahman (January 1583) there was a *splendid* feast, and by the Shāhinshāh's graciousness his wish was gratified

Also at this time the commander in-chiefship of the province of *the* Panjab was bestowed on Rajah Bhagwant *Dās* and S'aid K received *a jagir* in Sambal He was ordered to punish 'Arab Bahadur who had stirred up strife in the hill country there On 8 Isfandarmuz H M *rode off to* enjoy hunting, and at the close of the day alighted at *the town* of Jalesar Jagmal [2] Panwar has erected on a small hill, ten *kos from* Fathpūr, a delightful mansion and given it the name of *Rushinās* [3] Its environs delight the eye, and the verdure utters the praise of God with the tongue of action Its air

the Cossyah hills for they *may have* been going towards Bhātī and the kingdom of *Isā K* Since writing this I have found a passage *in the* Iqbālnama p 69 which *speaks* of the Mugs who were brought to court in Jahangir s time by *Hushang* the son of Islām K *as being* like the black Calmucks This makes me think that the hill tribe meant by A F is the Chin or Khyin tribe of the Arakan hill-country *There* is only the difference of a dot between Khita and Khyin and we have the word کهین at p 43? though apparently A F has written west instead of east

[1] The T.A states under the 28th year that Nūr Muhammad was the son of Tarkhān Dīwāna and that he was executed in the market-place (*nakhkhās*) of Fathpūr

[2] Birbar s house is still shown at Fathpūr See Keene s Agra 64 There does not seem any good reason for thinking it to be his daughter s house

[3] B 476 That is distinguished celebrated Tiefenthaler I 170 mentions a place five leagues S of

refreshes the brain He remained three days there, making hunting the veil of Divine worship, and then returned

Fatḥpūr called Rubas where Akbar used to go for change of air and for hunting Perhaps Rūbās and Rūshinas are the same place

CHAPTER LXX

THE BEGINNING OF THE 28TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR TIR OF THE THIRD CYCLE

At this time, when Time was carrying through work, the star was guiding, the glory of Divine worship was increasing daily, and justice was being augmented the ear was rejoiced by the sound of the New Year Joy showed a new face The exalter of throne and 398
diadem uttered the summons and gathered together the assemblage of supplication Active and magician like men adorned the State Hall with every thing that was most excellent so as to surprise even the acute and the critical On Monday 26 Safr 991 10 March 1583, the world lighting sun shed its rays on Aries, and the joy of Spring began and the fourth year of the third cycle brought the message of eternal life Mankind sang songs of rejoicing and there was variety of happiness Great festivals went on to the day of exaltation (sharaf), and there was a daily market of liberality

Verse

The kingdom longed for such an adornment
At length fortune fulfilled the kingdom s desire

It needs an enlightened heart and an eloquent tongue, and leisure, to tell somewhat of these feasts and so to enliven my discourse Where have I—the stammering tongued and much occupied —the power to undertake such a task ?

Verse

How is it right that in the dawn of Spring
Flies should buzz in presence of the nightingale ?

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Bengal for the third time In the previous year the Khān A'zim M Koka had been sent from court in order that he might inflict suitable punishment

on the strifemongers of Bihar, and might address himself to the conquest of Bengal As the rebels of Bihar had received their deserts before the arrival of the victorious army—as has been related—Sadiq K came by relays of horses to court, and as the rainy season was at hand, the enterprise was not accomplished that year When the tempests and floods of that season had ceased, Shāh Qul K Mahram, Sādiq K S Ibrahīm and S Farīd Bokhārī were dispatched, and strenuous and unabashed *sazawals* were appointed to the fief holders of Ilahabās (Allahābād), Oudh and Bihar In a short time a large army was collected in Ḥājīpūr and energies were devoted to the accomplishment of the task The Khān Ā'ẓim with many brave and loyal men took the route of Garhi Tarson K, S Ibrāhim Mirzāda 'Ali K., Saiyid 'Abdullah K, Kicak Khwāja,[1] Subhān Quli Turk, and other heroes crossed the river, and addressed themselves to the conquering of that quarter On account of the jungle the numerous ravines, and the mire and water, they could not advance by that route The armies joined one another near Monghyr Tarson K, Shāh Quli K Mahram, Muhibb 'Āli K, the Mirzāda 'Ali K, S Ibrāhim, and Rai Patr Dās took post a stage or two beyond *Colgong* The rebels prepared for
99 battle in the neighbourhood of Kāligang[2] (?) Before this, M Sharfu d din Ḥusain, Bābā K Qāqshāl and many other strife mongers had died, and M'aṣum K Kābuli was at the head of the rebels Qutlu Nohani was predominant in Orissa, and he had also taken possession of part of Bengal When M'aṣum K heard the sound of the advancing armies, he first addressed himself to Qutlu and made a league with him to the effect that when the imperial officers arrived, he should join him with a chosen force When he had been somewhat heartened by this, he hastened off to Ghorāghāt, and made comradeship with Jabbārī, Mirzā Beg, and the rest of the Qāqshals, and in order to inspire them with confidence he left his family in their quarters Then he came with a number of rebels to Kāli

[1] Perhaps the word is Gicak, a lute Can this be the Khwāja Kisik of Gulbadan B's Mem translation p 162?

[2] Kātīgang the canal or river itting appears from the I O MSS to be the correct reading Probably it is the Khārī or Khitī gang of A N III 300 The Iqbāl nāma has Kātīgang See also Elliot VI 66 where there is a long piece of translatio

Gang (Kātīgang ?) and applied himself to strengthening the place and to preparations for battle

On 9 Farwardin the vanguard of the victorious troops took possession of Garhi which is the gate of that country On the 16th the officers met in with the rebels and drew up in battle array They established batteries on the bank of the Kātigang,[1] and the war boats were made ready As the imperial servants were on the watch for Qutlu, Saiyid 'Abdulla K Mirzādā 'Ali K S Muhammad Ghaznavi, Khwaja 'Abdul Hai and others together with nearly 4000 horse were sent under the command of Wāzir K towards Balkana (?)[2] They lay in wait twelve kos away from the camp Every day there was an engagement with guns and arrows, and great deeds were done On account of the idle talk of men of little heart there was a rift in the enterprisingness of the commanders and great importance was attached to the numbers of the enemy A request was therefore sent for help When Sher Beg *tawaci bashi* who had been sent off post haste, arrived, the world's lord was much astonished and said, Though something tells me that the news of victory will soon arrive, yet there is no harm in caution and in granting their request ' Accordingly, on the 13th Ardibihisht M Khan, Zain Khān Koka Ism ail Quli K, Makhsus K, Muttalib K, Rai Sarjan, S Jamāl Bakhtiyār, Shiroya K, Khizr Beg, Mir Abu l Mozaffar, Mir M'aṣūm of Bhakar and many others were sent off to the eastern provinces and each was presented with a *khil'at* and a special horse Before they started the good news of victory arrived, and once more was the mysterious intuition of the world's lord impressed on high and low To some were eyes, to some collyrium, 400
and to some staffs were given For nearly a month the armies of fortune confronted the rebels and discharged guns and muskets night and day On both sides were great deeds performed And though hopelessness was prevalent, yet the Shāhinshāh's fortune emerged in a wonderful manner On the 14th the crescent of

[1] Kālīgang in text but there is the variant Kātīgang

[2] بلکنه Balkana (?) in text but there is a variant Balkasta A M S i i my possess on has Kalkata quite distinctly, and I observe that in the Alamgīrnāma p 528 top l ne a ferry called the Calcutta ferry is mentioned as being somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sūtī opposite the village of Tardīpūr and on the Ganges

victory illuminated the world, and the rebels, whose star was extinguished, fled to the desert Every one of the reckless fools fell into confusion

The short account of this wondrous stroke of fortune is as follows In the heat of the contest the Qāẓīzāda, who was one of the ringleaders came from Fathābād[1] and brought many well-equipped war-boats with him Suddenly a cannon ball reached him, and he was killed M'aṣum K appointed in his room Kālā Pahar who was singular for his skill in river fighting He too was soon reduced to annihilation Also there arose dissension between M'aṣum K and the Qāqshāl clan and Khāldīn Crapulousness laid hold of the drinkers of the wine of presumption and they became foolish Able negotiators set themselves to win men over Many returned to obedience First Khāldīn came in and made oaths and agreements Then M Beg Qāqshal Jabbārī and others secretly took the oath of good service It was agreed that they should withdraw from fighting and go to their homes and that after some days they should come to the camp and become good servants They acted according as they had said The presumptuous rebels were thrown into great confusion, and were compelled to fly with saddened hearts Though the Khān Ā'ẓim endeavoured to pursue them, he was prevented by the foolish talk of some and the cowardice of most The rebels withdrew, and when the news of victory came, thanksgivings were offered to God, and the brave men who had been sent to assist, turned back

One of the occurrences was that the Qāqshāl officers joined the imperial servants When M aṣum trod the desert of defeat, he hastened off to the homes of the Qāqshals in order that no harm might happen to his family, and also that he might revenge himself upon them M Muhammad Qaqshāl had out of friendship conveyed his family[2] (?) to a place of safety The Qāqshāls took up a strong position near Ghorāghat and prepared for battle M'aṣum K plundered

---

[1] A Sarkār in East Bengal comprising Farīdpūr etc See J A S.B for 1873 p 217, and J II 132

[2] The text has سای اورا, which I do not understand The I O MSS have سپرد اورا into his protection (?) From the Iqbalnāma it appears that M Muḥammad removed M asūm s family to a safe place

Ghorāghāt and proceeded to attack the Qāqshāls. The Khān 'Āzim sent off Muhibb 'Ali K., S. Ibrāhim Fathpūri, Babui Mankli, Sikandar Cikni (?) and other combatants to the number of about 4000 horse 401
to that place under the command of Tarson K. They arrived when the Qāqshāls were in difficulties, and the rebels fled. The heroes set themselves to pursue them, but turned back in Ghorāghāt. M. Beg, Khaldin, Wazir Jamil and the others adhered to their former promises and made submission. They took upon themselves the task of inflicting retribution upon M'aṣūm K. and separated from the victorious army.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of Amīr Fath Ullah Shirāzi.[1] He was singular for theoretical and practical knowledge. Though he had acquired much in the schools of Khwājah Jamālu-d-din Mahmud, Maulānā Kamālu-d-din Shirwānī and Maulānā Ahmad Kurd (?), yet his science was greater than theirs. 'Ādil K. of Bijāpūr had by great efforts brought him from Shīrāz to the Deccan. When 'Ādil K. died, he, in accordance with an old wish, and a command, proceeded to the holy threshold. On the 25th he attained this blessing. So much learning had he that if the old books of wisdom had disappeared, he could have laid a new foundation (of knowledge), and would not have wished for what had gone. As was right and just, he, with so much enlightenment, desired to become a disciple of the world's lord. By good fortune he gained his desire. He frequently said in the meetings, "If I had not entered the service of this adorner of multiplicity, and chooser of unity, I had not become a traveller on the road of Divine knowledge. His (Akbar's) personality and magnificent nature have made the wine of learning digestible by me. Otherwise the current sciences had been a veil over the face of the search for truth." And it is evident that there are two classes of men. There is he who having been taught in the Divine school has the pure temple of his soul filled with the light of knowledge without the stain of effort. He comes forth in the course of ages, and the form worshippers of the day seldom recognize him. The other is he who takes pains and who by thousands of strivings acquires some of the knowledge possessed by his predecessors. The general public do not see anything beyond

[1] See B. 33 n. 1 and Badāyūnī, Lowe, 325 and 381

him At the present day, by the good fortune of the age and of mankind, the world's lord is the Primate (*Peshwa*) of the first class Hail to the brilliant star which gathers eternal bliss by this knowledge and which imparts glory to the record of actions!

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K to Bengal When M'asūm trod the desert of failure, as has been related, the victorious army proceeded against Qutlu As the Khān 'Āzim disliked the climate of that country he begged for employment elsewhere The gracious sovereign accepted his earnest request and issued orders that if some officer could undertake the control of
402 the army and the administration of the country for some time, he might make over charge to him, and come to Bihar, and repose in his fief Otherwise he should wait a little, and Shahbāz K would soon be sent On 8th Khurdād the important duty was made over to him (Shahbāz), and he took leave and went off with many officers

One of the occurrences was that the grand daughter (*nabīra*) of Māldeo obtained a new life In the wide country of India, on account of truth choosing, and jealous honour when the husband dies, his wife, though she have spent her days in distress, gives herself to the fire with an expanded heart and an open brow And

1 This interesting incident is as usual told by A F in a stilted and obscure manner He does not tell us where the Satī was going to take place or where Akbar was at the time and he does not clearly tell us who Jaimal and Udai Singh were B 427, 428 may be consulted and also the Maasir II 110 It appears that Jaimal was the son of Rupsī who was the nephew of Rajah Bihārī Mal and consequently a cousin of Rajah Bhagwān Dās A F says that Udai Singh who wanted to make the widow burn was *pisar i-ao* Blochmann takes this to mean Jaimal's son and it may be that he was the widow's stepson and not her own son But grammatically it looks as if the words meant that he was the widow's own son Elliot VI 69 calls him Mal Deo's son but this is clearly wrong At p 326 A F mentioned that Lonī was the residence of Bihārī Mal's nephews and perhaps this is the Lonī in Sarkar Rewarī mentioned in J II 288 though B regards Lonī or Lūnī as being near Ranthambor see p 398 n 1 But either place was perhaps too far for Akbar to ride to and presumably the family was staying in Agra or Fathpūr The news was brought to Akbar's zanāna Presumably he was there then but possibly some of the ladies of the Mota Rajah family got the news first Another daughter of the Mota Rajah the sister of Jaimal's widow was married to Jahangir in 994 1586

if from wickedness (*tardamanī*) and love of life she refrain from doing this, her husband's relatives (*khesh̲awandan*) assemble and light the flame, whether she be willing or unwilling They regard this as preserving their honour and reputation From the time that this ever vernal country has been kept verdant and fresh by the justice of the world's lord, vigilant and truthful men have been appointed in every city and district in order that the two classes of cases may be continually kept distinct, and that forcible burning may not be permitted [1]

At this time H M had sent Jaimal by relays of horses to the Bengal officers On account of immoderate expedition, and the excessive heat the torch of his existence was extinguished in the neighbourhood of Causa His wife, the daughter of the Mota Rajah (The Fat Rajah), had not the courage to burn herself Udai Singh her son and some bold and foolish persons set themselves to work this injustice (to make her burn) It was high dawn[2] when the news came to H M 's female apartments The just sovereign fearing that if he sent others there would be delay, mounted a swift horse and went off to the spot As the circumstances were not known there was confusion for some time Foolish talkers, and imaginative simpletons, made up wonderful stories of a fight The loyal and devoted, and the happy warriors got agitated and assembled in troops There was a time of confusion and they set about putting on their armour and making ready for battle The loyal but feeble-minded were at a loss, while the strong and well-disposed galloped off. The two faced and wicked misunderstood matters and talked unintelligently The crooked in their ways and the inwardly dark raised a song of triumph Such had been the rapidity that even

[1] See the instruction to the Kotwāl or Police officer, J II 42 "He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination."

[2] چاشتی بلند بود *cāshtī buland bud* I am inclined to think that we should read چاشتی *cāshnī* for I find that this word is construed with *buland*, *cāshnī buland būd* would mean it was high dawn I think that this the time meant, and not *cāsht* which would be about 9 a m The translation in Elliot VI 63 makes the disturbance to be caused by the Rajputs but I do not think this is the meaning It was Akbar's followers who did not know why he had gone off and who were disturbed and got ready for battle

the guards had not been able to come up, but some of the personal attendants arrived near the spot The faction gave up their proceedings in presence of the Shāhinshāh's majesty When that cavalier of fortune's arena had come near the spot, Jagannāth and Rai Sāl went ahead and seized the ringleader of the ignorant and turbulent ones and brought him to H M The appreciative sovereign read the writing of repentance on the foreheads of the crew, and in all this ebullition of anger gave them their lives, but imprisoned them In a short time the prudent prince made use of justice, graciousness,
403 and courage, and brought things into tranquillity The dust of turbulence was laid and the pæan of joy rose high

One of the occurrences was the sending of I'timād K to the government of Gujarat At the beginning of the conquest of this country, he had been nominated to this high post From wickedness and perversity he indulged in evil thoughts, and the Shāhinshāh's fortune put chains on his feet and sent him to the school of the prison, as has already been related From much cupidity he had begged for the government of the province When the Shāhinshāh treated him with kindness, Mir Abu Turāb for his own advantage made him more keen in the prosecution of his desire The truth seeking Shahinshāh's idea was that if some goodness should appear in him, and if it was his wish, he should fulfil what he had said. As at this time there was some appearance of this, he proceeded to grant his long cherished wish He made over to him the military command and the administration of the province He adhered to what he had said and ripened his hopes Though right thinking and far seeing persons represented, "When he was in full strength, and had numerous helpers, he was not able to control the factious people of Gujarat At this day, when his bodily frame is declining, and he has no single hearted comrades, how can it be proper to dispatch him on this service?" Yet as the decree of heaven had passed, the speech of the wise did not take effect, and he went off in great elation Mir Abu Turāb was sent off as Amin to the country, and Khwāja Nizāmu d din Ahmad was made Bakhshī Khwaja Abu l qāsim became Diwān They were accompanied by Muhammad Husain S Abu l Mozaffar, Beg Muhammad Toqbāi Mir Muhibbullah, Mir Sharafu d din, Mir Sālih, Mir Hāshim, Shāh Beg, Mir Maʿsum Bhakkari, Zainu d din Kambū, Saiyid Jalāl

Bhakharī, Saiyid Abū Isḥaq, Qambar Ishak Āqā, Pahlwān 'Alī Sīstānī and others Each was exalted by receiving a robe of honour, and a choice means of conveyance (baragi) They also received valuable counsels They took leave on 7 Tīr, and Karm 'Alī Darogha of the perfumery was sent to bring away Shihābu d-dīn Aḥmad K The order was that when the new governor came, Shihabu d dīn should come with his soldiers to court[1]

Also at this time Mīr Sharīf Gīlānī came from the Niẓām ul-mulk together with other ambassadors from the Deccan and did homage and presented gifts They were received with favour

[1] This account of I timād s appointment should be compared with Abu Turab s *History of Gujarat* recently published by Dr Denison Ross

CHAPTER LXXI

The Watering of the Garden of Dominion and the uprearing of the Palace of World rule

Inasmuch as the dominions are extensive and the soldiery numerous, as cupidity increases daily right thinking diminishing, the courageous and veridical not to be found, the false and flattering plentiful, the wicked contrivers in troops and the acute and just thinking scarce (*khal khal*), there soon comes a great rift in affairs, and evil grows prevalent Therefore is it that the world's lord every now and then augments his circumspection, and imparts new freshness to the garden of the State Accordingly at this time, he, from brilliance and foresight and from the quest of truth, erected a new palace of administration He made over every department to distinguished loyal men who were unavaricious and well-disposed, and he associated the majesty of the Shahinshah with paternal benignity He made over to Prince Selim the Divine tasks of severity and lenity, and the superintendence of marriage and birthday feasts—which are sources of stability and ornament of eternal dominion That pearl of the crown of the sultanate carried out whatever the just sovereign ordained and addressed himself to giving currency to the orders As colleagues are indispensable M Khān, S Abu l faiz Faizi and the faithful Fath Ullah were appointed to assist him The management of the household—which is equal to the administration of a great kingdom—was made over to Prince Sultan Murād. Rai Sal Darbari, Karm Ullah, Khwāja 'Abdu s ṣamad Shirin Qalm, Muhammad 'Ali Khazānci served under him The superintendence of faith and religion and of wisdom and work was committed to Prince Sultan Daniel Ghazi K Badakhshi Rai Sarjan and the writer of this noble volume were appointed to lay matters before him First, they (i e the officers in charge of the departments) studied the choice regulations which had lighted up the heavenly soul (of Akbar) and had adorned therewith the raw

material of the minds of the simple, and *secondly*, they guided the bewildered to the highway of Divine worship Allowances and charities were made over to Sultān Khwāja Hakim Abu l fath Mir Abu Turāb and to the Qāẓi and the Mufti (law *officer*) The development of the dominions, and the appointment and dismissal of the *officers of the* Khālsa were made over to Rājah Todar Mal Khwaja Yahiya, Rai Durgā and Yār 'Ali The charge of the army and the arrangements for *the pay of* the soldiers were made over to Shahbāz K J'aafar Beg and 'Ali *Dost* K The superintendence of the rates of goods was assigned *to* Zain K Koka, Ism'ail Quli K, Payinda K and Hāji Habib Ullah The care of the armour and the looking after the roads were made over to Qulij K, Jagannāth, Lon Karn and Sālih 'Āqil The watching *over the property* of deceased persons and the conveyance of it to the heirs were made over to Sharif K, Rajah Askaran, Naqib K and 'Abdu rahmān the son of Muyid Beg The department of *buying* and selling jewels and other minerals was made over to I'timād K Gujrāti, Baqi K, Jagmāl, Hakim Ain-al-mulk, and N'aamat K The *charge* of buildings was 405
given to Naurang K, Qasim K Makhsus K and Latif Khwāja The administering of justice to complainants was *made over to* Rajah Birbar, Qāsim 'Ali K, Hakim Hamām and Sham Sher K Kotwal. The writer of the book of fortune (A F) was also *appointed to this office* An order was issued that they should *not* be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but make a profound investigation The deeds of the one party (the *oppressor*) were very base and the condition of the other (the petitioner) *very* bewildered On account of the bribery of the oppressor and of *his high* position, and of the empty-headedness and helplessness of the *oppressed*, it was necessary that there should be no slackness *in* the inquiry, and that the thought of presents (*para*) should not *turn the* heart out of the way, nor that the shafts of injury should lead *one to* the line of cowardice, and cause the veiling of the truth *In a short time* the outer world attained an excellent management and the spiritual world a new development There was, *as it were*, a new palace constructed for the appreciativeness of the sovereign, and humanity was tested in the square of knowledge The wicked descended into the hollow of ignominy, and the good were exalted Every great one who makes use of the medicine for senselessness, and chooses, with a thousand

eyes of the heart, watchfulness, will assuredly make Fortune his servant, and the empire of rulers will come under the shade of his justice

Verse

Hail! the garden of the two worlds rejoices because of thee,
The foundation of life is firm because of thee
Solomon had a ring, thou hast faith,
Alexander had his mirror, thou the code,
Alexander with his mirror, Kaikhusrū with his cup,
Have not seen what thou art beholding for many days

One of the occurrences was that Wazir K was victorious and that Qutlu Nohāni (Lohāni) was defeated When the Divine aid had deprived the rebels of endurance M'aṣum K Kābuli and the other seditious and ill fated ones took flight, as has already been narrated Thereupon the Khān Ā'zim and the other great officers set about finding a remedy for the crafty Qutlu He by wiles and flatteries brought forward a proposal of peace, and sent eloquent and skilful persons to court, and made use of blandishments The answer came that if his works corresponded to his words, they should admit him as a servant and restore Orissa to him At this time the Khān Ā zim's heart was alienated from the country and he was eager to depart He wished that on the arrival of the order of leave he might hasten off to his estates, and that Sādiq K might in these few days take the command and conclude this great affair (the settlement with Qutlu) to a conclusion He (Sādiq K) made un suitable stipulations, and so the Khān Ā'zim turned to Wazir K He gladly accepted the task, and the Khān Ā'zim went off to Hājipur (where his estates were) Upon his departure, the devious Qutlu in his shortsightedness and narrow capacity uplifted the head
16 of presumption, and made unfitting conditions with regard to the peace The officers, who had betaken themselves to repose, were somewhat annoyed and marched from Sherpur[1] in order to give battle to him On 10 Tir they encamped at Bardwan That turbulent one was six *kos* off and had recourse to vulpine tricks He

[1] Sherpūr 'Atāi in Sarkār Sharifābād B 341 The I O MSS have Sherpūr Atāi

made use of humility and supplications They were deceived by him, and added Madāran, Mednīpūr and other places to Orissa He agreed to take the burden of obedience on his shoulders, and to send his brother's son with choice presents to court Again he had recourse to rebellious thoughts, and determined that he should by stratagem get one of the leaders into his clutches—perhaps in this way he might gain his object He represented that he was sending the apple of his eye to court, and asked that Ṣādiq K should come without a large retinue from the camp, while he too would come out with a few followers so that they might see one another and be materially comforted, and that he might make over to him the cream of his life (his nephew) Ṣādiq K had the foresight to keep away, and S Farīd Bakhshī[1] was sent He from his good intentions and simplicity, went off along with Husain K, Abū l Qāsim, 'Abdul Hādi, and Mahmūd K Khwāṣ When he came to the appointed place, there was no trace of Qutlū. As he was continually sending messages of concord, he went on Some plausible persons brought him to his quarters and he (Qutlu) prepared a feast From time to time he expressed fresh supplications, but his sole intention was that when the men had gone to their repose he should seize the Shaikh and take him to a remote place, and gain his objects by using him as a hostage The Shaikh perceived this and at the beginning of the night proceeded to depart No horse (*baragī*) had been left in the stable, and when they had gone a little way there was a hot fight for a while, and some men were killed In the midst

[1] See B 413, who refers to Stewart's Bengal Stewart, p 177, tells the story differently from A F, but as I think not altogether in accordance with his authorities What Stewart says is that Farīd did not treat Bahādur Kurfarah with sufficient respect But what Niẓamu-d dīn and Badayūnī—who, I presume are his authorities—say is that Qutlū received Farīd with respect (herein differing from A F who says Qutlū was absent) and acted as if he was his servant, or at least as the servant of Akbar, but that Bahādur wanted to treat Farīd on a footing of equality Bahādur was a Bengal Zamindar, as well as an officer of Qutlu but Farīd chose to regard him rather as Qutlu's servant than as a landholder and behaved haughtily to him See Elliot, V 429, where the translation is wrong, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 333 where also the translation is not correct Both should be compared with the originals

of this the Shaikh came out on his own elephant By the jugglery of fortune the animal proved unmanageable and rushed off into space. Owing to the darkness of the night his men could not follow him The Shaikh thought of crossing a stream and so escaping, but was bewildered owing to there being no ford [1] Suddenly some men came up and shot arrows at him and wounded him The Shaikh threw himself off the elephant and turned aside By the guidance of the mysterious arrangers (i e protectors) he proceeded on his way The scoundrels thought that the Shaikh was still in the haudah (*'amārī*) and was trying to escape While he was going on in this bewildered way a faithful servant joined him and gave him a mount (*bāragī*) and conducted him to the camp The officers [2] emerged from their heavy slumbers of negligence and attacked that contriver of long plots They crossed the Damudar river and went on for two *kos* in battle array That scoundrel (Qutlu) established [3] forts and firmly planted the foot of audacity

17 Qutlū and many others took refuge in a fort, and in another place Bahādur Kūruh [4] prepared for battle. In the beginning of Amardād, Ṣādiq K., Shah Qulī K Mahram and others advanced to do battle with Bahādur After a severe struggle they took the fort, and he escaped and joined Qutlū Next day they attacked his residence, and mounted guns on high places By the Divine aid the rebels were defeated, and fled in wretched plight From want of energy and slumbrousness of intent they were not pursued The imperialists halted on the bank of the river

On the 2nd that majestic one—whom the spheres cannot counterpoise—was weighed against eight articles, and the feast of the lunar anniversary took place The needy of the age attained their desires

[1] Text *pāī guẓārī*, which may mean "looking for a ford" The I O MSS have *be guẓārī*, "the absence of a ford"

[2] The rest of the paragraph is translated in Elliot, VI 69

[3] *Qil ahā sākhta* Elliot renders this "entrenched his camp," and perhaps this is right

[4] Badayūnī, Lowe, 333, seems to call him Bahadur Kur Farah Elliot, V 429, calls him Gauriya. The text of the T A has كوريه See above, text, p 384 and note Perhaps Badayūnī's Kur Farah is a mistake for Kar Farmā. See J.A S B for 1874, p 200

One of the occurrences was that Burhān-al mulk took the pro tection of the sublime court He was the younger brother of Martaẓa Nizāmu-l-mulk When Husain Nizāmu-l-mulk died, the kingdom came ostensibly into the possession of the elder son,[1] but in reality into that of his mother. She, like the father, loved Burhān most and regarded him as superior to every one else When the changing heavens had made some circuits, Martaza at the instigation of strife mongers and intriguers arrested his mother and brother and sent each of them to a fortress From lewdness and ignorance he discarded the pilots[2] of the time and subjected himself for spiritual guidance to a sect Owing to the rawness of his guide and the severity of the ritual his brain became deranged He withdrew from intercourse with mankind, and left affairs to a wretch named Husain This man rose from cock-fighting to become his companion, and owing to ignorance (on the part of Martaẓa) he acquired the title of Āsaf K.[3] The sense robbing world's wine infatuated the weak handed man His evil propensities developed and

---

[1] Ferishta has a long account of him in his history of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar See also the Darbārī Akbarī, 688 Martaẓa came to the throne in 972 A H, 1565, and reigned till 1589 The next sentence is translated in Elliot, ' He, like his father before him preferred Burhān to all his friends but I think the sentence refers to the mother She was of Persian origin, and descended from Jahān Shah of the Black Sheep so that she was connected with Bairām K *Her name was Khānza Humāyūn* Martaẓa was eventually killed by his own son, and Ferishta narrowly escaped death on this occasion

[2] A F has surpassed himself in obscurity in this passage Elliot, VI 70, renders it "His ignorance and vicious propensities kept him aloof from the loyal and good, and threw him into the company of evil persons whose bad advice quite perverted his mind The words in text are *nāguzrān-i waqt* ناگزران وقت and I O MS 236 has the same I have supposed *nāguzrān* to be a word formed like *nākhudā* and to mean captains or pilots I. O 236 has *nagaziran i-waqt* ناگزیرن وقت which perhaps means ' persons who were indispensable to the times The word *ruhanī* which I have translated by ' spiritual also means "a *howling darwish*' , *cf* Ferishta s account of Martaẓa s going to Bālaghāt and assuming a dervish's dress etc

[3] Āṣaf K. is the name of Solomon's vizier, see B 368 Ferishta calls Ḥusain Ṣāḥib K., and the T A Muṣāḥib K. He was eventually killed by A. F s muscular brother in law Khudāwand K. Deccani

a new foundation was given to self conceit The world thought that the days of the recluse were ended At length that ungrateful and devious one set himself to make the Barid war (viz that against the Barid Shāhs of Bidar) and the dust of commotion rose high in the neighbourhood of Qandhar[1] On learning this, the mad man came out and went rapidly against him At this time Burhān by the help of the governor of the fortress came out and proceeded to create a disturbance The opportunity for rascals came As his intellect remained in prison, and his fortune was asleep, he fastened his eyes upon men's property and was active in distressing people Nizāmu l-mulk, on hearing of this, effected a reconciliation (with Husain) and returned and reached Ahmadnagar on the day that he (Burhān) intended to come On seeing him the commotion subsided He said to his companions "For a long while I have been a recluse, and have been averse to mixing with men My brother
408 longs for rule Withdraw from me and join him" They replied "It is proper that the innings of the base be broken up! When that has been done these matters may be considered Otherwise few will know the real circumstances, and most will think that your action (in resigning or withdrawing from society) is the result of weakness and ill health" He rejoiced at this pronouncement and a song of joy was raised on account of the uniting of hearts He went in conquest of battle with a labour loving heart and a right courage

In addition to the fact that Burhān was not a match for Martaẓa in numbers, the right thinking and truthfulness of his companions prevented matters from coming to a fight Crowds of men turned back from Burhan, and he without engaging had to tread the desert of failure For a while he sought asylum with the owner of Bijanagar[2] He returned without effecting anything From

---

[1] Elliot VI 70 says sixty miles N Bīdar, and at VII 25 note says 25 miles S W Nandar In the maps there is a Qandahār some 80 miles N Bīdar and a long way to the east of Aḥmadnagar It is on the Manāda a tributary of the Godavery Ferishta does not name it though he speaks of Ṣāḥib K's attack on Bīdar Possibly A F has chosen Qandahār on account of its remoteness it being his rhetorical way of saying that the whole of Bīdar was disturbed Qandhar is marked as Kandahr in Grant Duff's map See I G XIV 377

[2] The text has Bījāpūr, but the variant Bījanagar seems preferable

there he went to 'Ādil K in Bijāpur. When craft and deceit did not avail, he returned to Aḥmadnagar in the attire of a jogi There he lived in secret, and endeavoured by the help of wicked men to deceive people and to strengthen his party The veil over his actions was removed He then went off rapidly to Baglāna, but failing there he went to Quṭbu d dīn K in Nadarbar, and gathered bliss at the sublime court On the 11th he brightened his forehead by doing homage at the holy threshold Inasmuch as the raising up of the fallen, and showing kindness to the fatigued is the praiseworthy quality of H M, he was exalted by various favours Two years before this, they brought one who called himself Burhān Mīr Jamālu d dīn[2] Husain Ānjū received him and introduced him, and he obtained lofty rank[3] by the kindness of the world s lord On this occasion the two were confronted, and an investigation held The shameless one made some long speeches, but was compelled by acuteness to tell the truth and to say, "I am the son of a certain Deccāni who had the title of Hakim al mulkī The mother of Niẓāmu-l mulk had received me as a son I was led astray by cupidity and short sightedness" From fear he ran away but was caught by searchers on the road to Agra and sent to the school of the prison

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of 'Arab Bahadur His misconduct has been described, and how he failed After he had become a vagabond in Sambal, he stirred up strife in Bihar When the Khān 'Aẓim M Koka had gone from Bengal to that quarter, some brave men, under the charge of Subhān Quli Turk proceeded to inflict retribution on him From far sightedness he himself (the K 'Aẓim) went there There was an engagement between Tirhut and Campāran, and he was again disgraced From

---

as Bijāpūr occurs in the next clause Ferishta says he went to Burhānpur

[1] J II 208 A Sarkār of Mālwa Also written Nazar bār the Nandar bār in Khandesh of the I G

[2] The Iqbālnāma says, Mīr Jamāl had means of knowing for he was married to the real Burhān s sister name was Khadīja and that she was Burhan s full sister

[3] Badāyunī Lowe 334 says he received a jāgīr in Oudh See also Elliot V 429 Presumably he is the same pretender as the one mentioned at p 703 as having been put to death in 1596

there he went off to Jaunpur By H M 's orders, Rajah Todar Mal sent his son Gaurdahan to chastise him, and 'Arab entered the hill country

Also at this time Hājī Ibrahim Sirhindi was sent to the prison of instruction For some time he by effrontery and plausible speeches *ranked among the searchers for wisdom* For a time he enjoyed himself as Sadr[1] of Gujarat During that time some persons came and complained of his oppression When his cupidity and
409 wickedness became evident, and his tyranny became patent, he was sent to the fortress of Ranthambor The oppressed were heartened He wished to descend by making a noose The rope broke and his[2] days came to an end

[1] See supra III 264 He was appointed in 987

[2] See Darbarī Akbarī p 702 and Badayunī Lowe 286 and 322 Badayūnī says he died in 994 (1586)

CHAPTER LXXII

The sending of M. Khān to quell the Disturbances in Gujarāt

Who can reckon up the marvels produced by Existence, and who can understand them? The family[1] of contingent beings cannot comprehend them How then can the children of men do so? But the sage can to some extent trace out the matter It may be that the strong gale of sedition and the stirring up of the dust of dissension, even in spite of the truth seeking, and righteousness of the Ruler of the age, have happened in order that the wondrous working of the world's lord's fortune may be impressed on mankind, and that the misery of the disobedient may be made conspicuous Or it may be in order that the veil may be withdrawn from the actions of those wicked persons who, from the wide tolerance of H M and their own deceit, have taken their place among the good and auspicious, and in order that the lamp of perception might be kindled for the infliction of retribution upon them Or it may be in order that the goodness of those who remain under the veil of obscurity and do not sell their service may be inscribed on the portico of manifestation! For such farseeing designs as these the pleasant land of Gujarat became stained with the dust of uproar The turmoil of the evil thoughted took possession of the world Though the main cause of the sedition was the wickedness of the servants of Shihābu d dīn Ahmad K and of Quṭbu d dīn K, yet the neglect and unskilfulness of those two great Amirs led to their ingratitude *They continually behaved with slackness towards the foolish praters* The garden of loyalty became full of dust, and from negligence they did not bestir themselves to gather together the single-minded, nor did they use intelligence in searching for good men When the government of that country fell again into the hands of 'I'timād K, those who were slaves[2] of gold separated and withdrew from going to

[1] Meaning the angels and other created beings

[2] Meaning the subordinates of Shihāb and Quṭbu d dīn

court, and from the business of the branding The self will, and carelessness of 'I'timād K. and the delay in the arrival of assistance increased the evils The strifemongers on 23 Shahriyur (about 4th September, 1583) raised up Mozaffar and prevailed against Ahmadabad The ancestors of that low fellow were not known to any one Men called him Nannu[1] In former times 'I timad K gave him that name and acknowledged him as the son of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati He was captured during the first expedition to Gujarat,
10 and for some time was a prisoner in the hands of Karm 'Ali,[2] the *daroghah* of the perfumery department Afterwards he was sent to Mun'im K Khan Khanan When the latter died, he came back to court and Khwājah Shah Manṣur the diwan looked after him In the 23rd year he escaped, through negligence and went off to his home (bangah) and took refuge with the owner of Rajpiplah[3] Quṭṭbu-d din K led an army against him and he went off to Junagarh and took refuge with the Lonikāthis[4] The officers did not regard him or bring him into notice At this time, he, by the help of the servants of Shihabu-d din Ahmad K, emerged from this corner, and became a trouble From the time that 'I'timad K. had gone from court, and an order had been issued, summoning Shihābu d din

[1] B 325 calls him Nathu Cf J II 267 It seems probable that he really was the son of Sultan Mahmud and at all events he fought like a man of a good stock Bayazīd Biyāt tells us that Mozaffar had been in his charge at Cunār and that by Mun'im's orders he sent him to Gaur where he arrived on the very night that Mūn'im died i e 23rd October, 1575 More probably he was taken to Tanda as it was there that Mun'im died

[2] The M Aḥmadī lith ed., 149 calls him the son of Mihtar Ramzan Perhaps he was made his custodian because he was one of those who went to look for him when he was first caught B 519

[3] Text Balīlī but the variant Rājpīplah is right See J II 251 Danvers in his history of the Portuguese in India says that Sultan Amodifar i e Mozaffar managed to escape by the aid of some women II 53

[4] Perhaps Lonikathī is here used as the name of a chief as at A N III, 421 For the Kathis see J II 248 Possibly the name refers to their living near the sea and making salt The M Sikandarī 373 say Mozaffar first went to Tarwarī the ruler of Rajpīplah and then went to the Lonakāthis in the village of Kheri See also M Aḥmadī p 147 which calls the village Gadrī The Rauẓāt Tāhirīn says that Mozaffar took refuge near the seashore with the Kathis who are robbers

Ahmad K, the servants of the latter had indulged in evil thoughts On the 10th he left Ahmadabad to proceed to court, and next day I'timād K arrived in the city and sat on the masnad of authority Mir Ābid, Khalīl Beg, Mir Yusuf Beg, Miram Beg, and some Badakhshis and Turānis became actively disloyal and went off to Dulqa

They had been plotting to kill their master (Shihāb) before the new governor (I'timād) had arrived One who was faithful[1] to his salt revealed the secret, and by an unfitting clemency the conspiracy was overlooked (lit the rubbish was covered—khasposh) Now they renewed their evil design, and set out to join Nannū 'Umr Haji[2] was the kindler of the disturbance, and was the leader of the wretches. This wicked man had for some time been diwan[3] of the Sadr at Court, and had been equal to Sharfu d-din in evil conceptions He acquired some consideration in Gujarat, and when that country was conquered he went to the Deccan When Shihābu-d-din[4] Ahmad K became governor of the province of Gujarat, he on the strength of former acquaintance joined him The whole talk of the mercenary men was, "To-day our jagirs[5] have gone Until we reach the capital, and expenses for the meantime be supplied and the business of the branding be settled, it will be difficult to get a mouthful of bread It is far better that we take the turbulent Nannu by the hand, and that we stir up strife" Though well wishers and experienced persons represented (to I'timād) that Shihābu-d din Ahmad had withdrawn from conciliatory measures and was going to court and that the officers of the auxiliary force had not yet arrived, and that it was proper to restrain him from this journey and to give back the jagirs to him for some days, or to spend some money and quiet the uproar of those dog-fleas, or—before

[1] Lit recognition of his salt made one reveal the secret The Iqbāl nama says his name was Jahāngir

[2] The I O MS and apparently the variant have 'Umr Ḥājī Sipāh The Iqbālnāma makes Mir 'Ābid the ring leader

[3] Diwān i ṣadārat The Sadr s Diwān?

[4] The Iqbālnama says that Shihāb s servants were refractory men who had been in the service of the Mirzās and who had only been kept in order by Shihāb's personal influence

[5] Perhaps the meaning is that their master's jagirs had gone

the rebels had matured their preparations—to dispose by activit and alertness of this handful of traitors" none of the suggestion was accepted 'I'timad K replied "The servants of Shihabu u din K have started the disaffection, he can put it down, or will hav to answer for it" In a little time the number of the rebels in creased, and there were loud reports that Nannu was approaching
411 Of necessity the first opinion was accepted, but as he (Shihab) hac gone some way, he refused I timad K thought that he would gc in person, and so shorten the time for delivering messages, and tha he would by every possible means bring him back Though acute persons said that to leave the city during this commotion was tc make an easy matter difficult, their advice was not approved He went off at night with Mir Abu Turab and Nizāmu d din Ahmad They lost their road and only reached Kari [1] at dawn where they joined Shihabu d din Ahmad K After much talk he agreed to return His wishes were complied with His fiefs were restored to him freed [2] from burdens, and two lacs of rupees were given him as a loan [3] After that most of the day was spent in ratifying the agree ments and in pledging oaths (i e taking oaths of fidelity from the officers and soldiers) Then Shihābu d dīn Ahmad K set off with his household At the end of the night Zainu d din Kambu and Mir M'asum Bhakari met them, eight kos from Ahmadabad, and represented that Nannu had joined the rebels and that he had meditated an attack on Cambay but that on learning that the city (Ahmadabad) was undefended he had hastened there, and had pre vailed [4] over the city Pahlwān [5] 'Ali Sistāni, the city kotwal, had lost his life, and the property and honour of the inhabitants were being plundered At first there was sorrow and bewilderment, and

---

[1] Gadhī in text but Kari in I O MSS and in Elliot and J II 253 Karī is a pargana in Gujarat Bayley's Gujarat p 11 and is I presume the Kuree of his map and N W Ahmadabad and on the road to Deesa If it was 20 kos from Ahmadabad Elliot V 430 I timad could not have lost his way very much if he got there by dawn

[2] Perhaps it merely means that they were given back to him

[3] Masā dat B 265

[4] The Mirāt S ka da ī 374 says Mozaffar took the city on Wednesday 27 Sha bān 4th September 1583

[5] He had been recently appointed Elliot V 430

then they of necessity set themselves to remedy matters After talk ing, they resolved on giving battle On the morning of the 24th[1] they halted at 'Usmānpur on the banks of the Sabarmatī, and slumbered in the sleep of negligence Though persons of foresight represented that the rebels were scattered throughout the great city, and occupied in plundering and that they should draw up their forces and attack them and so quell the disturbance, the officers adopted the easiest course, and did not set themselves to do this They thought that the old servants of the governor would join on receiv ing his conciliatory letters, and that the activity of the rebellion would cease With this idea I'timād K and Mīr Abū Turāb went off from the camp to the houses of acquaintances, while Shihābu d dīn Ahmad K occupied himself in writing soothing letters The rebels collected and prepared for battle Shihābu d dīn Ahmad K awoke somewhat from his slumbers and applied himself to arranging his forces While he was doing so, Mustafa Shirwānī came forward with some wicked wretches Hājī Beg Ūzbeg Payında Muhammad Sagkash, Sālih Qunduzī, Khizr Khwaja,[2] and a body of known men to the number of about 500 took the road of faithlessness The engagement had not taken place when a large number of men forded the river below 'Usmanpur and fell upon the camp Many took shelter with the enemy and some remained with their families,
and out of an army of more than 7,000 horse, only a few relatives 41
remained around him (Shihāb) During this confusion one of the servants[3] struck him on his right shoulder with a sword, and his horse was thrown down by a gunshot He fell to the ground, but some faithful servants raised him up, and gave him a mount They took him rapidly away from that place of confusion, and, on account of their being busied in plundering, no one pursued him On the 25th Shihābud-dīn Ahmad K, I'timād K, Nizāmu d dīn Ahmad, and some others to the number of about 300, assembled in Pattan

[1] 24 Shahriyar = 5th September 1583

[2] Is it possible that this is Gul badan Begam s husband? I think it is See *infra* p 437, where his younger brother is mentioned Khizr's becoming a rebel may ac count for Abul Fazl not mentioning him in the Aīn as a commander

[3] The Mirat Ahmadī p 155 gives his name as Abdu r Rahman Majhūlī and says he came from behind and struck Sh hāb but that the wound was not ser ous

Moẓaffar K having got his heart's desire in Ahmadābād took a great name to himself, and became presumptuous and infatuated He assumed the royal power, and bestowed on the wicked wretches the titles of the Shāhinshāh's officers 'Ā'bid Badakhshi was made Khān-Khānān, Khalil Beg, Khān Zamān Mirak Yilāq,[1] Atgah K Mirak Beg, Badakhshi, Khān 'Ālam, Qurban Ali Bihāri,[2] Khān Kalān, Shāh Mirzā Naurang K, Nauroz, Qarāca K, Muhammad Amin Badakhshi Maqṣūd K, Payinda Muhammad Sagkash[3] Khān Jahān, Mir 'Abdullah, 'Āṣaf K, and Mir Bakhshi Salih Badakhshi Moẓaffar K, and diwān, Abu l wafā became Afẓal K and mushrif diwān, Shātir Muhammad N'aamat K and Mir Sāmān He did not know that unless God's favour be bestowed, and there be choice qualities, the night lamp of greatness does not shine

Verse

It needs a sun to burn up the stars
Night becomes not day by thy lamp

To assign to small men the titles of great men is to throw oneself along with the former into the abyss of disgrace Accordingly every one of these soon became the dust of dishonour and failure They showed levity in talk about officers and pay and in the wish for fiefs they cast away their honour Payinda Muhammad Sag kash and Tahmak[4] lay in wait for one another, and their hostility led to bloodshed Tahmak forged a letter from him (Payanda) to Shihābu d din Ahmad K and accomplished his object by corrupting his sealer Moẓaffar without looking into the matter closely, and acting without consideration, consigned him (Payanda) to annihilation By the cajolery of fate the work of friends was accomplished

[1] طلاق in text but the variant يلاق is the reading of I O MSS

[2] Bibaragi بهاراكي in MSS

[3] Dog killer presumably it is the name of a Moghul tribe sagkashi means a killing for which there is no punishment Payinda has been mentioned already pp 21 and 22

[4] Variant Tamak The Mirat of Aḥmadi has Samuk سمک and so have the I O MSS Apparently Samak is the same person as Hāji Umr for Samak is described as a ringleader and the Rauzāt Ṭahiri calls him Ḥāji Samak Perhaps the sipah or siyah of variant of text 410 l 12, is a mistake for سمک

by enemies At this same time, Sher K Fuladi arrived from Sorath[1] As Mozaffar was solicitous about Qutbu din K, and was continually tampering with his fly like servants, he left 'Ābid at Ahmadabad and went off to that quarter himself, and sent Sher K Fulādi and some rascals to Pattan At the same time Saiyid Daulat[2] who was one of the choice servants in the eastern part of Gujarat, did not wait to see Mozaffar, but went off with some vagabonds to Cambay, and proceeded to plunder it Khwaja 'Imādu d 41:
din[3] Husain carried off 14 lakhs of rupees from that port, and by his activity conveyed them to the fort at Broach to Qutbu d dīn K Nearly 40 lakhs of dams fell into the hands of Saiyid Daulat He sent a portion of this to that futile one (Mozaffar) and joined, and became a ringleader[4]

When these events came to the royal hearing, H M whose mind is a mirror showing the future, remarked that the disturbance would soon be quelled, and that the rebels would meet with their deserts He addressed himself to the composing of the distractions of the country, the soothing of the proprietors, and the punishment of the rebels, and sent a chosen army to that province On 9 Mihr Saiyid Qasim, Saiyid Hashim, Shiroya K, Rai Durgā, Rai Lon Karan, Medni Rai, Miyan Bahādur, Darvesh K Rafi' Sarmadi, S Kabir,[5] Nasib Turkaman and many other strenuous men were sent off under the command of M Khan, the son of Bairam K, in order that they might go by a straight road to Gujarāt, and address themselves to the punishment of the evildoers[6] Qulij K and

[1] Wrongly Surat in text

[2] The Mirat Sikandari and Mirat Ahmadi call him a servant of Kalyān Rawad of Cambay Presumably this is the Kalyan Rai Baqqāl of Badayūnī Lowe 249

[3] The father of Tahir author of the Rauzāt Tāhirīn Elliot VI 195

[4] The text from following the Lucknow edition has سه کروه آمد He came three kos, which makes nonsense The reading of the I O MSS is سرگروه آمد he became a ringleader The Mirāt Sikandari says Mozaffar rewarded him by giving him the title of Rustam K

[5] The Iqbalnāma adds, Who is now by the Shahinshah s favour styled Shuja at K B 519 says he got the title from Prince Selim He was of the Cisti family and distinguished himself under Jahāngīr

[6] At the end of the account of M Khān's deputation the Iqbālnāma has the statement that Muhibb 'Alī the son of the Mir Khalifa, died at this time (991) It says that Akbar excused him from more active servi e

Naurang K were sent off to Mālwa that they might obtain the offices of that province, and then join the victorious army An order was issued to Quṭbu d din K to the effect that although from calculation it appeared that he was sufficient for putting down the dust of dissension, yet out of caution a large army had been nominated If by heaven's decree the spark (of rebellion) could not be extinguished, help would come from the auspicious combatants

One of the occurrences was the death of Jagmāl[1] and Rai Singh The former was the brother of Rānā Pratāp, the latter the grandchild of Maldeo When the first by the guidance of fortune brightened his forehead by doing homage, and was exalted by princely favours, Sirohi and its territory were made over to him in fief Sultān Deorah was powerful in that country An order was given to 'I'timad K that when he came to that neighbourhood, he should take vigorous measures, and should make over the country to Jagmāl, and if it was necessary, should leave some experienced fighting men to help him When he came there, he carried out the orders, and Jagmal entered Sirohi The presumptuous one (S Deorah) retired to the ravines Rai Singh, Beca Deorah and men of Jālor were left to help Jagmāl When the victorious troops marched to Gujarāt, that wayward one renewed his turbulence, and Beca and many Jālorians came to the rescue The wicked man came upon their quarters by secret paths Those two men (Jagmāl and Rai Singh) awoke out of the sleep of neglect and preserved their honour by bravely sacrificing their lives

14 On the 25th (Mihr)[2] the feast of Shawwal was celebrated and the Shahinshāh gave a feast Magical minstrels administered the medicine of wisdom by the adit of the ear, and various artists did wonderful things The archery of the strikers of the *qabaq* excited

---

on account of his age, and made him governor of Delhi which appointment he held for a long while and until his death B, following Nizāmu d din, puts Muḥibb 'Ali's death into 989 The Muḥibb Alī who is mentioned later as co-operating with Shahbāz K is Muḥibb 'Alī Rohtāsī

[1] Elliot V 430 where Jagmāl is wrongly described as Sultan (or Saltān) Deora's brother Nizāmu d din joined 'I timād at Jālor and brought with him 1000 *mohars* for Jagmāl's expenses Rāi Singh was the son of Candar Sen son of Maldeo

[2] The Id al fitr, celebrated on 1 Shawwal and which occurred this year (991) on 8th October, 1583

astonishment, and there was a display of the game of *caugan* Crowds of men obtained their wishes Suddenly in the midst of the game Rajah Birbar fell from his horse and became insensible The world's lord cast the shadow of his kindness over him, and relieved him by his holy breathings In a short time he returned to his senses, and uttered thanksgivings

One of the occurrences was the death of Mir Gesu Khurāsāni He traced his lineage to the Saiyids (of Khurasān) For a time he held the office of Bakāwal Beg (steward of the kitchen), and then for a time he was governor of Bhakar At this time he was Faujdār of Mirtha and some of the interamnal parganas (between the Ganges and the Jamna) Owing to ignorance of business he was continually having altercations with the base soldiers The master from cupidity is intent on depriving evil soldiers of part of their pay and the wicked and ungrateful are intent upon getting more than their share From a bad disposition, he did not expel avarice from his heart [1] and did not treat them with frankness At last on the eve of the 24th (Mihr), which was pregnant with the 'Id of Shawal (8th October 1583), he in the town of Mirtha spoke to them in a shameless way and after reproaches turned some of his servants out of his house At dawn he went to the 'Idgāh in a drunken state Musā Bahlim (?) one of the set came forward in a humble manner, and Mir Gesu owing to his intoxicated state put him in prison At this time Ibrāhim of Nārnaul came in with some evil disposed persons and M Gesū lost forbearance and abused him The unfaithful servant replied with his sword Some double faced ones removed him under pretence of making a reconciliation, and some base ones turned their attention to releasing Mūsa On perceiving this he went to their quarters and set fire to them The mutineers turned out to fight and M Gesu's companions showed cowardice, and the Mir was killed Out of wickedness they reduced his body to ashes When this became known active measures were taken to seize the evildoers Many were punished, and some absconded Justice revealed her countenance

---

[1] ازآرزدل برمیکرت The text has az āz instead of az az For Mir Gesū's biography see the Maasir III 349 See also Elliot I 241 for an account of his proceedings in Sind There is an account of his son Jalalu-din Masa'ūd's death in Tuzuk J 67, pp 141-42 of translation

CHAPTER LXXIII

March of the Royal Standards to Ilahābād (Allahabad)

In every work the Shahinshāh brings various distinctions into action, and whether in repose or in marching displays great ideas He weighs profit and loss in the balance of foresight For a long time his desire was to found a great city in the town of Piyāg[1] where the rivers Ganges and Jamna join, and which is regarded by the people of India with much reverence, and which is a place of pilgrimage for the ascetics of that country, and to build a choice fort there His idea was to establish himself there for a time and to reduce to obedience the recalcitrant ones of that country, and to introduce peace down to the ocean He thought that when he had laid the foundation of this city of fortune, he would go by boat to the eastern districts and root out the thorns of rebellion from that country Should peace be produced there by the reverberation of the august expedition, he would proceed to the Deccan and take possession of that country which was longing for a just ruler Should the wide country of India be civilized by means of obedient vassals he would proceed to Turan, and he would put to rights M Hakim who, on account of the companionship of flatterers and shortsighted persons, did not sit at the board of good service, and who indulged

[1] Cf J II 158 The translator has inserted an *r* spelling the word as Priyag and this is in accordance with the Sanskrit but in the Ain text the spelling is given and there is no *r* It is stated in the I G (old edition) that Allahabad was founded in 1575, and there is a similar statement in the Darbarī Akbarī (though probably 981 is a slip for 991) but it appears from this chapter that the city and fort were not founded till 2nd Āẕar 991 i e about the middle of November 1583 There is a good account of Allahabad in the Hadiqa-al iqalim p 663 of lith ed and there it is said that Akbar called the place Ilahabad and that Shah Jahān changed the name to Allahabad (The name given in the T A and the Iqbalnama is Ilahabad or Ilahabash) The author of the Hadīqa says he saw a paper of Akbar's time which gave the cost of the building of the fort etc, and the amount stated was two krors and some lakhs

in foolish replies He would also guide aright M Sulaimān and Shahrukh M who were stirring up strife with one another in Badakhshān, and would get possession of the land of his ancestors In this way the various classes of mankind would experience the joys of concord

With these far reaching thoughts he on 5 Ābān (about the middle of October) set out from Fathpur As his intention was to proceed to the eastern provinces, he in accordance [1] with the rules of the experienced men of India went off on a lofty elephant and travelled 3½ kos (a day)

On the 12th, near the village of Barauli, the river houses (the boats) were glorified by his advent Some of the special courtiers had the bliss of attending him, while the main camp went by land There were more than 300 boats for the passengers and the baggage On the 17th they cast anchor opposite the town of Etawah Zain Khān Koka had a delightful residence and garden there, and begged for the royal visit H M granted his request, and stayed there a while On the 22nd he came near Kalpi Muttalib K, the tiyuldar (fief holder) of that place, arranged a splendid feast on the bank of the Jamna and got high honour by H M s presence Next day he arrived near Akbarpur at the residence of Rajah Bir Bar By going to his house he gratified a long standing wish of his (Bir Bar's) Then he went on, hunting and dispensing justice, stage by stage Mankind rejoiced On the 1st Āzar he reached the wished-for spot, and next day in an auspicious hour he laid the foundation of the city, and planned [2] out four forts In each he arranged for lordly residences The beginning (of the city) was the place where the rivers joined In the first (fort) he fixed that there were to be twelve buildings [3] In every one there were delightful apartments There

[1] There is no word for daily but I think *darnawardidand* must mean that the journey was continuous and that Akbar marched 3½ *kos* daily till he came to Baraulī and the boats The T A and Badayūnī describe him as starting by boat from Agra but apparently he joined the boats lower down on the Jumna

[2] *Birang* in text, but the I O MSS have *sarang* *Birang* seems right for *birangzadan* means ' to sketch out

[3] I O 236 has *sarābustan* instead of the *manzil* of text, and the Darbarī Akbarī p 123, says there were twelve gardens

was a garden which was the special private chamber of the Shāhinshāh In the second there was a place for the Begams and the Princes In the third there were to be residences for the distant rela
6 tives and for the personal attendants The fourth was for the soldiers and subjects The engineers produced master-pieces, and in a short *time the first (fort) was admirably completed Every one* had a place suitable to his rank In a short time a great city was established

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the litter of Miriam makāni She had been unable, for various reasons, to come at the beginning At this time she set out on the camel of joy, and afterwards proceeded by water along with many Begams and other ladies H M paid his respects in a new manner An assemblage of joy was arranged, and the rose garden of the Caliphate was refreshed by recognition of dignities

CHAPTER LXXIV

VICTORY OF SHAHBĀZ K AND THE VAGABONDAGE OF M'ĀSŪM K KABULI

It has been mentioned that after the defeat of the rebels, a body of the victorious troops proceeded towards Orissa and had halted on the bank of the Damodar, and that some great men had gone to Ghorāghāt and been the means of delivering the Qāqshals When some time had elapsed, M'aṣum K had come from the country of Bhāti with many strife mongers and proceeded to make war on M Beg Qāqshāl The latter had gone to Tajpur[1] and taken protection with Tarson K[2] He (Masum) had the effrontery to send some men to ravage that country Tarsun K shut himself up in a fort, and the rebels plundered to within seven *kos* of Tānda There was a great commotion When Shahbāz K heard of this, he made wisdom the precursor of courage, and set about punishing the rebels He sent off some men in swift boats in order to turn him back, and he himself marched out with troops from Patna, and proceeded by land He soon arrived at the scene of disturbance, and produced tranquillity The presumptuous retreated M'aṣum, who had arrived near the Jamna,[3] remained where he was He (Shahbaz) wrote from Tānda to the officers who were connected with Orissa to the effect that "Qutlu had not the strength to engage in battle with the imperialists, and it was better that some should come to this quarter" Accordingly, Wazir K, S Ibrāhim, S Farid Bakhshi, Saiyid 'Abdullah K, Pahār K Mirzāda 'Ali K, Bābui Mankali, Hasan K, Shāh Qāsim Badakhshi, Haidar Dost, Mir Abu l-ghais, S Muhammad Ghaznavi,

[1] B 342 says Tajpūr is in Dinajpūr

[2] B 342 There was a Sarkār Tājpūr in Bengal, I II, 135 Cf Beames, J A.S B for 1896 p 109 He states that there is no town of Tājpūr now

[3] The Jamna seems to preserve its name after the junction with the Ganges at Allahabad Cf A N II 255, 1 5 and my note 15 Cf Jarrett, II 120 who quotes Wilford as saying that the waters of the three rivers do not mix

Jalālu d dīn Ma'saud, Kamālu d dīn, Husain Sistānī, Kicak Khwāja Sikandar Cakmi, Abā Bikr, and others took upon themselves the task of putting down Qutlu, while Shāh Quli K Mahram, Sādiq K, Muhibb Alī K, Rajah Gopal,[1] Khangar,[2] the sons[3] of Saiyid Muhammad Mīr Ādil and others proceeded to help Shahbāz K Shahbāz K crossed the Ganges and proceeded rapidly to chastise the rebels By the Divine aid 3 000 artillerymen[4] from among the servants of Shāh Bardi, who had died about this time came from *Bhāti* and entered into service, and brought the news of victory Afterwards Tarsun K and M Beg Qaqshai joined At this time the news came that an army of ill-fated ones had proceeded under the command of Bābāi Bhakari towards the town of Santos,[5] and that the servants of Tarsun K had fled Shāhbāz K set himself to remedy matters and sent off Muhibb 'Ali K Qāsim K Taimur Badakhshi and Selim K, and afterwards sent on himself The enemy fled on hearing the noise of the advance force, and much booty fell into the hands of the soldiers From there they marched 18 *kos* through a difficult country in order to do battle with Ma'sūm K and halted on the bank of the Jamna M' sum took refuge on the other side but prepared for battle Shahbāz sent a letter to advise and guided him towards obedience He recounted to him the worthy qualities of the Shahinshah and abused him for his falling away He gave him many salutary counsels and mingled threats and encouragements During those twenty four hours messages were sent three times, and choice replies expressive of contrition were received Next day[6] the officers (of Akbar) arranged an assemblage and he

[1] B 50? and 532 The Iqbalnama adds the word Jadon which completes the dentification

[2] Perhaps Kangar the nephew of Bibāri Mal B 436

[3] The Iqbālnāma gives their names Mīr Abu l maalī and Mīr Abu Qāsim

[4] Probably these were Portuguese but the numbers seem large

[5] The I O MSS have Santosh It was in Bārbakābād Sarkar and is mentioned in the Ain under the corrupt form of Sīkh Shahr It lies in South Dīnajpūr See Mr Beames interesting note about Santosh or Mahī Santosh in R A S J for 1896 116 It was o the Atrāī Santosh is mentioned in the T Nāşirī Raverty 576 and n 4

[6] The passage about Shahbāz s operations is translated in Elliot VI 71 72, but it is difficult and the translator has evaded one thorny place by not translating the part about the negotiations I am not sure of the

(M'aṣum) crossed two thirds (*dobakhsh*) of the river and arrived within a javelin cast of the shore He accepted the proposition to render loyal service, and a treaty was drawn up and sealed by the heads of the army It was settled that on the following day he would make his apologies for the past and that there would be a feast of unity Some persons who were lovers of strife increased his fears by secret letters, and rehearsed to him the downfall[1] of M'aṣūm K Farankhūdi As his fortune was somnolent he could not distinguish between counsel and fraud He wrote, describing the circumstances,[2] and made excuses Shahbāz K got indignant, and behaved improperly to friends and to strangers A mist of discord arose and occasioned arrogance among the rebels The warriors who sought for battle crossed the river amid a shower of bullets and arrows, and engaged in fight There was a hot engagement By the marvels of daily increasing fortune the rebels took to flight on 4th Āzar (about 15th November 1583) and the sound of victory spread far and near During the crisis the royal fleet did not arrive but Narain, the landholder (*bumi*), and Murad Qāqshal brought up their own boats and rendered assistance Muhibb 'Ali K and Selim K Sirmur[3] and some other brave men went rapidly in pursuit of M'aṣum M Muhammad Dastam and some ill fated ones turned round and fought On hearing of this, Shahbāz K hastened

---

meaning but I think that *do bakhsh* must here refer to the two-thirds of the river, and not to two channels as seems to be the case a. Ain text I 388 last three lines—J II 120 I think too that the officers *umarā* must be Shahbāz and his officers and that it was M'aṣum who crossed over two-thirds of the river and came with in bow shot or javelin cast The word is *gazāndazī* Cf the use of gazāndāz at A N III 137, three lines from foot

[1] It is not surprising that the fate of M aṣūm Farankhūdī should have frightened him The text has a curious omission here The I O MSS etc have the words *dāstan qurugcī* after *bim af ūdand qurugcī* is a Turkish word and means a sentinel over the women s apartments Perhaps the phrase is—travellers tales the idle tales told by sentinels The Lucknow ed says that *qurugcı* means a fool and so *dāstan qurugcī* would mean foolish tales

[2] I am not sure of the meaning but I suppose M āṣūm wrote to Shahbaz, and referred to the assassination of M aṣūm Farankhudī and to the warnings he had received

[3] B 436 also called Selīm K Kākar

Jalālu-d dīn Ma'saud, Kamalu d dīn, Husain Sīstānī, Kicak Khwāja Sikandar Cakni, Abā Bikr, and others took upon themselves the task of putting down Qutlu, while Shāh Quli K Mahram, Sadiq K, Muhibb Ali K, Rajah Gopal,[1] Khangar,[2] the sons[3] of Saiyid Muham mad Mir Ādil and others proceeded to help Shahbāz K Shahbāz K
7 crossed the Ganges and proceeded rapidly to chastise the rebels By the Divine aid 3 000 artillerymen[4] from among the servants of Shāh Bardi, who had died about this time came from Bhāti and entered into service, and brought the news of victory Afterwards Tarsun K and M Beg Qaqshai joined At this time the news came that an army of ill fated ones had proceeded under the command of Bābāi Bhakari towards the town of Santos,[5] and that the servants of Tarsun K had fled Shāhbāz K set himself to remedy matters and sent off Muhibb 'Ali K Qāsim K Taimur Badakhshi and Selim K, and afterwards sent on himself The enemy fled on hearing the noise of the advance force, and much booty fell into the hands of the soldiers From there they marched 18 *kos* through a difficult country in order to do battle with M'asum K and halted on the bank of the Jamna M'sum took refuge on the other side but prepared for battle Shahbāz sent a letter to advise and guided him towards obedience He recounted to him the worthy qualities of the Shahinshah and abused him for his falling away He gave him many salutary counsels and mingled threats and encouragements During those twenty four hours messages were sent three times, and choice replies expressive of contrition were received Next day[6] the officers (of Akbar) arranged an assemblage and he

[1] B 502 and 532 The Iqbalnama adds the word Jādon which completes the dentification

[2] Perhaps Kangar the nephew of Bihāri Mal B 436

[3] The Iqbalnāma gives their names Mīr Abu l maalī and Mīr Abu Qāsim

[4] Probably these were Portuguese, but the numbers seem large

[5] The I O MSS have Santosh It was in Bārbakābād Sarkār and is mentioned in the Ain under the corrupt form of Sīkh Shahr It lies in South Dīnajpur See Mr Beames interesting note about Santosh or Mahī Santosh in R A S J for 1896 116 It was on the Atraī Santosh is mentioned in the T Nāṣirī Raverty 576 and n 4

[6] The passage about Shahbāz's operations is translated in Elliot VI 71 72, but it is difficult and the translator has evaded one thorny place by not translating the part about the negotiations I am not sure of the

(M'asum) crossed two thirds (*dobakhsh*) of the river and arrived within a javelin cast of the shore He accepted the proposition to render loyal service, and a treaty was drawn up and sealed by the heads of the army It was settled that on the following day he would make his apologies for the past and that there would be a feast of unity Some persons who were lovers of strife increased his fears by secret letters, and rehearsed to him the downfall[1] of M'asūm K Farankhudi As his fortune was somnolent he could not distinguish between counsel and fraud. He wrote, describing the circumstances,[2] and made excuses Shahbāz K got indignant, and behaved improperly to friends and to strangers A mist of discord arose and occasioned arrogance among the rebels The warriors who sought for battle crossed the river amid a shower of bullets and arrows, and engaged in fight There was a hot engagement By the marvels of daily increasing fortune the rebels took to flight on 4th Āzar (about 15th November, 1583) and the sound of victory spread far and near During the crisis the royal fleet did not arrive but Narain, the landholder (*bumī*), and Murad Qāqshal, brought up their own boats and rendered assistance Muhibb 'Ali K and Selim K Sirmur[3] and some other brave men went rapidly in pursuit of M'asum M Muhammad Dastam and some ill fated ones turned round and fought On hearing of this, Shahbāz K hastened

meaning but I think that *do bakhsh* must here refer to the two-thirds of the river, and not to two channels as seems to be the case at Ain text I 388 last three lines—J II 120 I think too that the officers *umarā* must be Shahbāz and his officers and that it was M'asūm who crossed over two-thirds of the river and came within bow-shot or javelin cast The word is *gazāndasī* Cf the use of gazāndāz at A N III 137, three lines from foot

[1] It is not surprising that the fate of M asūm Farankhūdī should have frightened him The text has a curious omission here The I O MSS etc have the words *dāstān quruqcī* after *bim afzūdand*, *quruqcī* is a Turkish word and means a sentinel over the women s apartments Perhaps the phrase is—travellers tales the idle tales told by sentinels The Lucknow ed says that *quruqci* means a fool, and so *dāstān quruqcī* would mean foolish tales

[2] I am not sure of the meaning but I suppose M aṣum wrote to Shahbāz, and referred to the assassination of M āṣum Farānkhudī and to the warnings he had received

[3] B 436 also called Selim K Kākar

to the spot and arrived just when the first detachment was in difficulties A great engagement took place, and many rebels fell headlong into the pit of annihilation Qara[1] Naqdi was taken prisoner, and the rebels were properly defeated, and went off with blistered feet to the desert of failure They escaped owing to the darkness of the night The elephant Har Pershād and many others were captured M Beg Qāqshal, Sangram and Dalpat did good service Next morning the victorious army crossed streams and miry places and arrived near Ghorāghat A portion of that city was plundered M'aṣum K took refuge in Bhāti with some followers Jabbāri and some followers went to the country of Koc (Cooch Behar) Every one of the crew went to some corner or other Shahbaz hastened to Sherpur,[3] which was the home of many of them Next day he arrived there and some of their families were captured, and much booty was obtained Nearly 150 noted men were made prisoners The news was brought to Ilahabad, and many thanksgivings were paid and there was a fresh daily market for service (i e service was rewarded)

One of the occurrences was that Sadiq K separated himself (from Shahbaz) On the first day that the officers joined an elephant of Ṣādiq K ran, on the march, at Shahbāz K and nearly killed him Though he was not hurt in his body, yet vexation abode in his heart, and from that day there was an interruption of friendship, and a display of hostility He behaved himself improperly He changed from the favour he had shown (to Ṣadiq) and became highly displeased with him When Shāhbaz was going to Bhati, Sadiq separated himself in order to pay his respects to the holy threshold

---

[1] Or Qarā Baghdī The translator in Elliot has read the name as Farankhudī and so has represented that Maṣum Farankhudi was made prisoner whereas he had been assassinated at Fatḥpūr a year before this

[2] Bari Ghorāghāt on the Karatoya in South East Dinājpur Beames in R A S J for 1896 p 126 Tiefenthaler I 448 mentions Ghora ghat as the residence of a military commander and as a populous and well kept town He says it is 25 kos from Rajganj

[3] The I O MSS add Murca, which enables us to identify this Sherpur as that in Bograh B J A S B for 1873 p 221, and I G XXII 273 It is not the Maimansing Sherpūr

One of the occurrences was the defeat of Sher K Fulādi When the delightful country of Gujarāt became filled with the dust of dissension, as has been related, Shihābu d din K 'Itimād K Nizamu d din Ahmad Bakhshi and some other officers assembled in Pattan They were nearly going to Jālor, and retiring from the country altogether At this juncture, Muhammad Husain, S Abu l qāsim, Mir Abu l mozaffar Bunyād Beg, Firuz, Mir Muhibb Ullah Mir Sharafu d din Beg Muhammad Toqbāi, Bulind K Khwājaserā Saiyid Abu Isahaq and others to the number of 1500 auxiliaries arrived And 1000 men left the enemy and joined Shihābu d din Ahmad K, and 700 horse joined I'timād K But the newly arrived slaves of money were empty handed and made complaints They opened the booths of wish and spoke foolishly I'timād K, who had gained experience from previous events, gave them money, and made them zealous for service so that the thoughts of going away left their minds Meanwhile Rawaliya Khās Khel (belonging to the clan of) of Sher K (Fulādi ?) stirred up strife in the town of Jutāna Beg Muhammad Toqbāi, who was in the neighbourhood, mingled skill with valour, and by the might of daily increasing fortune obtained a victory On hearing of this Sher K sent 419 Husain his son in law with a large force Beg Muhammad did not see it proper to fight, and retreated The imperial servants appointed S Muhammad Husain Khwāja Nizāmu-d din Ahmad, Mir Abu l mozaffar, Saiyid Muhibb Ullah and some other experienced soldiers to assist him The foe gave way, and Beg Muhammad followed them up, and a hot engagement took place After the manner of Rajputs he got off his horse, and fought in a determined manner He was nearly slain when Khwaja Nizāmu d dīn Ahmad arrived with some brave men, and the enemy was disconcerted Daily increasing fortune displayed her face, and the imperial servants decked out the assemblage of joy Then Sher K turned his face to do battle accompanied by many scoundrels The army expressed its wishes and complained of being empty handed I'timad K was obliged to do something to relieve them He and Shihābu d din Ahmad K stayed to look after their households (*bangah dari*), and the rest of the men went off to fight under the command of Sher K, the son of I'timād In the centre were Sher K, Rādhan K, Pahar K, and others Muhammad Husain

Shaikh, Mīr Sālih, and others were in the right wing, Khwāja Abū-l qāsim dīwān, Bunyād Beg, M K Nishapurī, Saiyid Abu Isahaq, and Hājī Sambal were in the left wing Mīr Abū-l mozaffar, Beg Muhammad Toqbāi, Mīr Muhibb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d dīn Fīruz, Sūr Dās, and Saiyid Mustafā were in the vanguard Khwāja Nizamu-d dīn Ahmad, Mīr M'asumbhakkarī, and Atal Ghakkar were in the reserve On 27 Ābān the battle took place near Miyāna 18 *kos*[1] from Pattan The left wing of the imperialists was shaken, but Husain K the leader of the enemy's right wing (Sher K's son in-law) was killed by Maqsud Āqa The left wing of the enemy fell upon the reserve, but was repulsed The enemy's centre departed to the desert of failure without fighting By the Divine aid a victory was obtained, and a large amount of booty was obtained Many wicked men were killed The opinion[2] of the experienced was that they should at one gallop proceed to Ahmadābād, and make a difficult work easy, but the words of the foolish babblers prevailed, and there was a want of singleness of heart The news of victory reached Allahabad and the servants were rewarded

One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K Koka and Rajah Birbar to bring in Rajah Ram Cand He is the ruler of Pannah[3] and famed throughout India He represented himself as one of the obedient and sent his eldest son to do service, but from short sightedness did not come himself to court, giving as an excuse the length of the journey Now that Allahabad was glorified by the Shahinshāh's advent, there remained no room for the former excuse An order was issued that an army should march to awaken this somnolent dweller in ravines At this time his son represented by means of well intentioned courtiers that his father's omission to come was not due to arrogance and disobedience Owing to his living in a fortress, and to his not mixing with the world he was subject to timidity If one or two of the known men of the court were dispatched to him assuredly he would pluck up courage and come Inasmuch as the Shahinshāh considers the sword as the last remedy to be employed against refractoriness, the representation

[1] The T A says 15 *kos*

[2] Cf Elliot V 433 Nizamu-d dīn strongly recommended this course See also Badayūnī Lowe 340

[3] Patna in text Patlah in I O MS B 406 and Badayūnī Lowe 435

CHAPTER LXXV

March of H M to Fathpūr the Capital

It was H M 's intention that when the affairs of the eastern districts had been excellently arranged, he would proceed towards the Deccan, and introduce order there Suddenly the rebellion in the province of Gujrāt made a great noise and he turned some of his attention towards it It appeared to him that he should go to the capital and march from there At the beginning of the disturbance it was the opinion of small and great that when M Khan got there and was joined by Qutbu d-dīn K, the dust of dissension would be easily laid Now came the news of Qutbu d dīn's death, and of dissensions among those who had been sent H M set before himself the punishment of the wicked, and the composing of the distractions of the country The brief account of the events—which were so pregnant with Divine aids and the marvels of daily increasing fortune—is that when the ingrates and the turbulent had filled that pleasant land with the dust of strife, Qutbu d dīn K from ignorance and conceit did not set matters right Whilst the officers in Pattan were representing, "To day the crooked and worthless fellows are busy[1] about their jagirs and appointments, and there is no order among them The proper thing is to march quickly and skilfully against them In this way the success of the rebels would cease, and a difficult task would be made easy,"—he (Qutbu d dīn) was slow in moving and was not doing good work He made some objections about the soldiers' want of equipments and he also spoke about waiting for the troops from Malwa Meanwhile the disorder increased, and until a censure came from court, he

[1] The officers were referring to Mozaffar's distributing fiefs and appointments among his officers They urged that their minds were taken up about these matters and so they were unprepared and could be successfully attacked

did not wake from the sleep of neglect, or take steps to remedy matters. He sent out troops in advance,[1] but those active men (the

[1] This is an obscure passage and it strikes me that A F must have left something out when revising his draft. What it refers to is explained by the Mirāt Sikandarī, the Mirāt Aḥmadī and the T A The first two say, pp 377 and 157, that when Moẓaffar set out from Aḥmadabad to encounter Quṭbu-d-dīn, Saiyid Daulat marched from Cambay with 4000 horse to join him and did so at Naryād When Quṭbu-d-dīn heard of Saiyid Daulat s march, he sent Muḥammad Afẓāl and Mīrak Muḥammad with 1000 (the M Sikandarī says with 3000) horse to intercept him and to prevent them (Daulat and Moẓaffar) from crossing the Mahindrī They were to take possession of the ferries They reached there but they were in collusion with the enemy So, when Moẓaffar came to the ferry, Quṭbu-d-dīn s men only showed a little fight and then ran away Moẓaffar then marched on to Baroda and Quṭbu-d-dīn came out to fight him and was defeated In the battle at the Mahindrī Quṭbu-d-dīn was not present The Mirāts go on to say that Quṭbu d dīn resisted Moẓaffar for twenty one or twenty two days and displayed superhuman valour He only yielded on account of the treachery of Carkas K Rūmī and Muḥammad Mīrak On the other hand Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V 432, speaks of Quṭbu d dīn s having fought in an unsoldier like manner (*nāsipahāna*) This statement must refer to the second battle for as we have seen, Quṭbu-d-dīn was not present at the engagement on the Mahindrī The Mahindrī would have to be crossed by Moẓaffar when coming from Aḥmadābad to Baroda Nariād where he and Saiyid Daulat met is about half way between these two towns

The M Sikandarī gives some useful Hijra dates It was on Wednesday 27 Sh'abān 991 5 September 1583, that Moẓaffar entered Aḥmadabad. On 17 Zī l qada or 22 November 1583 he left it for Baroda By this time Quṭbu-d-dīn had come to Baroda, having been brought there or having come there with Zainu-d-dīn Kambū a relative of Shahbāz K., who had been sent from Pattan by Shihābu-d dīn and 'Itmād to urge him to advance According to the M Sikandarī 374 Quṭbu-d-dīn was then not in Broach but in Sulṭānpūr or in Nadarbār "Sultanpur lies about twenty miles north of the Tapti Nandarbār nearly the same distance south of it Elliot V 434 n" At Sulṭānpur Quṭbu d dīn was about as near Baroda as Broach The T.A. Elliot V 434 says that the Mālwa force was at those two places (Sultanpūr and Nandarbār) when Moẓaffar was at Broach It is certainly strange that, as Badayūnī Lowe 341, remarks Nauring did not advance to help his parent

The story of the treachery of Carkas Rūm and Muḥammad Mīrak is told in detail in both the Mirats See also Noer's Akbar translation II 81

rebels) crossed the river Mahindrī and fought a battle near the town of Sarnāl, and the soldiers suffered a shameful defeat there

From presumption and self-conceit he, on 8 Aban, about 15 October 1583, came out of the fort without putting Broach into a proper state of defence, and without conciliating the mercenary soldiers Although right thinking and acute persons represented that it was wrong to treat a great disturbance lightly, and to disregard the army, and that what was absolutely necessary for the times was to make presents to the offended and the loud talkers, and to labour to close their mouths and to win hearts, yet, as his fate was overturned, the words of wisdom did not enter his ears Accordingly, on 25 Ābān, about 2 November 1583, Mozaffar approached with a large force The armies were drawn up on both sides, but meanwhile Carkas K and Mirak Afzal, and many others, joined the enemy Qutbu d din and some of his clan (khāṣ khelān) made their way to the walls of Baroda[1] Next day the haughty rebels invested the city (Baroda) Just then the news came of the defeat of Sher K and Mozaffar was nearly abandoning the siege and proceeding thither (to Maisana) He feared lest the victorious troops should prevail against Ahmadābād When he heard that they had gone back, he gave up the idea and became bolder in besieging the city Qutbu-d-din K from worship of wealth (*khwasta-parastī*), and love of life, had not the courage to sacrifice himself He took into his head the idea of a peace He sent Zainu-d-din and Saiyid Jalāl to express his wishes, and asked to be allowed to proceed to the Hijaz with his accumulations As he was turned away from perception, he did not understand that the accumulation of wealth is for the protection of honour, and that life is only precious when consistent with honour The rule of soldiering is to play away manfully unstable life in the service of one's master, and to acquire by such valour eternal life and sempiternal glory Apparently the night of destruction was growing increasingly dark, and guiding wisdom was in heavy slumber Mozaffar was seized by arrogance on receiving this message He had the first (Zainu d-din) trodden under the feet of an elephant To the other life was

[1] The text has not the word Baroda I adopt the variant which gives it, and this is supported by the I O MSS

granted at the intercession of relatives[1] It was time that Qutbu d din should have been aroused but love of existence only increased his somnolence He took the treaty into his hands with much[2] fawning On 13 Āzar, H 23rd November, 1584, he adorned himself and came before that wretch, and accepted eternal disgrace Mozaffar made some inquiries after his health and then made him over to the executioners The star of his life set. Jalālu d din Mas'aud his sister's son was also put to death Afterwards the fort of Broach was invested Khwāja[3] 'Imādu d din Husain and some others were admitted to quarter The Kotwāl took the road of disloyalty and delivered up the keys of the fort On the 19th (Āzar) the fort was taken possession of without a contest The Cambay treasure and the abundant wealth of the governor were plundered Mozaffar thought in his avarice of becoming a son in law The wise mother[4] poisoned her child The thorn of failure entered the foot of his desire He made a practice of oppressing the people, and of pillaging the traders The vogue of impropriety (*nagha nasaī*) became great

On hearing this news H M held before himself the resolution to send an expedition to Gujarāt The countries of Garha Raisin were given in fief to the Khān A'zim On the 29th, he obtained leave to go to Hājipur in order that he might collect equipments and 42
come to court S'aid K was made an officer of the 3000 grade and Hājipūr and its neighbourhood were given to him in fief He took

---

[1] The M Ahmadī says that Saiyid Jalāl was spared at the instance of Saiyid Ahmad Bokhārī Badayunī Lowe 340 says Muhammad Sālih the Sadr was also spared.

[2] Text firmān which does not make sense The I O MSS show that farāwan abundant is the true reading

[3] The Krorī of Cambay and father of the author of the Rauzāt Tāhirīn Cf Elliot V 433 He had brought the Cambay treasure to Broach

[4] Qutbu-d-dīn s wife The M irāts do not mention this circumstance but the Iqbalnāma does

[5] In Bhopāl The variant Garha and Raisīn is preferable to the text See *infra* 436 six lines from foot. Garha is Garha-Katanga which was east of Raisīn. The latter at that time belonged to Mālwa. Apparently Garha Katanga must have been taken away from Bāqī K., the elder brotner of Adham, for he did not die till the following year See *infra* 436

leave on that day after receiving valuable counsels. On 10 Bahman, 20 *January*, 1585, H.M. *proceeded, under the guidance of fortune* to the capital (Fatḥpūr).

CHAPTER LXXVI

Wondrous Fortune of the Shahinshah and the Defeat of Sultan Mozaffar Gujrati

(This Chapter begins with twelve lines of reflections about Akbar's Fortune)

As the soldiers of Gujarat had joined Mozaffar, and he had
collected abundant wealth the officers of Pattan thought of leaving
the country and coming to Jalor At this time M Khān arrived
with a large force and produced tranquillity He delayed[1] for a
while to collect the officers and he was also stayed somewhat by the
foolish talk of ignorant people Near Mirtha, Khwajagi[2] Tahir
came to him from the officers of Pattan and told him what had
occurred M Khan wisely suppressed what had happened to Qutbu
d din K, and sought for victory from the brightness of his star
On 20 Dai,[3] about 31st December, 1583 the army halted at Pattan
The soldiers there were incorporated, and there was rejoicing and a
council was held Some foolish propositions were brought forward
Some said that they should remain where they were until the Mālwa
troops arrived Some said that to march before the world's lord
should advance towards that quarter would be to transgress the 4
rules of farsightedness Some thought that the only thing to do
was to march on quickly in reliance on the daily increasing fortune

---

[1] The delay was on the way to Pattan and apparently at Jālor Nizāmu-d-dīn tells us M Khan only stayed one day in Pattan Elliot V 434

[2] This circumstance is mentioned by Ṭāhir in his book He says in the account of Akbar's 28th year that Shihāb and Itimād wrote a report of what had occurred and sent it with him from Pattan and he travelled with great rapidity and delivered it to M Khān at Mirtha near (east of) Ajmīr in the course of seven days

[3] The Mirats do not give the date M Khan reached Aḥmadabad which was 90 miles from Pattan on 6 Muḥarram 992 9 January 1584 As M K stayed a day in Pattan he must have left on 1st or 2nd of January

without regard to external arrangements What occasion was there for equipments? There were plenty of brave and capable men These uttered many heartening words By the guidance of the star, and glory of Fortune, all agreed to this view, and resolutions of acting in unity were taken They left 'Itimad K in Pattan and went forth to do battle They marched under the leadership of the Divine aid The centre was made glorious by the loyalty of M Khan Shihābu d dīn Ahmad K Jan Darvesh K, Sultan Rāhtor, Mir Mozaffar, Abu l fath, M Quli Moghal S Muhammad Moghal Qara Bahri and a number of experienced combatants were also there Shiroya K Muhammad Husain S Abu l qasim Bunyād Beg, Firuza, Mir Hāshim Mir Sālih and others were on the right wing The Mota Rājah Rai Durgā Tulsi Das Jādun Bica Deora, Rai Narain Dās, the Zamindar of Īdar and others were appointed to the left wing In the vanguard were Payinda K Moghal, Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Hāshim, Rai Lonkaran Rām Cand Udai[3] Singh Saiyid Bahadur, Saiyid Shah Ālī, Saiyid Nasi Ullah, Saiyid Karm Ullah and many others In the altamsh were Medni Rai Rām Sah, Rajah Mukatman,[4] Khwaja Rafī', Mukammal Beg Sarmadi Nasib Turkaman, Daulat[5] K Lodi Saiyid K Kararāri S Wali S Zain Khizr Āqā and others In the reserve were Khwaja[6] Nizāmu d dīn Ahmad Bakhshi Mir Abu Mozaffar Mir M'asum Bhakkarī, Beg Muhammad Toqbāi, Mir Habib Ullah, Mir Sharafu d dīn Hāth Biluc and others Miān[7] Bahādur Uzbeg and other smart men were the scouts In each body of troops there were swift, mountain like elephants

[1] This name is not in text but occurs in the I O MSS

[2] The conjunction in text before the name Jadūn seems wrong and does not occur in the I O MSS

[3] Presumably the man who wanted to force his mother or stepmother to become a satī

[4] B 488 He was a Bhadauria See Maasir Umarā II 228

[5] See Noer s Akbar II 86 n See also Badayūnī Lowe 379 Badayūnī calls Daulat the reasoning soul of the Khān Khānān He was an Afghan He was collaterally descended from the Daulat K of Bābur s time and the father of the famous Khān Jahān Lodī See Tūzuk J 42 etc

[6] The historian He was married to M Khān s sister Badayūnī text I 333 Lowe 342

[7] Perhaps Sān Bahādur is the more correct reading In one place it is Biyān.

was a joyous festival in Ahmadabad In every street and lane there was the sound of joy. On the 25th Bahmān (about 8th February) the couriers of rejoicing brought the news (to Akbar) in the neighbourhood of Kora Khatampūr),[1] and told the wondrous work of Fortune The world's lord gave thanks to God The sovereign's knowledge of mysteries was again impressed on the minds of all The simple, whose luck was good, renewed the joy of devotion (to Akbar) Next day Zain K Kokaltash did homage Rajah Rām[2] Chand had come out of his fort and was proceeding to the court The Koka preferred his request On the 30th H M encamped near Etāwah, and at the request of the Kokaltāsh he halted for a while under the trees of that town—which is a delightful spot Next day at time of marching he dismissed the Koka in order that he might give the landowner the news of favour and bring him with him On 4 Isfandarmaz, 14 February 1548, the standards of the Shadow of God cast their rays over Fathpur, the capital, and crowds of men attained to joy There was a new assemblage for truth seeking, and new rules were inaugurated for appreciation Success seized far and near, and the good tidings of eternal dominion quickened the hearing of mortals.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Rām Chand came and did homage at the holy threshold When the envoys came to him and recited to him the tale of majesty, and imparted great counsels to him and in an excellent manner inspired him with hopes and fears, he, from his good fortune and auspiciousness cast out from his head long-standing arrogance On the 12th (Isfandārmaz) he was exalted by the prostration, and he produced presents for the inspection of H M Of these, 120 elephants[3] were accepted in order

---

[1] *Evidently this is the Korarah* (Corah) and Ghatampur of the Ain J II 167 and which are there given as two places in Sarkar Korarah It is the Karra of the I G 42 m N W Allahabad

[2] This is Ram Chand Baghelah B 406 He was Rajah of Bhath which is another name for Panna in Bandalkand Central India Bhbar was according to *Badayuni formerly* the Rajah's servant

[3] Cf Badayunī, Lowe 345, who says 120 rubies Perhaps *fīl* is a mistake for lal One hundred and twenty elephants seems a large number for Ram Chand Yet he was famed for his liberality, and his country was celebrated both for elephants and rubies Badayunī

to gratify him, and also a ruby of great value His territory and fort were returned to him, and his dignity was increased by great gifts Among them was a present of 101 horses

One of the occurrences was the death of Muhammad Zamān He was the cousin[1] of M Yusuf K From the turbulence of youth, and the talk of shortsighted avaricious men he led an army against the Jāhyā,[2] who is one of the great landowners of Mālwa. He had recourse to supplications and sent presents, and ratified the promise of doing good service From cupidity and inexperience Muhammad Zamān suppressed the new treaty and hastened to the town of Mahriya [3] and opened the hand of plunder After this he plundered Deogarha Hearing that the road of Surat[4] was shorter he, from irreflection, went off in that direction He met with defiles which were difficult to traverse He halted with a few men, and passed on his army and baggage From somnolence of intellect he sate down to a drinking bout The land owner had his opportunity and came there, and M Zamān's days were ended. Whoever takes the road of disobedience, and does not listen to the voice of well wishers and does not stick to what he has said, will soon come to an end of this kind, and will fall into various misfortunes

---

says one ruby was worth 50 000 rupees

[1] The T A calls him brother (barādar) of M Yūsuf B 533 He was a commander of 1000

[2] This seems to be the name of a district and to be the Jetgarh or Jetha of J II 200 in the Sarkār of Garha (wrongly printed as Kanauj in J II 199) and province of Malwa The Iqbalnāma apparently has the Rajah of Jaithā The T A mentions that M Zamān was killed in Garha the Garhakota of I G XII 161, and now in the Saugor district

[3] This is a mistake for Hararīya or Harīyā which is the form in I O MS 236 Hararīya and Deogarh are mentioned in J II 200 as two estates Harariya appears as Harai in the I G old ed See also Deogarh id iv 202 Both places are in the Chhindwara district

[4] Sic in text But the true reading seems to be *yūrat* encampment

CHAPTER LXXVII

The Disgrace of Sulṭān Moẓaffar a Second Time.

The hearts of majestic rulers and just throne occupants, whose speech and action as well as the pure temple of their souls are illuminated by the glory of truth, are cups[1] which display the world. Especially is this the case with our world's lord, whom, on account of his right intentions, good deeds, ample intellect and wide toleration, the illustrious ones of the spiritual world as well as the chosen ones of the outer world serve with gladness. Whatever he desires is, as it were, the interpretation of destiny, and things which do not show themselves to the vision of the acute, easily come into existence for
28 him. The circumstances of this turbulent evildoer are a fresh proof of this, and are a charm to awake the somnolent. After that burnt out star had taken the road of flight, and the[2] departure of the Shāhinshāh had enlightened mankind, he could have been seized if a little pursuit had occurred, and that thorn would have been pulled up from the root. But in the joy of victory they did not attend to this, and the foolish talk of the wicked and crooked in their ways was an additional obstacle. After the lapse of one[3] day Qulij K.,

---

[1] Alluding to the cup or mirror of Jamshīd.

[2] *Guzārish*. I suppose this refers to Akbar's leaving Allahabad but it may also refer to the myth of his coming to Gujarat. It may also refer to his statement or prophecy that the war would be over soon. The word *guzārish* occurs in the sense of utterance a little lower down, p. 428, l. 13.

[3] It would seem that this statement is wrong if A. F. means that the Mālwa army arrived at Aḥmadabād. As far as I can gather it did not come there at all at this time. The author of the Mirāt Sikandarī was with the Mālwa army and his statement is therefore entitled to more credit than either A. F.'s or Niẓām-ud-dīn's. He says p. 379 and so does his copyist the author of the Mirāt Aḥmadī, that the Mālwa army under Qulij K. and others reached Baroda in the morning after the victory at Sarkhej. When they got the news they stayed where they were, and then Naurang and Zāhid

Sharif K, Naurang K, Tūlak K and others arrived, and there was an active discussion Meanwhile that wretch righted himself by the might of gold-scattering He went to Cambay and seized much property from the traders The slaves of gold gathered round him, and the peasantry, thinking him to be the child of their former Sultāns, showed him loyalty The assemblage of men, and the drawing rein by the victorious army, made more courageous him who had lost heart, and he renewed the war He gave out that the foot of his courage had slipt, at the report of the coming of the august retinue The imperial servants, on account of the soldiers' complaining that they were destitute, and of the foolish talk of ignorant cowards, did not set their face to fighting, and begged for the august advent They were too pressing in their wishes and became unduly apprehensive The world's lord heartened them by excellent counsels. He said that the strifemonger would soon be reduced to ashes, and that the imperial army would be successful No long time elapsed before the dust of turbulence was laid, and the Shāhinshāh's knowledge of secrets became impressed on mankind The officers got courage and took up again the idea of fighting Many were of opinion that all should unite and endeavour to drive away Mozaffar But some thought that as the first army had endured hardships it might now repose, and that Qulij K, Naurang K and the Mālwa army might apply themselves to this work, and that M Khan and the other strenuous ones might go to Ahmadabad and exert themselves in civilizing the country At[1] last they agreed to act together,

---

the son of Sharif, made a rapid expedition against Broach They hoped to take the fort at once but failed and so they sate down before it M K left Aḥmadabad for Cambay on 2 Ṣafar 4 Feb 1584 and he wrote to Qulij K and the others who were besieging Broach to leave that place and join him in attacking Cambay They marched accordingly after 15 days and joined him Bārīca (?) 7 kos from Aḥmadabad When Mozaffar heard of the junction he left Cambay and went to Baroda, and from there went to the hill country This is a different story from Nigāmu-d-dīn s who speaks, Elliot V 435, of the Mālwa troops coming to Aḥmadabad three days after the victory This must be wrong especially as it is evident that when the seat of war had been shifted to Cambay there was no occasion for the Mālwa army coming to Aḥmadabād

[1] Perhaps this is also part of what some advised, viz that they should afterwards act together and put down

and addressed themselves to the putting down of Mozaffar They went on one or two stages, and then proceeded to spend their time. M Khān, relying on the fortune of the Shahinshāh, could not bring himself to remain (behind) and left Saiyid Qāsim who was wounded, Muhammad Husain S, Shādman, Khwaja Abu l qasim diwan and others with 2000 men to protect the city, and he and the other officers joined the army that had gone on, and proceeded to Cambay which was the seat of Mozaffar's turbulence The latter sent Saiyid Daulat with some troops towards Dulqa, and the sons of Ikhtiyar al mulk, and Mustafa Shīrwānī to M'amurabād, and prepared in his presumption and shortsightedness, for war *When the victorious troops* had reached the distance of ten kos (from him) Mozaffar lost courage
29 and went off to the town of Bāshad[1], which is the residence of Acal Harpār[2], landowner The imperial troops went on to Baroda Tūlak K was sent off to punish Saiyid Daulat and to return The rest of the army addressed themselves to the chastisement of Mozaffar On 19 Isfandārmaz (about 1 March 1584) they came to heights and valleys They traversed difficult routes and had some fighting with a large body of rebels By the Divine aid they gained the victory, but on account of the excessive heat they did not pursue them Mozaffar crossed the Narbadda and withdrew to the town of Nadot[3] From there he went to the Koh i Cāmpa (?)[4] That is a village sixty kos from Ahmadābād The world is eloquent about its strength

---

Mozaffar but that meanwhile they should only march one or two stages

[1] The text has sabad سبد, but the variant Bāshad is supported by the I O MSS and by the Basad of the T A Elliot, V 435 where it is said to be on the Mahindrī and near Patlād (Pitlād and the Petlad of I G) See also the note in Elliot which says the maps show a Wassud on N bank Mahindrī After all it appears that Vāso is the real name See I G XXIV 300 It is the Basso of Tieffenthaler I 379 who describes it as 20 m from Petlad. The سبد sabad of text is evidently a mistake for بسو Baso

[2] The Iqbalnāma has Ahal Barmār Apparently the last word should be Parmar which is the name of a tribe and is a variant on Bib Ind text See J II 242

[3] The Nāndod of I G., capital of Rājpīpla

[4] Jahanlya جهانيه in text Variant Cānpa I cannot identify it Perhaps it is the Jul boogaun of the maps The Mirāt Sikandarī has Kohistān i Jhānpa Jubboogaun appears to be the Jan āugāon of J II

There are lofty hills E, W and N. of it S is the river Tapti [1] When the imperialists encamped at Nādot, a council of war was held Every one gave his opinion according to the extent of his wisdom, about advancing, or halting, or returning The first idea was adopted, and the foolish talkers were put to silence At this time came Tulak *Firuzmand*, and those acquainted with secrets took an augury of victory Also at this time the death of Simak [2] produced joy Whoever from an evil fate turns away from the dominion which is conjoined with eternity soon has the dust of failure poured upon his head by the celestial managers, and is sent down to annihilation This wretch was the source of the disturbance, and had few equals in wickedness When the noise of the approach of the world-conquering troops came near, Mozaffar left Nasirā,[3] Carkas, and that wretch (Simak) in Broach Inasmuch as the double faced and ten-hearted adorn the lips with the words of friendship, but have not internal knowledge thereof, he was continually sending letters of concord to Payanda K Moghul Some of these fell into Nasira's hands, and he was lying in wait to kill him He played a trick and represented himself as ill The evildoer came to sympathize with him, and was put to death Three hundred Turanis, who were his comrades, accompanied him to the abyss of annihilation The defeat of Saiyid Daulat was also a joyful news When Tulak [4] K had turned him out he returned and again took possession of Cambay, and turned his attention to plundering Petlad Khwājam Bardi the *thanadar* fought with him, and was victorious At this time Ataliq Bahādur fled During this campaign this shameless Uzbeg left the enemy and joined the imperialists Miyān [5] Bahādur represented his loyalty

---

254 and the Djamongāon of Tiefenthaler I 372

[1] *From I O MS 235* it appears possible that a tributary of the Tapti is meant

[2] As I have already said I think this must be the 'Umr Haji of p 410 It is Lamak in text the variant is Shimak

[3] The M Sikandari calls him Naṣīr K The T.A Elliot V 434 calls him Mozaffar's brother's son whilst Badayūnī Lowe 342 344 calls him "his wife's brother (*khusurpūra*, father in law's son) This is more likely, for Mozaffar presumably had no brother The M Sikandari speaks of a son of Mozaffar

[4] Elliot V 433 has Naurang, but this seems a mistake in the MS

[5] Apparently Sān is the proper reading See Elliot V 436

and took him into his charge Both of them from wickedness and crooked thoughts spoke idle words and confused simple men One day, when the camp came to Nādot, that wicked tyrant (qābucı, lit *janitor*) went off with some men on a roadless road (i e were put to death) The other was sent to prison, and the vogue of folly was destroyed There came eagerness for battle [1] M Khān, Shihabu d din Ahmad K and others were in the centre Sharif K Naurang K and others adorned the right wing Qulij K, Tulak K and the *jagirdars* of Mālwa were in the left wing Payinda K, Rai Durga and others were in the vanguard Khwāja Nizāmu-d din Ahmad, Mir M'asum Bhakkari and others were in the reserve On the 29th (about 10 March) they marched from Nādot Mozaffar was terrified and went off to a high hill Many audacious men came forward and prepared for battle The imperial left wing made a fine attack, and several times each side repulsed the other The brave on both sides contended on foot During this contest, a party of brave men belonging to the right wing got to the top of a high hill, and by cannon and musketry disconcerted the presumptuous foe Then the reserve attacked them Then the brave men who were alongside of the imperial left wing made a general attack Many of the enemy were killed, but most of them fled, covered with dust and blood

Verse

The hearts were arrows [2] and the brains cleft,
Their clothes were bloody, and their steps [3] dust

---

[1] This is the battle described at length by Nizāmu d din E l c V 436 He is represented there as saying that he drove back the enemy *for a good kos* but according to the Lucknow lith, and a MS in my possession what he says is that he fought with Mozaffar's infantry and drove them to a high hill (*koh* not karoh) He describes himself as having been sent on in front, and as having taken the chief part in the action A F however puts him in the reserve and says nothing about his being sent forward (though I have no doubt that this is true) and the Sikandarī which also describes the battle p 379 says that as the Malwa army had had no share in the first battle it took the chief part in this (as indeed A F s account of the arrangement of the forces indicates) It gives as the site of the battle the hill country of Jhampa in the district of Rajpīpla

[2] That is were pierced by arrows see Lucknow ed note Or perhaps it means their hearts were bloodless their brains split *Khadang* is the white poplar, and also the bow and arrow made of it

[3] Possibly kām is the true reading

One, with cuirass on breast, had his head laid low by the mace,
Another fell on his head with the dagger in his hand

The leader of the rebels lost heart, and took to flight When things came to a hand to-hand fight the rebels vainly strove As the daily increasing fortune was in the ascendant they lost the power of struggling, and they were disgraced and took the road of failure The brave men hastened to hunt for lives, and, in a short time, nearly 2000 persons were killed Five hundred were made prisoners and went to their last sleep The enlightened Khedive offered fresh thanksgiving for this great victory, and he exalted the loyal servants by various favours M Khān was raised to the rank of a panchazari (5000) and got the title of Khān-Khanān In him good intentions were allied with skill, and wide capacity went shoulder to shoulder with benevolence and so fortune unveiled her face to him, and made him the executant of good deeds

At the time when the news of the Gujarat disturbances arrived,
H M inquired from Amir Fath Ullah of Shīraz—who was an astronomer 43
acquainted with the[1] minutest details of the science—about the circumstances of friend and foe, and about the final result The Mir made researches in the heavens, and reported that it appeared that in this year two battles would be fought, and that the imperial servants would be victorious As he reported, so did it turn out, and there was a fresh currency of the recognition (of Akbar's and Fath Ullah's merits)

---

and the meaning would be Their desires were dust I O MS 236 has khak in the first line and cāk in the second, and this perhaps makes better sense The brains were dust and desires (kām) or feet) gām) were split

[1] I O MS 236 has a yā after akhtar shināsī as if the meaning were that Fath Ullah was not only a compendium of astrology but of all philosophy

CHAPTER LXXVIII

Beginning of the 29th Divine Year, to wit, the year Amardād of the third cycle

In this commencement of fortune there arrived the New Year with fresh achievements of Fortune conjoined with eternity, and another joy was imparted to the new generation of mankind The leafless ones of creation had a novel glory

Verse

You complained of the coming of leaf shedding Bahman
Look up and behold the garden for Bahman[1] is in flight
Hark to the thunder verily 'tis the sound of the tabor
The world holds a bridal, and the garden comes in bridal dress

The imperial artificers gave profound attention to the adornment of the palace, and made the preparations for the festival in an excellent manner The feast of joy was prepared on 25 Isfandārmaz in the garden which had been made by H H Miriam Makānī four *kos* from Fatḥpur Many secluded ladies were received in that pleasure house When four minutes of the night of Wednesday, 8 Rabi' al awwal 992, 10 or 11 March 1584, had passed, the world illuminating sun bestowed a fresh glory on the Sign of Aries, and the rosy hue of uniformity decked the face of day and night (the equinox) The fifth year of the third cycle began, and the world had new splendour Also on this day the Khān 'Ā'azim M Koka arrived from Hājipur and did homage, and increased the joy On the 15th (Farwardin) there was a great feast in the special garden (Bāgh Khāṣa) and crowds of men attained their desires From the time of entry (of the sun) to that of exaltation (19 Farwardin) there was a great festival every day, and the Shāhinshāh gratified the wishes of high and low In the beginning

---

[1] The 11th month of the Persian Year corresponding to 15 January—15 February

of this year the Divine Era was introduced, and produced joy among mankind, as has already been related

One of the occurrences was the arrival of M Beg Qāqshāl and other men from Bengal When it had been conquered for the third time, M. Beg, Wazir Jamil, Khāldin, Farrukh Irghaliq and others took the road of loyalty by the help of skilful and right-thinking men They were however always alarmed and confused on account 432 of their own bad conduct When Shahbāz K was victorious, and Sādiq K. was proceeding to court the persons above mentioned joined him They regarded this opportunity as a boon When news of this was received, Mohan Das was sent by relays of horses to turn back Sādiq K and to send him to the army of Wazir K who was confronting Qutlu. He was also to make the Qāqshāls hopeful of princely favours, and to bring them to court That swift messenger joined them in Tānda Sadiq K obeyed the orders and went off in that direction (i e to Wazir K) In order to soothe the apprehensive Qāqshāls, his eldest son Zāhid was sent along with them. They arrived at this time and reaped bliss by doing homage The Shāhinshāh exalted them by various favours, and joy seized thousands whose hopes had been broken

One of the occurrences was the death of Tarsūn [1] K When Shahbāz K had defeated M'aṣum K, he went off to the country of Bhāti, and did not heed the typhoon-like violence of the rivers. His idea was to test 'Isā [2] K the ruler of that country, who was always expressing his loyalty If he delivered up M'aṣum K and the other rebels, his lips and his heart would accord Otherwise the veil over his conduct would be removed, and his wickedness would have its retribution Bhāti [3] is a low country and has received this name

---

[1] M'aaṣir I 471

[2] See ante pp 257, 260

[3] The word Bhāti is spelt letter by letter in the text Cf J II 116, B 342 and J A S B for 1873 p 226 In Serishtadar Grant's Analysis of the revenues of Bengal, etc, p 257 of Fifth Report, there is the passage "The low marshy lands of Hejellee, anciently called Batty, as being in a great part subject to the overflowing of the tide, parganas 16" Further down on the same page he says, speaking of Boklah (Bāqla) or Ismaelpoor, that it extends laterally, eastward of Khaleefatabad in Jessore, and extends to the mouth of the Ganges near the island of Rabnabad "which forms the S-E angle of the Bengal Delta, as also the further

because Bengal is higher It is nearly 400 kos in length from east to west and about 300 kos from north to south East of this country are the ocean and the country of Ḥabsha (?).[1] West is the hill country where are the houses of the Kahin (?)[2] tribe South is Tānda.

---

extremity of the lowlands of Bhatty, commencing on the west from Hejellee" For Rabnabad, which includes three islands, see I G XI 341 (Old ed, not mentioned in new ed)

[1] Text حبشه Ḥabsha. Ethiopia? and there is the variant Khasrū Professor Dowson, who has translated the account of Tarsūn's disaster VI 72 has read the word as Jessore, and in this he is supported by the I O MS 236 which has حسر It is probable also that the variant given in Bib Ind text supports him, with the exception of the misplacing of a dot for خسرو Khasrū is probably خسر Khasar, the u at the end being a conjunction I O MS 235 has چین Chin China, but this is probably a guess I am inclined to think that the country meant is Jaintia, east of Sylhet, for in the Āīn J II 139 this is spelt Jesa or Jaisa جیسا It is evident from J II 116 that Abul Fazl regarded Bhātī as lying on the east of Bengal as well as on the south of it, and he probably regarded the whole of Sylhet the southern part of which is very low, as belonging to Bhātī It will be seen from the text, p 432, and from the Āīn J II 116, that Bhātī was considered as being larger than Bengal Proper, even with the inclusion of part of Behar, for the length of Bengal from Chittagong to Garhī is given as 400 *kos*, and its breadth from the northern mountains to Madāran as 200 kos, whereas Bhatī is said to be 400 *kos* from E to W and nearly 300 from N to S I doubt if Jessore can be right, for Jessore and Baqriganj seem to have been included in Bhatī Moreover Abul Fazal would hardly have spoken of Jessore as a wilayat or country In his time it was not even a sarkār It was only a pargana in Sarkar Khalīfatābād, J II 134, where we find a large maḥal or pargana entered as Jessore, otherwise Rasūlpur See Beames, R A S J for 1896, p 121, and B J A S B for 1873, 217 The quotation from *the Haft Iqlīm in Raverty's translation* of the T Nāṣirī, p 593 note, where Bengal is said to be bounded on the south by Jesūdah, is according to Blochmann, J A S B for 1875, 285, a copyist's error for Chittuah However it is right to point out that Jessore is mentioned along with Bhūsna as a country or district in Bengal, A N III 787, five lines from foot

[2] Text کهین variant کهن I do not know what tribe this name represents In I O MS 239 it is کهش kabash Apparently it is the same word as the Khīta or Kīsa of p 397, l. 5, and which I have supposed to represent the Cossyahs Possibly the word is Kohsār or some such word meaning a hillman What we should expect to find would be Santāl or Kol *Perhaps the word is Koc or* Konc A F speaks at p 397 of the Khītas being like Calmacks (Qulmaq)

North also the ocean[1] and the terminations of the hill-country of Tibet. The father of this chief (*būmī*) belonged to the Bais[2] tribe of Rajputs In that fluviatile region he continually displayed presumption and refractoriness In the time of Selim K, Tāj K.[3] and Daryā K. went to that country with large forces, and after many contests he came in and surrendered. In a short while he again rebelled. They managed by a trick to get hold of him and sent him to the abode of annihilation, and sold his two sons 'Īsā and Ishmael to merchants When the cup of Selim K's life was full, and

---

in appearance, and the T Nāṣirī, Raverty 560, says that in the mountain between Tibet and Gaur (Lakhanawaṭi) there are races, the Kūne, Mej and the Tibārū, and that they all have Turk countenances (i e Mongolian features) Cf B J A S B. for 1873, vol 42, p 239 7

[1] Certainly the name nearest in spelling to Khen is the Khyin or Cin tribe in the Arakan hill tracts, but then how should they be in the west of Bengal? See note at p 397 of text I can make nothing of this extraordinary northern boundary, the ocean Possibly *daryā-ī shor* is a mistake for darīyā i surma, "the river Surmā" in Sylhet, but against this is a fact that we have the word *nīz*, "also", in the original which must refer to the occurrence of the ocean as the north boundary Nor do I understand the mention of the mountains of Tibet However we have just seen the T Nāsirī speaking of the mountains between Tibet and Gaur, and from the great length, 300 *kos*, of Bhātī from N to S it looks as if A F included Gaur or part of Assam in it It is evident that 'Īsā had associations with North-Eastern Bengal for we find that he made an expedition to Kūc Bihar Professor Dowson well says, l c, "The whole description is unintelligible"

[2] See Elliot s Supplementary Glossary I 13 for an account of the Bais clan It originally belonged to Bais wāra in Oudh It is curious that in the Āīn J. II 117, 'Īsā is called 'Īsā Afghan Perhaps the account in the A N was written after A F had got fuller information

[3] Tāj K was Sulaimān Kararānī s elder brother and reigned before him. See Stewart's Bengal 148 and the Riyāẓu-s salatīn Bib I ed 152 I do not know who Daryā K was B J A S B for 1873, p 225, also mentions a Taj K Masnad-i Ālī who established himself at the mouth of the Rasūlpūr river about 1505 This is a local legend, and the Taj Masnad i Ālī may be Sulaimān s brother. Tāj K s name appears in the list of the rulers of Bengal, J II 147, immediately before Sulaimān s See also id 149, where it is said that Taj K killed Jalālu-d dīn (the brother of Bahādur Shah, otherwise Khiẓr K) and assumed the government and was afterwards succeeded by his younger brother Sulaimān The best account of Taj K appears to be that in the

Tāj K became predominant in Bengal,[1] Quṭbu-d dīn, the paternal uncle of 'Īsā, obtained glory by good service, and by making diligent search brought back both brothers from Turān 'Īsā acquired fame by his ripe judgment and deliberateness, and made the twelve *zamindars* [2] of Bengal subject to himself Out of foresight and cautiousness he refrained from waiting upon the rulers of Bengal, though he rendered service to them and sent them presents From a distance he made use of submissive language

33 When the bank of the river Ganges near Khiẓrpur [3] became an imperial camp, there were strong forts on the two sides of the river owing to the spot's being a thoroughfare In a short time both of these were taken with severe fighting, and Sonargaon came into the possession of the imperial servants They also reached Karābūh? [4]

Rauẓat-t tāhirīn in the chapter on the Kings of Bengal

[1] Can this be the Qutb K who is said to have abandoned Sher Shah's service in disgust at his breach of faith to Purān Mal? See A N translation I —399—5

[2] These are the Bāra Bhūīahs, for whom see Dr Wise's papers J A S B for 1874 p 197 and 1875 p 181, and Gait in id for 1893, p 281 According to Pimenta Īsa himself was one of the twelve Here I may note that the fullest account of Īsā K is in Dr Wise's paper already cited p 209 of J A S B for 1874 It appears from it that Īsā's father was called Kali Das Gajdanī and that he became a Muḥammadan and received the title of Sulaimān K If this was so however one would hardly expect his children to have been sold into slavery for it is contrary to Muḥammadan law to sell believers as slaves There are several references to Īsā K in the A N, and I have pointed them out in a paper in the A.S B J for 1904 p 57 Īsā died in 1008 A H 1599 1600 A N 763 He had a son named Dāūd, A N 800

[3] About a mile N of Naraingani in the Dacca district J A.S B for 1872 vol XLI p 96 note by Dr Wise It is entered under Sonargaon in the Āīn J II 138 See also Beames R A S J for 1896 p 133 and Dr Wise's article J A S B vol XLIII, p 211 There is however another Khiẓrpūr (Kidderpūr) marked on Rennel's map which is perhaps the one here meant It is on the Brahmaputra to the N of Dacca

[4] This name is doubtful The Māasir in its account of Shahbāz K II 595 has Katrāpūr I O MS 236 has Kashrābu and No 235 has Katrālu Blochmann suggests Baktera-pur Possibly the ba of the text is part of the name and the word is Bikrāmpūr Or the name may be a corruption of Khatābazū in Sarkār Bāzūha J II 138, or it may be Kerapūr in Sarkār Sonargāon, J II 139 In Rennel's map of the Ganges and Brahmaputra there is a place called Goraboe marked near Ekdalla which

which was his ('Isā's) home That populous city was plundered A force was sent against Bārā Sindar,[1] which is a large town, and much plunder was obtained From there they came [2] to the Brahmaputra. This is a great river which comes from Assam.[3] After a little fight, which took place with the scouts (qarāwalān), Ma'ṣūm lost firmness and took refuge in an island [4] He was nearly made prisoner. At

is probably the place in text It was probably near the place called Doordoreah by Dr Taylor, p 112 of Topography of Dacca, and situated eight miles above Ekdalla, but Door doreah was on the other side of the river The name Karabuh recurs at p 733, and there as here we have the variant Katrabuh Now in Dr Wise's paper Katrabo is mentioned p 211, as a place in Dacca where a branch of 'Isā's family still resides It seems probable that this is the place meant by the text Dr Wise also in his supplementary paper, J A S B for 1875, p 181, quotes Sebastian Manrique's mention of Catrabo as one of the twelve provinces of Bengal, and on the following page he says "Catrabo is Katrabo, now a 'tappa' on the Lakhya, opposite Khiẓrpūr, and which for long was the property of the descendants of 'Isā K" He also quotes Clementi Tosi, who says, "Katrabo Capo d'una provincia" Finally at p 214, J.A S B for 1874, Dr Wise tells us that the Jangalbari family (descended from 'Isā) have a sanad dated 1700 which mentions Kaṭrābo in Bāzuhā Dr Wise tells us, J A S B for 1874 211, that Khiẓrpūr is generally associated with 'Isā K 's name and that it is situated about a mile N of Narainganj But may not 'Isā's Khiẓrpūr be the one marked in Rennel's map on the old Brahmaputra and E of Toke? Most probably Katrābuh is the Katarmalbāzū of the Āīn, J II 138 There is the variant Katabal Tiefenthaler has Katārbalbāzū and Gladwin has Kuttermul Bazoo If Katrabuh was opposite the Narainganj Khiẓrpūr, it cannot be the Goraboe of Rennel The reading Baktarāpur as the name of Isā's residence is probably a mistake for ba-katrāpūr, i e with or to Katrāpūr

[1] This may be Kiyāra or Katāra Sindūr, J II 124, but the I O MSS have a quite different word, viz Mashhadī, which I do not find in the Āīn The same word also occurs in a MS belonging to myself. Perhaps the place is Masjid Ḥusain Shāhī or Masjid Andarkhāni in Sarkār Ghorāghāt J II 136

[2] Apparently they marched or sailed up the Brahmaputra, i e up the Lakhia to the Brahmaputra (the old bed)

[3] There is the variant Khitā (Cathay), and Khitā is given as the source of the Brahmaputra in the Āīn J. II. 121

[4] B J A.S B for 1873, 231 n, says that 'Isā was strong enough to make war on Kūc Bihar This however refers to a subsequent period See below p 710 'Isā appears to be

this time ʿIsā, who had gone to Koc (Cooch Bihar) arrived with a large and well-equipped army. The imperial servants took post at Totak on the bank of the said river and opposite the city of Kinārā-i-Sindār and established a fort there. On both sides there were hot engagements by land and water. The imperialists were continually successful. They sent to Tarsun K. and directed that he should make a demonstration at Bajasrapur[2] and so distract the enemy (lit. make them of two minds or hearts). Two roads led from the town of Bhawāl[3] (i.e. Nagari). One was far away from the enemy and the other was by the river bank, and this was very near them. By heaven's decree Tarsūn K. took the latter route. Maʿṣūm K. heard of this and marched rapidly with a large force. Shahbāz K. sent Muhibb ʿAlī K., Rajah Gopāl, Khangar and others. He also sent a swift courier to warn him and to bid him take up a strong position until the reinforcements arrived. He (Tarsun) did not believe[4]

---

the Gaur Pāshā of Gait J.A.S.B. for 1893 pp. 290-91.

Perhaps the island jazira is the peninsula between the Brahmaputra (old) and the Lakhia. The word jazira has both meanings.

[1] Probably this is Toke, a well-known and beautiful spot N. of Dacca. It is opposite Agara Sundar in Rennel's map and probably we should read Agāra instead of Kinara here. Toke is at the head of the Banār or Lakhia river where it leaves the old Brahmaputra. Toke is said to be the Tugma of Ptolemy. See Taylor id. 116. I think that the Totak of text is a mistake for Tonk, the dot appearing to be after the k instead of before it.

[2] بجسرا پور There is the variant Bajhrapur. I cannot identify the place. Perhaps Bajitpur in the Maimansingh district is meant. This may be the Bāyazīdpur of J. II 135 or the Bājpatārī of id. 136. Both are in Ghoraghat.

[3] In Elliot this is identified with the Bhawal in Dacca and presumably this is right. The Dacca Bhāwal is entered in Sarkar Bāzuha. See Beames i.e. 127. The Bhāwal entered under Sarkar Madāran is a mistake see id. 105. When Tārsun K. was last spoken of he was in Tajpur, see above p. 416 and Elliot VI. 71.

[4] This is an obscure passage and it is left untranslated in Elliot. Part of the difficulty is due to an error in the text. That has at nine lines from foot, bawezish nay-amad. Not come to an engagement. But the true reading as shown by the I.O. MSS. and the Maʾāsir I. 474 last line is bawārash nayāmad, he did not believe him. Tarsūn did not believe the courier and was sorry for Shahbāz thinking that he had been deceived into sending away a part of his forces. This is clear from the line in the Maʾāsir, top of p. 47[illegible]. Therefore he did so

Rajah Gopal Jadun's brother's son, and was one of the personal at tendants At the end of the day he was hurrying to go on guard Bicā [1] Bhāthi from his enmity towards him thought that in this rapid movement Sānwal had the evil intention of killing him He there fore attacked him with a sword and struck [2] him such a blow that experienced physicians thought he would not recover The world's Khedive visited him and cast the shadow of his graciousness over him By his breathings, Sānwal recovered from his mortal injury, and after three years became quite well

Among the occurrences were the disturbance in Badakhshān, and the apologies of M Hakim Evil minded strife mongers stirred up the dust of dissension between MM Sulaiman and Shāhrukh From carelessness and love of flattery these two could not distin guish friend from foe They fell out with one another and did not attend to the administration of the kingdom The soldiers were discontented, the subjects suffered injustice the country was uncul tivated, the forts unprovisioned Whoever attends to his own com fort and neglects the helpless will soon strike his foot against the stone of failure And whoever does not regard the winning of hearts as a great blessing will soon become a wanderer in the desert of ruin While indulging in such evil conduct they turned away from supplicating Shahanshah and (at the same time) spent their days in pride and conceit 'Abdullāh K Uzbak, the ruler of Turan got his opportunity and came to Badakhshān, and got possession of that strong country without a battle The Mirzas fell into the desert of helplessness M Hakim awoke from the heavy slumber of self conceit, and sent skilful ambassadors, and made a thousand entrea ties The world's lord granted the envoys' wishes and dismissed them *The gist of the reply was ' The Mirzās of Badakhshān are* receiving the retribution of their ingratitude Make yourself glori ous, outwardly and inwardly, by the splendour of sincerity so that far and near it may be perceived Assuredly in that case others will be afraid of you If before this be recognized, any one make an attempt on your country we shall, in the first place, send skilful

---

[1] There is the variant Bīja and I O MS 236 has Bīma Bhāthī is a Rajput tribe See Elliot Supp Gloss I 37 It is also spelt Bhattī

[2] There is the variant *barran* on the thigh

and faithful men to administer good advice (to 'Abdullāh) If this be not effective, we shall send warriors who are grippers of victory, rank-breaking elephants, vast treasures, and a large part of artillery under the command of one of our fortunate sons" The envoys had not come out of the kingdom when a second petition arrived to the effect that "The Mirzās of Badakhshān have, with repentant hearts and ashamed countenances, taken shelter at this eternal dominion (i e Kābul) What is the order?" M Hakim also represented his own state of confusion The order was "At our court, repentance is purchased at a high price (i e much is given for it) Give the Mirzās news of joy and send them off after making them hopeful of the Shahanshāh's favour. And do you yourself rely upon our daily-increasing fortune, and stand firm, and be under no apprehensions" The language now used is the same as that in the previous rescript

One of the occurrences was the submission of Qutlū Kararānī It has been mentioned that part of the victorious army of Bengal had marched to the Bhati country with Shahbāz K and that another portion was with Wazīr K in Bārdwān and was stationed there to repress Qutlu. This army was spending its time there on account of the ill timed moderation of Wazir K. When Sādiq K joined, real work was done, and the face of fortune assumed fresh glory. That presumptuous one (Qutlu) lost endurance, broke up his camp, and went off with shame to Orissa The officers pursued him and arrived at Tukaroi[1] His condition became desperate and he took refuge in the forest of Dharmpur[2] With craft he mixed gold with entreaty (*zar bazari*, "gold and greeting") The officers, from cupidity, and the hardships of campaigning, did not attend to the circumstances, and made use of a former order which was to the effect that if the dweller in the ravine of ruin should bind himself to the saddle straps of eternal dominion, they were not to take his past into account, and were to make over *Orissa to him* He out of gratitude sent his brother's son to court, and also sent sixty choice elephants and other presents On 1 Tīr, 11 June 1584 S,

---

[1] The text has بنک کروهی within one *kos* but the true reading is بدکروی to Tokaroī as Elliot VI 75 and I O MS 236 show

[2] Harpūr in original, but Dharmpur, or Dharpur, seems to be the correct reading It is Dharmpūr in Iqbalnāma See ante p 122 and note

Ibrâhim Fathpuri was exalted by doing homage, and brought the envoys to the court When the assembly of peace had been held
6 Wazir K was sent back to Tanda, and Sâdiq K to Patna Every one rejoiced in getting his fief On the 13th the lunar weighing of the world's lord took place and a delightful feast rejoiced far and near

One of the occurrences was Rajah Birbar's having a renewal of life The caugan ground had been fitted up and there was an elephant fight going on Suddenly the elephant Câcar, which was unique for violence, and for the killing of men, rushed to kill a foot passenger, but then passed him by and turned towards the Rajah He was nearly killing him with his proboscis The Shâhanshâh from his general benevolence and especial kindness (for Birbar) and great courage, urged on his horse and came between the monster and the Rajah The enraged brute rushed at the cavalier of the arena of courage and a cry went up from mankind and the livers of iron hearted men became like water All at once, it stood still overcome by the majestic 'Avaunt' (Durbash) Amazement seized the beholders

Among the occurrences were the deaths of Ghazi [1] K Badakhshi and Sultân Khwaja [2] Naqshbandi The first was a hero enlightened by

---

[1] Ghazī K was also called Qazī Nizam He was originally in M Sulaiman's service He is famous for having invented the sijda or prostration See B 440 and the long notice in the Maasir II 857 See also Badayuni Lowe 185 86 and 351 and the Darbār Akbarī 816 Badāyunī's account of what Ghazi K said to his servant etc is not very intelligible Badayunī has also a notice of him under the name of Qazī Nizam in vol III 153 A F gives two causes for his death but he might have added old age for the Maasir says he was 70 when he died The same authority says that his on Husāmu d din was married to A F's sister and that he became a darvesh See Tuzuk 80 quoted by B

[2] See B 423 and the long account in the Māasir II 379 who takes occasion to give a full account of Akbar's religious views He was buried outside the fort of Fathpur towards the north See also Badayunī Lowe 351 Mulla Ahmad of Tatta afterwards killed by a Sunnī found the chronogram Sultanu l Khawarij (prince of heretics), but it is one short yielding only 991 According to the Māasir II 382 who quotes from a work by Lal Beg Nakshbandi Badayunī's story about Sultan Khwajah's mode of burial not true

wisdom. To the sword he added the high dignity of the pen. Though stupid in conventional learning, yet by the blessing of his discipleship of the world's lord he in company with the illuminate-sages (*dānishwarān-i 'Ishq*) and the pure Ṣūfis, performed his devo tions (to Akbar) Thus, though tied by external circumstances, he gathered a share of deliverance He always had a weeping eye (*chashm-i-giryān*) and a burning heart He made the final journey (i e died) in the city of Awadh on 4th Amardād (about 15th July 1584) Apparently, an act of sexual intercourse and improper food conducted him to the abode of annihilation

Though the second (Sulṭān Khwāja) had not garnered much knowledge, and had never ascended the heights or sounded the depths of learning, yet many of the heartfelt words of Ṣūfism had polished his nature, and he became cognisant of the spirit of the age by the virtue of the Shahanshah's glance By a genuine discipleship he pressed on towards the pleasant abode of Freedom (*iṭlaq*) On the 5th (Amardād—25th July 1584) he died at Fathpūr from weakness of the stomach and heart The loving sovereign was grieved at the departure of those two wise men, and by lofty counsels administered comfort to their children and other mourners He took upon himself the charge of providing for them

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān Āẓim M Koka to Mālwa It has been mentioned that when he was in Allahabad he became disgusted with holding *jagirs* in Bengal and Bihar Accordingly Raisin and Garha were assigned to him On the 17th he set out for those places after being loaded with counsels On 25th Shahrīwar, about 4th September 1584, Baqi[1] K, the brother of Adham K, died. His surviving family was cared for by the sympathetic Shāhanshāh

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Saiyid Daulat[2] When there was some disturbance in Gujarat, this impure one again prevailed over Cambay The Mota Rājah, Medini Rāi, Rājah Mukat Man, Rām Sāh, Udai Singh, Rām Cand Bāgha Rathor,

[1] See Badayūnī, Lowe 351, where it is stated that he died in Garha Katanga which was his jāgīr Bāqī K is also mentioned at p 59 of id He was Adham K s elder brother There is a short notice of him in the Māaṣir I 394

[2] Cf. Elliot V 435-36

Tulsī Dās, Jādun Rahādur *Atul Ghakkar*, Abul fath Mughal, Qarā Bahri, Daulat K Ludi and others were appointed to chastise him Before they arrived, he had cast his eye upon plundering Petlād Khwajam Bardi and a body of brave men gave him battle, and he was wounded and had to fly Also at this time Ābid, Mirak Yusuf, Mirak Afzal, 'Abdullāh and Timar Husain came out of the hill country of Rājpipla and stirred up strife near the town of Munda [1] and oppressed the peasantry The Khān Khanān sent from near the Mahindri Khwajah Nizāmu d din Ahmad Mir Abul Mozaffar Khwājr Rafī, Mir Ma'sūm Bhakkiri, Sultān Rathoi the son of Saiyid Hāshim,[2] and other brave men [3] When they came to Dhulqa (Dholka of I G) the rebels had dispersed, and so they returned

Also at this time Bahar [4] K Ghakkar stirred up strife in Badhnagar [5] Qābil K [6] Gujarati, Rādhan K and other fief holders of that quarter gave him battle, and many of the strife mongers were slain That turbulent one had to sit in the corner of failure

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army against Sultān Muzaffar Gujarāti On 25 Ardibihisht the Khan Khānān arrived at Ahmadābād and applied himself to the improvement of the country and the soothing of the weak The distracted state of *the country became somewhat lessened At this time the evil-dis*posed one came out of the defiles of the hill country of Rājpipla and set off towards Pattan Maqsud Āka and many brave men were appointed, under the command of Shādmān Beg and on hearing of this, Mozaffar went off hastily towards Idar [7] and took refuge in Kathiwāra From there he crept off to the port of Ghogha [8]

---

[1] Mandah of J II 253? Probably the Moondah of Bayley s map

[2] Text Saiyid Hāshim but the variant son of must be right for Hāshim was killed at the battle of Sarkhej The variant is also supported by the I O MSS

[3] Nizāmu d dīn does not notice this expedition, probably this was because there was no fighting

[4] The I O MSS have Behar or Pahar Khokar

[5] W Īdar and Dungārpūr the Burnugger of Bayley s map

[6] This is the nearest approach I can find to the name Giabiblica mentioned in Akbar s *parwana* J A S B for 1896 pp 60 and 61

[7] So in text and the I O MSS fail us here But I suspect some mistake, for Īdar would not be in the way from Pattan to Kāthīwār However the Iqbālnama has Idar

[8] A port in the Gulf of Cambay I G XII 301

very one of his companions withdrew into retirement Sher K ulādi went to Baglāna The ruler of that country sought to seize im He left his property behind him, and by wiles got off to the Deccan A few had the good fortune to go over to the victorious rmy, such as Mahdi[1] Sultan, the brother of Khizr Khwāja K, and he son of M Muqim Naqshbandi Though some pursuit took place, et if there had been celerity, that one of slumbrous fortune (Sher 'ūlādi) would have been seized

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Broach When, by the wondrous fortune of Shāhinshāh Sultan Mozaffar had had to fly for the second time, Qulij K, Naurang K, Sharif, Tolak 438 K and other fief holders in Mālwa went off to take Broach On 1 Farwardin they invested the fort As they were slow about it, and the taking of it was spun out, the Khān Khānān sent a number of strenuous men to their assistance, under the command of Shihābu d-din K, and that Sarkār was given to him in *tiyul* The officers took up the work anew, and prosecuted it vigorously On 10 Mihr the leader of the musketeers came out, and reported about the distressed and wearied condition of the besieged He said that if the imperialists came to the gate, his comrades would open the door to them, and a difficult task would become easy As his statements bore the marks of truth, they immediately set their minds on carrying out the plan, and words became deeds There was the apparition of victory[2] Naṣira by craft came out of the battery of Sharif K but Carkis and many others were killed

On the 21st Mihr the house of Rajah Birbar was made glorious by the feet of the Shāhinshāh His wishes were gratified, and there was a great feast

One[3] of the occurrences was that Shāhbāz K returned unsuccessful from Bhati, and that steps were taken to retrieve matters

[1] This must be Gulbadan Begam's brother in law See her Memoirs 182 This renders support to the idea that the Khizr Khwaja of p 411 is her husband

[2] Cf Elliot V 437 and the Mirāt Sikandari p 380 The latter says Niṣar and Carkis came out at night and that Carkis horse stuck in the mud (of the Narbadda) and so he was caught and killed See also M Ahmadi p 163

[3] This passage is translated in Elliot VI 75

When he went there, he encamped on the bank of the Panār[1] which is a branch of the Brahmaputra He occupied himself in sending messages and in giving counsels The suggestion was that he ('Īsā) should deliver up the rebels, or drive them away from his presence 'Īsā had recourse to coaxing expressions, and for a time indulged in plausible speeches When it appeared that his tongue and his heart were not in accord, there arose the turbulence of battle For seven months there were victories from time to time, and the evil-doers were put to shame and suffered failure It was a time when both parties[2] should have lighted the lamp of discernment, and have practised conciliatory measures But from somnolences of intellect, there was an increase of blindness, and arrogance rose high From self conceit Shahbāz K vexed people, and his officers snapped the thread of moderation and behaved in a silly manner The evil doings of the enemy increased Death[3] made his appearance and the stock of life became dear The enemy relied upon the circumstances that the rainy season was at hand, and that the victorious troops would be compelled to return Fortunately the rainfall was less than usual, and so they had to wait in a shameful[4] condition for the dark days They collected a number of diggers (*bildar*) and cut the (bank of) river Brahmaputra in fifteen places The water rushed upon the camp and the batteries were submerged The enemy brought large war boats, which had very high and long bows, and in the country-language are called *pitara*,[5] and took them close to Shahbāz

[1] The Bannar of Rennel which is according to him another name for the Luckia, or Sītal Luckia (the Luckhyā of the I G) Taylor Topography of Dacca Calcutta 1840, says, p 12 The Bannar unites the Brahmapootra and Luckia (i e the Buri ganga) It has formed a deep bed for itself in the hard kankar soil of the Northern Division and in some places is more than fifty feet deep

[2] *Text har du I O MSS have har du sū* both sides The reference is to Shahbāz and his officers

[3] I O MSS have *margī*, ' Pestilence The expression stock of life is allegorical apparently and does not mean that provisions became dear

[4] Sharmginī Both I O MSS have '*sarkamin* lying in wait

[5] Cf J II 122 where it is said that boats are so adapted for a siege that when run ashore they overtop the fort There is the variant *bināra Elliot has liyara and so apparently* have the two I O MSS, though the word in these may also be read *pāra* Probably the word is *palwār* See

K.'s fort On both sides there was firing of artillery and muskets The warriors were somewhat disconcerted, but by heaven's aid the enemy's leader was struck by a bullet and killed, and some boats were broken to pieces, and all at once the waters decreased, and the enemy had to fly A large amount of booty was obtained, and many of the enemy were drowned There was a hot contest in every 431
battery, and the Fortune of the Shahinshāh had fresh lustre But the foe prevailed against Saiyid Husain, the thanadār of Dacca and he was made prisoner 'Īsā awoke from his heavy sleep of ignorance and set afoot negotiations for peace through the instrumentality of his prisoner Shahbāz K. accepted them 'Īsā bound up the waist of obedience, and thought that by service he would obtain deliverance He agreed that a royal *daroghah* should be appointed in the port of Sonargaon, and that M'aṣūm should be sent to the Hijāz He also sent presents and *peshkash* and won over the hearts of the officers by large gifts, and the victorious army retired When Shahbāz K had crossed the rivers and reached Bhawāl, and was looking for the fulfilment of 'Īsa's promises (lit for words to be converted into deeds), wicked men in the army[1] in improper language made 'Īsā doubtful in his mind He changed his language, and brought forward conditions The commander of the army was indignant, and said that to make confusions on every occasion and to introduce new clauses was not the rule with right minded persons He became stern and spoke harshly Preparations were made for battle, and on 19 Mihr, divine month, 30 September 1584, that crooked minded one ('Īsa) came forward to fight The officers from short-sightedness saw their gain in what was their loss, and thought that the defeat of Shahbaz K would be an advantage to themselves The first to go off without fighting was Muhibb 'Ali K Every one left his place and went a roadless road Shāh Quli K Mahram made some stand and fought, but from being unsupported and from being wounded he left Bhawal Shahbaz K awoke from his sleep of haughtiness and made some effort to win the affections of his officers, but misplaced repentance is of no avail He was obliged

Wilson's Glossary and Taylor's Topography of Dacca p 120 where it is said that the palwar is the kind of boat peculiar to the district

[1] Apparently this means Shahbaz's army

to march for Tanda All his collections were lost, and the sons of Mir 'Ādila and others were made prisoners. S Muhammad Ghaznavi and others were killed During the retreat Khangar Saiyid 'Abdullah K, Rajah Gopāl, Mirzādas 'Ali K and others fell in with Tarkhan Diwana, M Muhammd and Nauruz 'Ali Qāqshāl as they were returning from plundering Owing to their evil fortune [1] (*az bakht teragī*) the rebels took the band of imperialists to be their own men and joined them There was a hot engagement and the *days* of Nauruz [2] (*nauruz ra ruzgar*) came to an end and the others came off half alive by dint of running Victory displayed the face of joy, and abundant plunder was obtained The officers after eight days obtained repose at Sherpur Murca [3] Shahbāz K tried to make preparation in this place and then to return and exact vengeance, but his companions were disgusted with his bad manners
O and did not incline to accompany him When they arrived at Tanda, Wazir K came forward with an open brow and a warm welcome Shahbāz K brought forward his former proposition, but opinions were not unanimous, and hearts did not emerge from double mindedness They were obliged to make reference to the holy threshold When the news came, strenuous *sazawals* were sent to turn back the officers, and suitable censures were conveyed to each of them, and counsels were also given An order was issued to S'aid K and other fief-holders of Bengal and Bihar to act in unity and to exert themselves to punish the landholder ('Isā) First, Peshrau K and Khwajagi Fath Ullah were sent on this service, and afterwards Ram Das Kacwāha and Mujahid Kambu They were by sharp words to produce a beneficial effect and make them keener for service

---

1 Blochmann 436 makes the mistake to have been on the side of the Imperialists and apparently the Bib Ind takes this view which is perhaps supported by the grammatical construction But surely A F would not speak of the mistake being the result of evil fortune if it eventuated in a victory for the Imperialists I think therefore that the meaning is that the rebels who were loaded with booty made the mistake and the note of the Lucknow edition p 280 of vol *III* takes this view The *giroh* in text is I think the band of Imperialists

2 Nauruz means New day and A F puns on this

3 I adopt the variant Sherpāi Murca

On 16 Āzar, divine month, the house of Rajah Todar Mal was illuminated by the advent of the Shahinshah The Rajah had for a long time cherished this desire, and he preferred his request in an excellent manner At this time he gained his object and in thanksgiving had a great feast

One of the occurrences was the sending of Jagannath to Ajmir News came that the Rana had come out of the defiles of the moun tains, and was creating a disturbance, and was oppressing the weak As the chastisement of the wicked is Divine worship an army was appointed under his command J'afar Beg was made paymaster (*bakhshi*) It set off on 24 Āzar, after Jagannāth had received valuable counsels In a short time they arrived there, and the landowner retreated, and men got their repose After some days, Saiyid Rāju was left in Mandalgarh with some men, and an expedition was undertaken against the Rana s residence He did not find himself able to oppose, but came out by another ravine and stirred up strife in the country that was submissive Saiyid Rāju marched against him to give battle, and the Rāna returned towards Citur The Saiyid returned from the stage which the Rana had left Though there was no victory, yet the oppressed were delivered Jagannath attacked his residence, and joined Saiyid Rāju

One of the occurrences was the birth of Ārām Bānu Begam[1] On 12 Dai, 22 December 1584, divine month, and the 19th degree of Sagittarius and according to the calculation of the Indians, one degree and 54 minutes that night gleaming jewel of fortune ap peared, and glorified the harem of the Shahinshāh Astrologers announced the joyful news and the world s lord conferred on her that great name It is to be hoped that the advent of this lady of the family of chastity will be the means of increased life and will be an adornment to the kingdom

[1] Cf Jahāngir s Memoirs Price s translation p 48 Her mother was Bibī Daulat Shād Jahangir says his father was very fond of her See also Tūzuk 16 Akbar called her his Lādla (Lārla) (darling) and Jahāngīr speaks of her as being of a violent temper Shakru n nisā was her elder sister and by the same mother Aram Bāi ū died of dysentery on 7 Tir in the 19th year of Jahangir in her fortieth year Tuzūk Supplement p 386 The statement there that she left the world in the same state in which she entered it must mean that she never married

CHAPTER LXXIX

The Arrival of Shāhrukh M at the Court of the Shāhinshāh

(This chapter begins with about twelve lines of reflections on the evils of flattery, etc as illustrated by the history of the Badakhshān Mirzas It then proceeds as follows) —

When M Hakim returned to Kabul from Badakhshān, M
41 Shahrukh brought himself to the resolution of paying his respects to M Sulaimān, and of living in harmony M Sulaimān, on account of suspicions, and his observation of the conduct of faithless persons, would not agree to this After much talk, it was arranged that Uzbeg Sultān, the ruler of Hisar—who kept alive the rules of relationship and friendship—should send a party of men as sureties (bayāwari) and that the Mirzas should see one another in the midst of the river Āmui (the Oxus), at a place [1] where there are nine channels, and that they should there enter into engagements of concord It was also arranged that M Sulaiman should cross four channels, and M Shāhrukh five When M Sulaiman [2] arrived at the river-bank, he crossed one channel and then got frightened and turned his rein Makers of difficulties were nearly putting a stumbling-block in M Shāhrukh's path, but from his good disposition and intentions he crossed eight channels, and after waiting upon M Sulai

---

[1] It would be interesting to know where this place is It probably is in the upper course of the Oxus and south of Hiṣār Shādmān, which is another name for Hiṣār The nine channels recall Arnold's expression The shorn and parcelled Oxus In Bābur's time and also in M Sulaimān's Badakhshan included territory north of the Oxus

[2] Sulaiman had crossed one channel and presumably Shāhrukh crossed this and visited his camp which presumably was on the N bank of the Oxus But perhaps the meaning is that Sulaimān did not turn quite back but stayed at the south side of the first of the nine channels and that the meeting took place there

mān expressed his desires for amity He took his leave after having visited the Mirzā s (Sulaimān's) quarters The latter went off to Kulāb and shortly afterwards he—under pressure from wicked men who regard evil as good and good as evil—enlarged his wishes and raised a disturbance He sent a message that Mihr 'Alī, Cucak and 442
Mir 'Imād should be delivered up to him, or if M Shāhrukh could not agree to this, that he should dismiss them from his presence M Shahrukh swallowed the bitter draught, and agreed to the last proposition They went off to Kabul with the thorns of failure in their feet, and Mir 'Imad went into retirement Meanwhile Muhammad Quli Shighāli, who was the sword and the intellect of the country, left M Shāhrukh and joined M Sulaiman This increased the bad feeling, and it was not long before Mihr 'Ali returned from Kabul (text Zabulistan) to M Shāhrukh As M Sulaiman had suffered much opposition [1] from him formerly he sent a message to say that the surrender of Mihr 'Ali would be a proof of M Shahrukh's submission The Mirza sent him along with Hāji Taman [2] and M Sulaimān made the latter his servant, and imprisoned Mihr 'Ali He also sent S Bābāi Wali [3]—who under the disguise of a medicant s dress, was spinning snares—and represented that at the time of the agreement and the division of the country Muhammad Quli Haji Taman and Mihr 'Ali were of his (Shahrukh s) party It was proper now that his share (Sulaimān's) should be increased by Taliqan and some territory (in order to support the retainers) M Shāhrukh replied that the rules of humanity and graciousness required that the pleasant abode of unity should not be stained by the dust of the shameless and strife mongering, and that M Sulaimān should send back the set which had left him (Shāhrukh) M Sulaimān did not agree to this and resolved on fighting Shahrukh too, from the intoxication of youth, and from not having any wise companion went off In Rustāq he halted, and made his petition, and had recourse to entreaties He begged that no dust of conflict should be

---

[1] The text has *pashimanī* repentance but I think the I O MS reading *beshimanī* boundless is more likely to be correct I am doubtful however and perhaps the B b Ind text is correct The meaning then would be that Sulaiman repented of the former d scord

[2] The Iqbālnāmā has Saman

[3] Walī in text

raised, and that they should not give their enemies cause to rejoice. M Sulaiman was nearly coming to terms, but strife-mongers did not allow him to do so, and there was a battle. Inasmuch as the breaking of compacts, and the non-acceptance of apologies are not auspicious, M Sulaimān was defeated without a severe contest, and took refuge with the people of Hisār. M. Shāhrukh did not pursue and applied himself in some measure to the work of administration He made over Kūlāb to his eldest son Muhammad Zamān, and made Mihr Alī[1] his atālīq He himself came to Qandūz. M. Sulaimān took help from Uzbeg Sultan, the ruler of Hisār, and proceeded towards Badakhshān M. Shāhrukh also formed the design of fighting He sent some active men ahead under the leadership of Qanghar, and gave battle with the assistance of the Kulābīs. M Sulaimān was defeated on this occasion also, and returned to Hisār. At this time the ambassadors of the Shāhinshāh arrived, and M Shāhrukh's position became very strong. At the time when the august retinue had cast the shadow of justice over Zābulistān (Kabul) and M Hakim had been disgraced in the battle with the Prince (Murād), adroit and bold ambassadors were sent to M. Shāhrukh, who was agitating the chain of loyalty, to enquire after his health, and to tell him to come and do homage, or to send his mother, the Khānim The Mīrzā expressed himself in submissive
13 language, and his affairs assumed a brighter aspect. The people of Hisār withdrew from supporting M Sulaimān But M. Shāhrukh did not, on account of the wickedness of his advisers, bring himself to wait upon H M But he was arranging to send his mother to make excuses when news came that H. M was returning. Also his mother fell ill at this time. M Sulaimān, having come to despair of the Hisāriāns, wished to do the work of an enemy under the guise of a friend, and came with some Uzbegs to Badakhshān He brought forward proposals of peace M Shāhrukh accepted them, and it was agreed that each would pass over channels of the river to the place of the former compact, and that they would have a banquet of friendship, and make fresh treaties M Shāhrukh acted as he had said, M. Sulaimān did not cross, and sent a message that M. Shāhrukh should come over to his side of the river, and remove the dust

[1] Apparently he had been released and had returned to Shāhrukh

of doubleness (as apposed to unity). M Shāhrukh understood his idea and turned his rein At this time Mirzā Shāhrukh's mother died, and all at once good counsels ceased He fell into conceit and self-will The condition of the army became bad There was sport and play and the peasantry fell into distress M Sulaimān went off to 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg the ruler of Turān, in hopes that he might gain his ends He had taken an army to Tāshkend, but his father Sikandar K[1] received M Sulaiman, and welcomed him with kind ness 'Abdullah K on hearing this news had other thoughts and wrote that Sulaimān should be kept under surveillance until his arrival The Mirzā understood the matter and on a dark night took the road to Ḥisār Some active men went with him and by dint of courage he got away from that dangerous place When 'Abdullah K returned, he sent Qul Bābā,[2] his *vakīl* and general to Uzbeg Sultān with the request that he would deliver up the Mirzā He observed the rights of kindness and sent off the Mirza to Badakhshān before Qul Bāba arrived Sulaimān came, after failure, to Kūlāb via Qaratagin M Shāhrukh came forward with submissive language and proposed to divide the country according to the former arrangement M Sulaimān had the dexterity (*pakhtakārī*) to refuse, and accepted *Kishm* as a fief M Shāhrukh, owing to the wine of conceit and a love of praise, only paid attention to the words, and did not try to read the lines of the forehead, nor did he distinguish friend from foe In a short time the word sellers had a daily market and the right-thinking had to sit in a corner Mir 'Imād, Mir Kalan, and Cucak Beg took charge of the administration, and the office of Bakhshi (army payments) fell again to Yai Beg Avarice and envy made these men foolish, and they were continually squabbling with one another On account of the neg lect of the lord of the country (or perhaps of the village headmen) the avarice of his ministers, and the ignorance of his servants, there was great confusion in men's fiefs, and there was a brisk market for the sale[3] of villages, and the rank of folly became great Kūlāb 4

[1] Or Iskandar He died in 1583 (991) Vambery

[2] His Kokaltāsh or foster brother and governor of Herat Vambery's Bokhara 292 and 296 Ābdullah's son Ābdu l mumin put him to death

[3] I have deviated from the text here and adopted the reading of the

was given anew to Qādu Qulī Koka, Qundūz to Qūrcī Beg, Tālqān to 'Abdu r-Rahmān, Ghorı to Mīr Nızam, Kahmard to Khanjar 'Alı, Andarāb to Latfī Koka, Rustāq to Mast 'Alı and Baqlān to Sherbal At such an ınauspicious tıme 'Abdullah K saw his opportunity and came to Badakhshān, and conquered that strong country without a battle He always had had an eye on the Mırzās of Badakhshān, and when he learnt that they had not gone to the Shāhınshāh, and that they were quarrelling with one another, and neglecting the administration, he had recourse to violence He sent a message that they should make over to him Ghorī and Kahmard, and should send the Aımāqs of Turān—who for a long time had lived in that country (Badakhshān)—to him M. Shāhrukh made no reply, nor did he become more active An idle report had been spread that the ruler of Turan was dead and that Qul Bıbā was preferring these requests M Shāhrukh remained on this account in the profound slumber of indifference In this state of affairs, while the hearts of the Mirzās were bad, the forts unsupplied, the soldiers distressed, friends in obscurity, and enemies in the enjoyment of success, the active foe arrived The Mırzas fled to the defiles Qūrcī Beg joined the enemy, and Qundūz, which is the pillar of the country, was lost without a battle Similarly Sherbal and some other Badakhshān officers took the road of disloyalty, while many remained with their families, and restrained their people from service The Kūlābians attached themselves to Muhammad Zamān and stood firm Whoever spends his time in sloth and in looking after his own comfort, and defers the good treatment of men to the day of calamity, will be left alone in the world of social life, and shall not receive help The knitting together of hearts is produced by abundant attention in the time of prosperity Those who are infatuated with the world do not open the door of warmth of affection until they have fallen into difficulty Till then they keep the shops of gentleness closed[1] When the Mırzās had brought things to such a pass, every one to whom they applied turned away Being helpless they abandoned

---

1 O MSS Instead of *bāzār khūd faroshī u pāyā kı arāmı* of the text and which means the 'bazar of self selling and the degree of pleasure, they have *dahfaroshı* 'the sale of villages and *pay ı kharī*, 'the rank of asinism

the defiles of Badakhshān and came to Bahārak,[1] which is a rugged place and difficult of access They thought their old servants would be eager to help them, but most of them did not come forward On account of the excessive ice and snow, and the turning away of old friends, they could not remain there, and came to Panjshīr,[2] which is a dependency of Kabul Their idea was that if M Hakim helped them, they would try to recover their home Otherwise they would seek protection at the court of the Shāhinshāh From the time that M. Sulaimān had been exalted by doing homage at the holy threshold, and had sold the desire of conquering Badakhshān for a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, he had felt ashamed, and would not turn his face to the august court M Shahrukh's wish was that he might unite himself to eternal dominion, and as in the time of his pros- 44
perity he had not behaved well to the Kābulis, he wished to go to India by the hill route and without seeing M Hakim M Hakim sent for M Sulaiman, and after treating him with respect sent him to the Lamghānāt, and assigned some villages to him there Shah Muhammad M, the son[3] of Shahrukh, was with M Sulaiman M Shāhrukh was arrested and made over to Shādman Hazara He was to keep count of him (awāra sāzad) and not let him go to India The Mirzā with his three sons, the twins Hasan and Husain, and Badi z-zamān, their mother, and some servants, in all about thirty persons, remained in those hilly defiles of the Hazarjāt with a thousand[4] inconveniences and disgusts, and thought every day would be his last By the wonders of destiny a report arose that Abdullah K had been defeated, and that the Kulābians had been successful against him The Hazāra (Shadmān), who had had other thoughts, took the road of hope and sent off the Mirza towards Badakhshan. Fearing lest that savage should change his mind, he, after marching some distance, went off to a pathless place, and after fighting his way through ravines rested in Kahmard The rural population there gathered round him, and in a short time it appeared that the

[1] In Badakhshān But perhaps some place outside Badakhshān is meant e g the Bazārak Pass See J II 399 400

[2] Or Panjhīr J II 411 It is N of Kabul

[3] I O MS 236 does not call him the son of Shāhrukh Shah Muhammad is mentioned again as being in the Khaibar caravan

[4] A F puns on the word Hazara meaning both 1000 and a country

above report (of 'Abdullah's death) was not true, and that the Kulabians were shut up in the defiles The Mirza went off to attack Talqan[1] Meanwhile news came that Kulab had been taken and that an army had been sent to drive[2] forward the Aimaqs His companions scattered and his condition became worse than before He could not remain where he was nor could he turn his face to go back He was nearly falling into the hands of the enemy With a thousand efforts he proceeded towards Kabul (the country, not the city) and he met M Sulaiman in Sâl Aulang[3] M Hakim had, on the strength of the same report (of the success of the Kulabians), given him leave to go to Badakhshan He was now waiting at this station for reinforcements They now came to recognize one another's quality somewhat, and consulted about remedying[4] matters Suddenly some Uzbegs raised the dust of commotion About this time the birth of a son had caused M Shahrukh's countenance to shine They left it with a country woman and went off in haste Mihr Ālī, Qadir Bardi, Jahāngir, Ulugh Beg and others were coming close behind them[5] At dawn the Uzbegs arrived and dispersed to plunder the baggage As fortune would have it, M Sulaimān's steed[6] stumbled and he was thrown. M Shahrukh dismounted and tendered his horse That too ran off One of the companions got off his horse and gave it and mounted M Sulaiman and M Shahrukh cleverly caught the

[1] *Batakht* There is also the reading *nāhiyat* towards but the Iqbalnāma has *batakht*

[2] That is, to drive the Aimaqs to Tranzoxiana It seems that Abdullah claimed them as his subjects and demanded them back from the Mirzas We shall find later that 'Abdullah's son 'Abdu l mumin excited Akbar's wrath by demanding the surrender of the Aimaqs from him

[3] The Sal Aulang of A N translation p 563 and the Saulah Aulang of Jarrett II 400 n 1 It is N of

[4] Text *becara* helpless but *cāraqar* seems more likely and is given in the variant and the I O MS 236

[5] *Dist u gariban miāmada id* They were faithful and were afterwards killed in the Khaibar The baggage was with them and when the Uzbegs came up they proceeded to plunder this and so the Mirzas had time to escape (Iqbālnama)

[6] *Takāī ar* an ambling horse or mule The Iqbalnama makes it a mule

runaway As they were galloping, two roads appeared, and they separated The enemy went after M Shāhrukh A river was in front, and the Mīrzā crossed it and then broke down the bridge He now breathed safely His young son Hasan got separated during this hurry-scurry (*ratarar*) and thus Time inflicted a new wound Just then the news came that M Sulaimān was in Alsai[1] and Najrao The Mirza joyfully went there and paid his respects In this time of happiness, Siyundak K came from M Hakim and conveyed a message of friendship As they were aware of his evil disposition, this was a new grief to them They did not know that he had been rebuked by the sublime court for his conduct, and that he was sorry for what he had done They did not believe his friendly message, and sent some persons along with the messenger in order to find out what was the upshot of the affair, and ascertain if the promises were valid At this time a courier of Kuar Man Singh made them hopeful of royal favours M Sulaiman, who was ashamed to go to court, and whose hopes were fixed on M Hakim, stayed where he was M Shahrukh proceeded to the court He left the mother of the twins and one son and some old followers (*bab urian*) near Carikārān to search for the child who had been lost He himself went off by the Dāman i Koh to Daka A large caravan was waiting there and was in a state of alarm on account of the brigands He chose their companionship In the caravan were his aunt Khānzāda Khānim and Shāh Muhammad M (his son) M Hakim had given them leave to go to India The Mirzā (Shāhrukh) by the connivance of Shāṭi Afghan proceeded by that difficult pass In every bit they traversed, the narrow parts were

---

[1] The text has در اسا و بحرا dar Isā u baḥrā. There are variants and I think the true reading is در السائ و نجراو dar Alsaī u Najrao There are two Tumans or districts in the N and E of Kabul J II 411, and their names nearly agree with the reading in I O MS 236 which has در السا و نهرا dar *Alsa u Nahrā* In Badayūni, Lowe 355, we have Asālū or Asā We are told by A. F that M Sulaiman got lands in the Lamghānat from his son in law M Ḥakim and this agrees with the positions of Alsāī and Najrao See also J II 407 and n 1 and 411 Nizami u-d dīn mentions in the T A M S copy i enes me at the beginning of the 31st year that M Hākim as signed Istālif to M Sulaimān But this must have been when he first came

closed with stones by the wicked people of the ravine In the more difficult places the Tarikians (the Raushanis) blocked the path Shatı out of craft sent Qanghar Bāi, Jahāngir, Khanjar Ālı, Yār Beg and Abdal, each one of whom was the Rustum of the age, to that evil crew on pretence of giving a message, and had them treacherously slain His idea was that night would throw its dark shadow, and then a difficult business would become easy When a watch of day remained, something of the state of things became known, and they turned back from Ālı Masjid The Tarikian were emboldened and came out to fight The consternation of the traders affected the soldiers and they lost courage Life and property were plundered M Shahrukh fought bravely He fell from his horse, but by his efforts and the help of Khadang Beg he mounted again and once more performed masterpieces of bravery His son Badı'u zamān fell from his horse, but by the help of Jan 'Ālı got to the station By dint of fighting he (Shahrukh) got out of the ravine and at the end of the night rested in Daka In the morning he considered what he should do and saw no protection except in the hills of
447 Badakhshan At this time he learnt that M Sulaimān was in the neighbourhood He got some comfort by seeing him, but was grieved by the death of his newly born son The Aimaqs had loyally concealed him and cherished him On the first occasion, when they (Shahrukh and Sulaiman) were staying together in the Langhanāt he had sent for him, and had left him in the kind guardianship of M Sulaiman A flower passed away from life, without fruiting'[2] M Hakim had sent M Sulaiman to the Lamghānat according to the former arrangement At this time an army of M Hakim's arrived and represented that an order had come from the Shāhinshah's court to the effect that M Shahrukh should be escorted in a suitable manner, and that it had been nominated for this service Though he was somewhat rejoiced at this good news, yet he did not believe in it much until they turned back after having traversed the Khaibar, and the officers, who were in the neighbourhood of the

---

[1] Slain by his younger brothers in the 18th year of Jahangir's reign, 1623 B 313 Tuzuk 363 and Iqbal nama . 3 04

[2] The MSS and the Lucknow ed have *bar nachida* without gathering fruit

Indus, came forward with all respect Kuar Mān Singh regarded his coming as a great honour, and showed him fitting hospitality From there he went forward with a tranquil mind and a glad heart The news of the safety of the son who had been separated from him, also rejoiced him He had fallen into the hands of an Uzbeg during the scrimmage (*dua du*) and on the occasion of the hurry-scurry (*tavarav*) the Uzbeg's eyes had fallen upon the baggage He had left the child and gone hastily after the baggage A slave was on the watch, and he took up the child and brought it to Sal Aulang, and made it over to the mother whose heart had long been consumed with sorrow When M Shāhrukh crossed the Indus this good news was a happy presage to him The fief holders everywhere gave him a warm welcome and when he came to Lahore, Rajah Bhagwant Das held a great feast He also accompanied[2] him on his journey Prince Daniel was sent to receive him one stage from Fathpur, and he was accompanied by many grandees On 23 Dai,[3] 3 January 1585, he was exalted by doing homage and there was a daily market of hospitality As the world's lord reads the roll of the heart from the lines on the forehead, he perceived the characters of nobleness in the Mirzā, and taking him by the hand of kindness, he showed him favour The star of his fortune which had sunk rose again Everyone of the faithful exiles who had quaffed the bitter cup of adversity, gathered the bliss of prosperity

If a profound glance[4] be given to all the Badakhshis it will appear that the pearl of pure intelligence has been removed from that

[1] Cf Badayūnī Lowe 350 and T.A beginning of 30th year (not translated in Elliot)

[2] Badayūnī Lowe 352

[3] *Nizāmu d din* puts the arrival of Shāhrukh at Fathpūr into the 30th year 993 A H See Elliot V 447 Both he and Badayūnī state that Mān Singh s letter announcing the arrival of Shāhrukh at the Indus arrived on 1 Zī l-qada 992 25 October 1584 If this date is correct Shāhrukh must have travelled very slowly from the Indus or he must have been some time at Fathpur before he was presented

[4] These reflections are obscurely expressed and there is a word—*samāne*—of which I do not see the force The I O MSS have *zamāna* and it may be that this is the right reading and that it is in *izafat* with Badakhshān and that the meaning is That Badakhshī of the Age Apparently what A F means is that if we look at the Badakhshis then Shāhrukh s removal from them was like removing a rare pearl from a

troubled land of indiscretion, and if a comparison be made with the far-sighted ones of the sublime court it will appear that simplicity has been transferred to the school of the acquisition of wisdom Hail to the glorious fortune which at the time exerts itself in testing piety and in the knowledge of mankind[1] The raw material of the simple-minded here acquires a refined soul, and their countenances
48 are brightened by varied knowledge The Mirzā by the action of Fortune, which is the awakener of the slumbrous but well intentioned, awoke from sleep and became possessed of auspiciousness for by this lucky circumstance he obtained exaltation

One of the occurrences was the defeat of M'asum K Kābuli It has been related what happened to the army in Bhati on account of selfishness and envy Shahbaz K spoke in a lofty manner and decided to go to court, and the Bihar officers, with the exception of Muhibb Ali K, abode in their estates From prudential motives 'Isa did not leave his home, but M'asum, at his instigation, *came to Sherpur*[2] *and some rebels took possession of the country up* to Māldah, twelve *kos* from Tānda Though Wazir K had not the courage to rely upon the daily increasing fortune and to resolve upon fighting, yet he stood firm and guarded that great city and many other places The *sazawals* by right behaviour and bitter speeches turned back Shahbāz K and made the fief holders of Bihar accompany him and act in unison An order was issued to Shahbaz K to the effect that if he wanted more troops, Rajah Todar Mal, Mattālib K, S Jamal Bakhtiyār and many other able and zealous servants would be sent to him He replied that he had plenty of troops and that his whole soul was set upon accomplishing the task On 18 Dai, 28 December 1584, he entered Bengal and applied him

---

place where it was not appreciated and if we look to the society into which he entered at Fathpūr, then it was the case of an honest simpleton coming into intellectual society Jahāngir's account of Shāhrukh Price 35, may be compared with the remarks of A F There is a good account of Sulaimān and Shahrukh's wanderings in Noer's Akbar, translation II pp 121-29

[1] See Elliot VI 77

[2] I think this is Sherpūr Feringhi in Bikrāmpur the Serrepore of Fit[illegible] See B J A S B for 1873, p 230 no[illegible] and Taylor's Topography of Dac[illegible] 108 Taylor says that Serripur w[illegible] destroyed by the Kirt[illegible] A[illegible]

One of the occurrences was the defeat of Dastam Qiqshāl[1] He was one of the ringleaders among the rebels From men's want of courage and the concourse of base people he became powerful At the time when the victorious army collected in Sherpūr,[2] M'aṣūm hurried off towards Fatḥābād[3] in the direction of Orissa That vain-imagining[4] one remained in this neighbourhood (that of Sherpur) His idea was that in this way the imperialists would be split up into two forces, and that he might thus be successful Before news came about M'aṣūm, Dastam increased his commotion at a distance of twelve kos from the imperial camp Shāh Qūlī K Mahram, Muḥibb 'Alī K, Rajah Gopal Dās, Mīrzāda 'Alī K, Khwāja Baqār[5] and other brave men went off to give him battle Khwāja Muqīm[6] who had come there as a wāq'a-navis (intelligencer or recorder) joined them as an[7] Āmīn The news of coming of the battle-lovers robbed the enemy of firmness, and the officers pursued him to Shāhzādpur[8] and then returned

---

1 His death is mentioned later A.N III 462

2 Apparently this is Sherpūr Ferīnghī which seems to add a fourth to the Sherpūrs mentioned in J A S B for 1874 p 283 note Perhaps, however, it is Sherpur Murca

3 Fatḥābād corresponds to Farīdpūr and part of Jessore etc Fatiabas is marked on De Barros map, J.A S B for 1872, p 108 as a town in the direction of Orissa from Dacca

4 The Bib Ind makes a new clause after *shitāfi* as if the vain imagining one were Dastam, and I have translated the passage accordingly But I am inclined to think that this is wrong The vain imagining one is probably M'aṣūm who went to Fatḥābād and remained there thinking that this would lead to a division of the imperial forces (as indeed it did) Apparently Dastam advanced to within 12 kos of the imperial camp, in ignorance of M aṣūm s flight Presumably he came from the Ghoraghāt side where the Qāqshāls had their homes

5 The Iqbālnāma has Bāqar Anṣārī

6 I do not think this can be the father of Niẓāmu-d dīn The M aaṣīr Raḥīmī MS J.A S B mentions a Khwāja Muqīm who was alive in 1024 or 1025, 1615 A D This could hardly be the man who was in service at the time of Bābur s death in 1530 Moreover the Iqbālnāma says he is now called Wazīr K. and has a manṣab of Rs 2,000

7 The text has ' with thirty men ", but the variant *bamīnī* as an Amīn or in order to inspect, is supported by the I O MSS and the Iqbālnama and must, I think, be right

8 The pargana meant is probably that in Sarkār Jinnatābād J II 121 There is also one in Bāqirganj id.

One of the occurrences was that the victorious troops were divided into two bodies Inasmuch as evil thoughts and selfish views turn wisdom into foolishness, and fill the ear of the understanding with the quicksilver of insouciance, the holy counsels (of Akbar) were of no avail Shāhbāz K was made furious by the evil thoughts of his companions, and lost moderation. Sādiq K got disgusted with the work and gave vent to his feelings by his language Though the officers had life sacrificing courage, they did not possess along with it practical wisdom, so that they might carry on their king and master's work and lay aside selfish views, and regulate the feast of friendship As they could not carry out their own designs, they indulged in wrath and destructive desires They left the highroad of justice on one side and went on a pathless course Though they used to bring the word "loyalty" on their lips how shall[1] I write that they had no share of honesty? Apparently they had taken the usual share (of this quality) in this rose garden of joy!

In the books of instruction composed by those who have chaunted the lay of loyalty, two classes are reckoned First, there are those who choose singleheartedness (or Unity) when combined with their own advantage, and in this way raise higher the rank of their self-will But though this class is separated somewhat from traffickers, yet the discerning do not give the name of singleheartedness to such slaves of selfishness, and do not attach value to their adhesion The second class is that of the noble truth seekers who keep their altruistic hearts filled with the light of love, and are pre eminent among the chosen ones of the Creator More wonderful still, the capital of 45
success comes in heaps to this class, as fodder for cattle comes[2] to the husbandman! Enough of many words and little substance! Those men (the officers) seized upon harsh language and severity at a time when gentleness was befitting

---

134 but that seems too far east and south

[1] The meaning is that though the officers had no right to be continually talking about loyalty they were not altogether dishonest They had apparently the ordinary share of it The rose-garden of joy seems to mean Akbar's court, and A F says these men had as much loyalty as most of the courtiers had

[2] I suppose this means that it comes spontaneously without effort Artificial grasses are not or at least were not, known in India

At this time the commotion of M'asum K was discussed, and it was resolved that as the enemy was in two places, so the victorious soldiers should be divided into two armies, and address themselves to service On 20 Bahman, about 1 March 1585, Wazır K Shah Qulı K Mahram, Sâdıq K, Muhıbb 'Alı K, Rajah Gopal Das Kıcak [1] Khwājah and others took upon themselves the task of defeating M'aşum K, and so separated S'aıd K, Shahbāz K Bahādur K, Saıyıd 'Abdullah K, Mırzada 'Alı K Babuı Manklı, and Abā Bıkr and Ormaz the brothers of Tarson K, Tımar Badakhshı, Shah Qāsım and others remained where they were, and occupied themselves in putting down the evildoers in that quarter The private disputes which occurred every day were at an end, and each body went off to do service

One of the occurrences was that the ruler of Kashmır sent his son to court When Yusuf K saw himself cherished and exalted at court, he sent his eldest son Y'aqub thither with the rarities of the country in order that he might gather bliss in the service of H M, and also might be a reminder of himself in the august assemblage On 29 Bahman, 9 February 1585, he arrived and performed the *kornısh*, and became the [2] subject of favours

---

[1] Perhaps this is the Khwājah Kasak or Kısak whom Gulbadan Begam seems to refer to as a writer Mem translation O T F 163 and note

[2] Haıdar Malık says I O MS 510 p 185a that Akbar was not pleased with Yūsuf for sending Y'aqub He said Yusuf had not come himself and had at first sent a boy (Haıdar) who was not fit for service and then Y aqūb who was not free of madness and wickedness It was such language as this which led Y aqūb to fly to Kashmīr after having been about two years in Akbar s court at Fatḥpur

CHAPTER LXXX

Marriage of Prince Sulṭān Selīm

Those who are awakened of heart and profoundly intelligent, never neglect five points, but regard them as the great methods of doing the will of God The first is to regard man's corporeal frame as a Divine building and so to watch over it They reform the wicked by severe language, and severe action, and by exiling and imprisoning them Secondly, they guard the camp of wisdom from the strong gale of self indulgence, and do not drop from their hands the proper measuring rod for the edification of their outer and inner nature Thirdly, they control their desires—with which the issues of things in matters spiritual and temporal are bound up—and keep them in their proper place Fourthly, they subject lust and wrath to wisdom, and do not prey upon men's honour They treat high and low with respect, and so keep the garden of dominion verdant Fifthly, in arranging marriages they are especially careful about race on both sides,[1] so that there may be good offspring The effect of putting (good) seed into a saline soil illustrates the value of this precaution God be praised The sovereign of our 451
time has succeeded in every thing and has raised aloft the standard of achievement, especially in the matter of marriages! If, as in the case of those who have chosen celibacy, there be no marriages, then the great fountain head of humanity shall become choked, and the stream of Divine benevolence shall sink into the sand And if the jewel of equality be obscured, the limpid waters of life will soon become brackish Hence it occurred to the holy heart that he ought to bring a jewel of chastity into the grasp of that star of the mansion of sovereignty—Prince Sultân Selim—so that by this present there might be a fresh illumination of the hall of fortune

[1] The original contains the metaphor of a doubt thread the meaning being that both bride and groom should be superior The disquisition may be compared with the chapter on marriages in the Ain B 2-7

At this time it was represented to H M that Rajah Bhagwān Das Kacwāha, who held high office, and who had lofty lineage and abilities, had a daughter whose purity adorned her high extraction, and was endowed with beauty and graces, and that it was the wish of her family that she should be united to the prince H M accepted their wish, and made a number of persons joyful Experienced persons were appointed to make the arrangements, and in a short time the private and public hall (*daulatkhana*) was decorated There were glorious feasts and assemblies, and there was a daily market of gifts There were marriage presents and scattering of largesse according to the usages of the great On 5 Isfandārmaz (about 16 February 1584) H M and the principal men of the kingdom visited the Rajah's abode, and the marriage took place On the same day the pure form was conveyed to the chamber of fortune, and the bridal night of joy was celebrated

Verse

Hail to State and Church, for this glorious wedding
Has taken place and given form to realm and religion
In dominion a palace they have, for the light of the Shah s eyes (Selim)
Decked a bridal alcove like beauteous eyelashes

My spiritually and physically elder brother S Abu Faiz Faizi produced an ode each line of which gave the date of this great event

Verse [1]

Hail to the pearl scattering marriage of Sultan Selim
Which gives glory to the year of hope,
By the fostering care of the sun [2] of Aquarius
There has come a conjunction of the moon [3] and Venus

---

[1] Each of the four lines yields by *abjad* the date 9 9 3

[2] The sun enters Aquarius in February

[3] The moon is masculine with the Orient ls Badayuni s account of the marriage borrowed from Nizamu d dīn, may be referred to Lowe 352 The marriage was really pearl scattering according to Nizāmu d dīn for the bride s father Bhagvān Das scattered pearls and other jewels

CHAPTER LXXXI

THE DISGRACE OF MOZAFFAR GUJARĀTĪ FOR THE THIRD TIME 45

At this season, when the Age was in the flash of joy, and mortals were embracing delight, happy-footed couriers came from the province of Gujarat and conveyed the tidings of fresh victories They raised a high tent for thanksgivings to God, and the tongue of the ruler[1] of the world uttered marriage-blessings A wise man, who makes the increase of glory the adornment of supplication to God, and whose prudence increases from time to time in this season of the slipping of the foot of discretion, will assuredly be assisted by the celestial superintendents of affairs The fortune of the Shāhinshāh tells of this, and this noble volume rehearses somewhat of it.

It has been mentioned that base and wicked men made the worthless Moẓaffar an instrument of turbulence, and now, in spite of abundance of men and money, he, time after time, failed and was struck with shame It was now time that the hare brained one should awake from his careless slumbers, but as selfishness deprived him of vision, and he considered what was his loss to be his gain, and as fortune had given him some worldly goods and had raised him up in order that he might become intoxicated and fall into the pit of disgrace, he foolishly imagined that these things were the materials of greatness Many wished for things come together also in the houses of tradesmen, but they are not the materials of power and grandeur That is a ray from the Divine halo, and it comes not into the hands by striving

Verse

In the garden, the gourd lifts its head beside the cypress
Such exaltation is but brief
Between the cypress and the gourd the heavens know
Which head is worthy of sublimity

[1] I read with the I O MS 236 *karkardār* instead of the *karkard* of text

Many laudable qualities must unite in a son of man before he be fit for the diadem of ruler and be a suitable throne occupant. I with my stammering tongue cannot enumerate them But some thing may be said, and a sketch may be made 1st, He must have sublime intelligence in order that he may understand the degrees of noble deeds, and may bring forth the Truth 2nd, At the *time of administering justice he must make no difference* between relatives and strangers, between friends and foes, so that the oppressed who have neither force nor gold, may obtain redress, and that evildoers and oppressors may sit in the byelane of failure 3rd, He must have God-given courage in order that the might of tyrants may not withhold him from doing justice, and that he may not be agitated in time of commotion 4th, Laboriousness In ruling the world he must not separate the night from the day, and not prefer ease to toil 5th, Magnanimity Silver and gold must have no weight in his heart's antechamber, and he must by liberality and largesse subdue to himself a mercenary world 6th, A wide tolerance, so that he endure the disagreeables of fortune with an open brow, and he not led by failure into the narrownesses of grief 7th, Differences in religion must not withhold him from his duty of watching, and all classes of men must have repose, so
53 that the shadow of God may confer glory 8th, Increasing Love He must be grieved by men's distresses, and endeavour by kindness to remove them, so that the refractory and crooked in their ways may bind the burden of obedience upon their shoulders, and that the dust of doubleness may be swept from the pleasant hall of his dominions 9th, He must bring choice deliberation to bear upon his work and do well what is proper for the time, so that the thornbrake of evil may be rooted out, and the troubled house of the world have repose 10th, Little passion He must cast away unfitting desires, and not depart from wisdom, so that wrath may not prevail, and daily increasing Fortune may show her countenance 11th, He must take opinions, and not rely on his own knowledge and perception He must inquire of the able He must not disclose his secrets to every one, and let him not incur[1] the reprobation of the acute and right thinking, so that loss of Fortune may not accrue to him, but happiness be always

[1] The meaning of this clause is not clear

conspicuous 12th, Hatred of sequacity (*taqlid*) Let the love of inquiry always precede his actions, and the cult of proof be his method, so that he may not be moved from his course by perceiving the view of a multitude, and may not by altercation be made impatient of research

In fine, as Mozaffar had no part or lot in these qualities, and abundance of desires had made him silly, he did not turn his rein, though his brainless head had twice struck against the stone of ruin, but increased in turbulence He opened out the collections of treasure, and made a great show Fly like slaves of gold gathered round him and he went to the town of Gondal[1] fifteen *kos* from Junagarh and stirred up strife He made friendship with Amin K[2] Ghori and the Jām The landowners took money on pretences, and were always meditating some other purpose That wicked man (Moẓaffar) had seated himself in the ambush of opportunity When the victorious troops returned, and the receipts[3] of the fief-holders became less on account of the disturbances, and there was some disorganization, the turbulent fellow saw that his time had come and stirred up the dust of dissension The Khan khanān left Qulij K along with some able servants in charge of Ahmadābad, and appointed two armies, each to go in a different direction Medini Rai, Beg Muhammad Toqbāi, Saiyid Lād, Saiyid Bahādur, Kāmrān Beg Rām Cand, Udai Singh, Khwajam Bardi, and others were left in the village of Hadala[4] seven *kos* from Danduqa Miyān[5] Bahādur, Mahmud Sabzawāri, S Muhammad Haravi, Mir Muhibb Ullah, Mir Sharafu d din, Bunyad Beg, Bhupati Rai, were left in Parānti,[6] eight *kos* from the city, and Saiyid Qāsim and the Saiyids of Barha were left in Pattan He himself set off on 12 Āzar, 22 November,

[1] Gondal capital of the Gondal State and N E Junagarh

[2] Son of Tātār K and consequently grandson of Sultān 'Alāū-d-dīn (M Sikandari). The Jām is apparently Satarsal of the family of the Rajah of Jhalāwār Elliot V 538. But it seems that a Jhalāwār Rajah was driven out and migrated to Kac and founded Nawānagar See J II 250

[3] The M Aḥmadī says that little could be obtained from the fiefs and consequently the sepoys did not get paid

[4] 20 m N E Danduqa Elliot V 439

[5] Corrected in errata from Biyān

[6] Text Berāhi (?) Parāntī is 30 m N Aḥmadābad (Elliot) The Parrantaje of Bayley s map

1584, in company with Naurang K., Khwaja Nizāmu-d-din Aḥmad and other brave men to chastise Mozaffar. He was in Morbi, and was waiting for the landholders (lit. was keeping his eye on the road 45
of the zamindārs). He was sending evil men in every direction to collect funds and he caused Rādhanpur[1] to be plundered.

At this time Mozaffar became distracted by the news of the approach of the imperial army. He went off to Kharāri[2] (?) and Rajut[3] Kot, which is a large city in Kathiwār. The Khan khānān left his camp behind him and went on rapidly. From Birāmgāon[4] to Kharāri there was no cultivation for sixty kos and the warriors had to carry their provisions with them. Mozaffar was unable to make a stand anywhere and went off to the mountains of Barda.[5] These are high mountains near the ocean. They are thirty *kos* long and ten broad, are well watered, and produce abundance of wild fruits. Dwarka[6] lies twenty *kos* to the north of them. The imperialists established themselves in that country. On perceiving this, the landholders came forward in a supplicating manner. They represented that the ill-fated one had come there of his own accord, that they were not in league with him, and that they were loyal. Amin K. Ghori agreed that he would send his own son to serve. Mir Abu Turāb went and brought the son and the nursling of his (Amin Ghori's) wishes was fostered. The agents of the Jām represented that Mozaffar was behaving presumptuously forty *kos* away, and that if some active men were appointed, he would assuredly

---

[1] Capital of Rādhanpūr State near the Rann and W. Pattan.

[2] Perhaps the Kharaghora of Bayley's map west of Veerumgaon, i.e. Birāmgāon. More probably however it is the Garidharī of J. II 258 as there is the variant there of Kara-rī Dharari. It is the Gariadhar of Bayley's map apparently and is in South Kāthīwar in the district of Halaria. I. G. XIII 94.

[3] Rajkot, capital of the State of that name.

[4] Paramgāon in Elliot 438 but it is Biramgaon in Bayley and the Veerumgaon of his map. It lies W.N.W. Aḥmadabād and not east as stated in Elliot. See also J. II 242.

[5] Text Barra. See J. II 248 and note 3. They are near Porbandar and 12—18 m. from the coast. The highest point of the cluster is Venu 1730 ft. (I. G. VI 431) but in account of Nawānagar id. XVIII 419 Mount Venu is said to be 2057 feet above the sea!

[6] J. II 248. It is really W. N. W. of the Bardā hills.

be captured The Khān-khānān set out rapidly in pursuit of him, but no trace of him could be found It was stated that he had gone from that quarter to the hill-country of Bardā The Khān-khānān divided the army into four[1] bands One was put under Naurang K., another under Niẓamu d dīn Aḥmad, another was under Daulat K Lodī Each band entered a corner of the country The Rājputs there fought stubbornly and played away their lives That fertile country was plundered, and abundance of booty was obtained Though no trace could be found of the wretch, yet the fraud[2] and tricks of the Jām were discovered It appeared that Moẓaffar had gone to the Jām's country, had left his son with him, and gone off towards Aḥmadabad The Khān-khānān paid no regard to this move, and addressed himself to the chastisement of the Jam He too, thinking that the imperial army would be confused on hearing of the departure of Moẓaffar, collected daring men and advanced After proceeding four *kos* he awoke from the heavy slumber of self-conceit and came forward with protestations and fawnings By the intervention of Rai Durgā and Kalyān Rai his wishes were accepted He sent his son Jaisā, the elephant Sherza, and other presents, and entered into the shelter of good service The Khān khānān returned from within ten kos of Nawānagar,[3] which was his (the Jām's) residence, and hastened to Ahmadā- 455
bād There were rejoicings in Morbī on account of the report of the victory of the imperialists and the flight of the rebel The latter by the help of the collusion of the landholders came to Aḥmadabād, and a number of wicked mercenaries were collected The troops which were in Hadāla[4] united with those in Parāntī[5] The other fief holders also prepared for war The presumptuous one, from apprehension[6] that the forces would unite and make

[1] Only three columns are named Perhaps the 4th was that commanded by the Khān khānan in person

[2] Cf Elliot V 439

[3] M Kāthiawār, I G XVIII 421

[4] Elliot, V 439

[5] Parantī appears to be the Parān (tij) of the I G XIX 408 It is 35 miles N N E of Aḥmadābad

[6] The word is andesha fear or apprehension but it appears to me now more probable that the word is used here to mean expectation It is used in this sense at p 462, line 12 Moẓaffar thought that the troops at Parāntī and Hadāla would join

his position difficult, came near Parānti The imperial servants drew up their forces Madan Cohān, Rām Cand, Udai Singh, Saiyid Lād, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid Shah 'Ali, Bhupat Deccani, Gisū Dās Rāthor, Bagha Rathor, and others of the vanguard performed masterpieces of valour Khwajam Bardi and other brave men of the centre joined in the fighting Moẓaffar fled, and though many of the victorious troops were wounded, yet the leaders of the enemy, such as Qurbān 'Ali Biharagi, S 'Abdullah Sālih Miana, Tamtam Husain, and Gada Beg, were killed By the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshah a great victory[1] was gained Some of the rebels were killed, and some sent into obscurity, the commotion subsided, and the world s lord on receiving the joyful news increased his devotion and his justice, and added another good omen[2] to the glory of the marriage (Selim s)

him, and so he marched in that direction Morbī which is mentioned at p 455 of text as the scene of rejoicings is the Morvi of the I G XVIII 4 and is the capital of a state of that name in Kathīawar

[1] Cf Elliot V 439

[2] The victories occurred before the marriage but the news apparently arrived after that had taken place

CHAPTER LXXXII

BEGINNING OF THE 30TH YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF THE SHÂHINSHAH, VIZ. THE YEAR SHAHRIYÛR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

At this time of joy when the nuptial banquet was full of delights, the variegated spring illuminated the countenance of the age. The garden of dominion acquired new freshness.

Verse.

'Tis the glorious feast of Farwardīn,
The market day of the rose and the *nasrīn* (wild rose).
What lacks the world for the nuptials?
The soul is light and the dower is heavy.

After the lapse of six hours and fifty-seven minutes the light-increaser of the nine heavens cast his rays on the mansion of Aries on the night of Thursday, 19 Rabī' al awwal 993, 10 or 11 March 1585. Piety was made brilliant by the embroidery of joy, and there was a new palace of liberality. At the beginning of this august feast the officers of Berar were exalted by doing homage, and obtained princely favours. Berar is one of the southern countries. 45
An account of it has been given in the final volume (the Āīn). It was in the possession of Martaẓā Naẓāmu l-Mulk. From lust[1] and bad companionship he departed from his proper work, and applied himself to the holy service of the spirits. This is a fearful task, and one hardly to be executed by the emancipated ones of purity under the guidance of those who have made the journey. How then can it be accomplished by those whose feet are caught in the skirts of wickedness? In a short time the shining jewel of wisdom fell into the dark ravine of madness, and realm and religion were endamaged. He became disgusted with external things and confined himself to

[1] A. F. here repeats what he had said at p. 407.

communications by writing Mercenary men took advantage of him and made him an ensample of madness Salābat K Carkas (Circassian) obtained sway over his insane disposition, and ruled the kingdom He set about ruining the fief-holders of Berār. Mir Martaza[1] Sabzawāri, who was the head of that body of men, together with Khudāwand[2] K Mashhadi, Jamshed K Shirāzi, Canda K Deccani, Sher K Nohānī and others, collected troops and hastened to Ahmadnagar He (Ṣalābat), under the leadership of Nizāmu l Mulk's son, did battle with them Many fell on both sides, but at last the Berāriāns were defeated, and Jamshed K was made prisoner They lost much property, and had no more the power to remain in the country and so turned the face of entreaty to this eternal dominion (Akbar's) The officers of the borders kept them back and represented the case to the august court An order was issued to the effect that "our court is open to mankind, whoever is helpless and takes refuge there will obtain his desires" At this auspicious time they arrived, and brightened the blackness of their fate They received various favours, and obtained high office and fertile *jagirs* Every day there was a fresh feast, and the records of the Age were filled with eulogy One of the great officers begged that the daily[3] increasing fortune would deign to adorn the feast The sovereign, the granter of desires,—who is the joy giver of the spiritual spring, —filled the place with light by his advent

Verse

The Shāh sits on the throne and indulges in pleasantry,
His heart seeks wisdom, and listens to cleverness

On the day of Farwardin (19th Farwardin) the world's lord celebrated the feast of the sun's exaltation (*sharf*), and implored blessings from the incomparable God.

[1] B 449
[2] He afterwards married A F s sister See Badayuni, Lowe 384 B 449 See also Darbārī Akbari 721 Cf also Elliott V 441 and 448 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 354

[3] A nobleman had the charge of each day s feast, and the meaning here seems to be that he begged Akbar to be present

Verse

May his name abide for ever
May his glory be always like Jupiter (?)
From him I got a good name in the world
May there be a good fulfilment to him from the world

During this great festival good servants were exalted by the increase of their rank Shihābu d din Ahmad K obtained the government of Mālwa Rajah Bhagwant Dās was made a Panjhazāri 457
(5000), Rajah Todai Mal a Cārhazāri (4000), Zain K Koka and Mir Yusuf K. 2500, 'Abdul Mattalib K 1500, Rajah Askaran 1000, Hakim Abu l fath 800, S Farid 700, Mir Jamālu d din 600, Burhān al mulk 500 The writer of the noble volume was, without his having given any proof of service, exalted to the rank of a Hazāri (1000) I hope that good service will show itself and vindicate the discernment of the world's lord! All the commanders were distinguished by great favours Also at this time Amir Fath Ullah Shirāzi was made Āmin-al Mulk, and an order was issued that Rajah Todar Mal should conduct the financial and administrative officers of the empire according to the Mir's counsels, and that he (the Mir) should bring to a conclusion the old transactions which had not been examined since the days of Mozaffar K He was to report to H M what occurred to his far reaching intellect The Mir addressed himself to this important duty with an open mind, and in order to facilitate his proceedings, he submitted certain propositions (*fasle*), and made the exquisite replies thereto his guide For the sake of information I have given them textually

Firstly —The accountants have not rendered clear statements, and have not observed the sacred regulations They have based this business—which rests upon inquiry and investigation—on conjecture and approximations In the year when the whole empire became crown land (*khalsa*), the officers, on account of excessive work, could not go to the bottom [1] of the business and wrote down large sums as

[1] Text *jazū* a part The MSS are not clear but none of them seems to have *jazū* I think that the word is probably *jarr* in the sense of 'bottom, foundation Possibly the word is bahr, for this word which means ocean is used in a phrase for 'getting at the bottom of things However jazū or jaz is right and means that they could not go into details

arrears They decided the matter upon the fifth [1] or sixth share of the produce The cunning got the joy of their hearts, while the honest fell into soul exhausting trouble Those who had gone a little astray were kept back from paying by the enormity of the demand If accounting were done according to knowledge, the former inconveniences would cease *Secondly*—It was a regulation that the collectors of revenue should give receipts (*yafta*) to the ryots and that they should make a list, and that the clerks should base their accounts thereon Now, that arrangement (*sarishta*) has been given up (lit has gone from the hand), and whatever the khālṣa collectors write in the names of the cultivators, and which they make the cloak of their embezzlements, is accepted It is right that in future the two *documents* [2] above named should be used *Thirdly* —The accounts are made up according to a perfect year (*sal* [3] *i kamal*) or according to *krorbandi* [4] papers which have been written by hasty and inconsi

[1] The words fifth and sixth share *panjami u shashm bakhsh* occur in the Āīn in the chapter on the currency of the means of subsistence (with the difference of *ta* instead of *u*), and are translated by Colonel Jarrett II 57 The 5th or 6th produce of the soil A F is there treating of tribute or revenue and he says that one kind is *maqasamah* (divided) and is the 5th or 6th share of the produce

Probably A F here means that the accountants reckoned the produce on the demand (here called *baqaya* i e balances on arrears) at a very high figure and then demanded one fifth and one sixth thereof

[2] *Sanad* In B 259 a *sanad* is defined as a written statement of accounts

[3] A year I presume in which there was no loss of crops A sixteen anna year as it is sometimes called

In the account of the ten years settlement Aīn Persian text I pp 347 348, we have on p 348 line 5 the phrase *harsāl jins i kāmal* This is translated in J II 88 by the year of the most abundant harvest The whole sentence there is The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted as the table shows Apparently, it was this system which was begun on the 24th or 25th year, that caused Fatḥ Ullah to object See also J II 45 and note where *jins kamal* is used to mean superior kinds of produce

[4] Cf Badayuni Lowe 192 The country was divided into tracts each of which was reckoned equal to producing a kror of *tankas* Badayuni says many krorīs died in prison

derate persons In consequence of this many have been imprisoned. The just course would be to base the demand, simply and honestly, on a series of years (*paiwasta*[1] *sāl*) *Fourthly*—Owing to the somnolence of the collectors, the agents (*gomāshtagān*) have been powerful and have robbed[2] the cultivator

The Patwārī rejects from his accounts (*qarār wāq'a*) private[3] documents and vouchers—commonly known as "crude papers" (*kāghaz*[4] *i khām*) The proper course is that whatever appears in them should be entered in his name and he should be responsible for the contents If he (the *patwārī*, or perhaps the collector) does not produce what his agents have taken, he should be obliged to refund

[1] I do not feel sure of the meaning of this expression I think it is explained by the directions to the Bitikcī at J II 47 where his duty is stated to i e to take from the qānūngo the average decennial state of the village The original words are I 288 *mūāzana i-dahsāl i*

[2] Badayūnī, Lowe, 274 Fath Ullah's words justify Badayūnī's remarks

[3] *Niqashlahāi mukhassis u qābiz* *Mukhassis* is explained in Steingass as one who appropriates' and the allied word مخاصه *mukhāsa* is given in Wilson 352*b* as having the technical meaning of land assigned to an individual at a quit rent There is also the word مقاصه muqāṣa which has no connection however with *mukhāsa* but means the balancing of accounts In Steingass this is spelt with a *sād* مقاصه, but in the Aīn B 263 the end of Aīn 11 it is spelt *muqāsa*, and is explained as meaning statements of accounts taken by taḥwīldārs from the mustaufī It was a word much used by the Mahrattas Grant Duff I 455 and note In the text the word *mukhassis* seems to mean private, unauthenticated papers *Qābiz* also has perhaps a technical meaning see Carnegy Cutcherry Technicalities, s v *kabz* But here, I think, it used to mean private papers, what in Bengal are called *gharao kāghaz* 'home made papers

[4] This means in the Aīn I 286 6 lines from foot, "unofficial documents J II 45 Khām also has a technical meaning in revenue language viz a settlement made directly with the cultivator The word *qarār wāqā*, which I have translated accounts, seems to be synonymous with *qarārnāma* which is used at B 263 and explained to mean the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots' Apparently what Fath Ullah is reprobating is the practice of the inferior agents taking rent from the ryots, and then the patwari not giving the latter credit for such payments on the ground that they are not entered in the official accounts See the chapters about the duty of the collector et cetera, J II. 43 *et seq*

it Otherwise the oppressor will escape from his obligations Whatever stands in the names of extortionate persons, such as qānungoes,[1] maqaddams[2] and pākārs,[3] should be accounted for by
3 such individuals *Fifthly* —Any over plus which in this way is brought to light should be credited to the arrears due by the ryot, name by name, or should be carried to account in the next year, and there should be no second demand for it nor should it be again demanded from the collector And as the computers of the current revenue (*siyaq navisan i-ḥal*) demand village expenses (*malba*)[4] which in clerical phraseology are termed *istiṣwabi*[5] and *akhrajat*, this also should be deducted from the demand *Sixthly* —The fluctuations of cultivation are apparent to every one If in a village some land fall out of cultivation, one endeavours to increase cultivation else where Similarly, if a crop be lost or damaged, compensation for this should be sought elsewhere The accountants[6] (*ahl siyaq*) look only to the diminution and tighten[7] the load of the demand If they would look to the total assessment, the ryots would be relieved *Seventhly* —The *mastaufi* (auditor) holds in deposit one fourth of the collectors (salary) for the purpose of clearing off arrears If the arrears result from desertion or contumacy of tenants, and the efforts of the collector are without avail, or if they are the result of his having been untimely removed,[8] they are not due to

---

1 See Wilson s Glossary

2 The headman of a village

3 More commonly paikar and meaning a middleman or a sub-collector

4 Text منبه *manba* but the variant *malba* is right See Wilson s Glossary where it is spelt malbā The word literally means sweepings It appears under the form *malwa* in *the account of the settlement of* Rājnagar See my history of Baqirganj 100

5 The word means reference and inquiry and also a legitimate demand

6 Apparently the meaning is that the office men who are at head quarters only take into account the fact that a certain amount of land has fallen out of cultivation, and charge rent for it whereas if they would look to the total they would see that they should not charge for this as well as for the land which has been cultivated in lieu of it See J II 44 where the collector is enjoined only to charge for land in actual cultivation

7 *bar-i khwahish gushāind* We should read *kashāind* The metaphor seems to be taken from loading a beast of burden

8 Text *na bahangām* but in the I O MSS it is *tā hangām*

his fault If there have been remissness in making demands that reason[1] should be entered on the arrears, on condition that the arrear appear in the revenue roll[2] *Eighthly* —Some persons are occasionally appointed to assist[3] the collector, and their pay is allowed to them for a fixed time Sometimes they remain longer and draw their pay for that time, but no such allowance is made to the collector If their being kept on be necessary, he should be allowed the expense thereof, and the circumstance be reported

Ninthly —It would also be just if the (cost of) calling[4] for the accounts of the former collector and his subordinates were allowed among his expenses

Tenthly —After the collectors have been removed, they remain in the *pargana* for the purpose of collecting the arrears If their pay for that time and for the period before the notification of dismissal has reached them and for the period of travelling (to court) be allowed among their expenses, it would be just *Eleventhly* —If the collector's pay, and that of the branding officers, be allowed, after they have been removed, for the period that they are on duty at court, and be included in the amount credited to them under the countersignature of the record keepers of the attendances (*cauki navisan*), this would be a relief to them *Twelfthly* —Sometimes the pay of the auxiliaries (*kumakian*)[5] has been entered as payable from the arrears left by a former incumbent and on account of the ryots being non existent, or not acknowledging the *debt* or of their contumacy, these arrears have not been realized If the collector shall, owing to the contrivance (*karsazi*) of that set (the auxiliaries), have paid the wages he should get credit for them *Thirteenthly* —Officers are arrested because they have not submitted reports They reply that they did submit reports to the court and got no answer If the registrars (*waq'anavisan*) would look after this department and would make over the replies to the collectors' agents, such defences

[1] *Wajh* It sometimes means pay and this may be the meaning here See B 260 n 3

[2] *Taujih* It appears from B 260 that *taujih* has also the special meaning of military accounts The meaning here is obscure

[3] *Bakamak* these are the kumakians or auxiliaries mentioned lower down

[4] Talab h ṣābī Perhaps talab here means salaries.

[5] See B 232

would be impossible *Fourteenthly* —It would be a comfort to the collector if he got half his pay [1] by assignment

Fifteenthly —For the purpose of the work of collection footmen (*piādas*) should be given, equal in number to the troopers, or to the half thereof If it is indispensable that the former collector be kept under surveillance, respectable men should be appointed to guard him(?). *Sixteenthly* —Great profit accrues to the Qānungoes If a man [2] from each *pargana* remain at court, assuredly there will be more enlightenment on this subject*

Seventeenthly —The pargana treasurers have to make large
59 advances.[3] Some able and upright men should be appointed to carry on this work *Eighteenthly* —The statements of arrears made by former collectors should not be acquiesced in without scrutiny [4] *Nineteenthly* —Whoever [5] keeps his fief in a good state by attending to the distribution of corn at a time when other estates are suffering loss and are in a bad condition, should, when there is a question of

---

[1] *Nīma-i āznās* I believe the word to be *arnās* or *arinās*, lit destruction of enemies Here I think it means salary See B 250 and R A S J for January, 1904 p 167

[2] Perhaps the meaning is that if a *qānūngo* from each pargana be brought to court See J II 66 about the *qānūngo*

[3] *Dādanī* i e advances to the ryots See J II 45, where the collector is enjoined to make loans to needy husbandmen

[4] Cf J II 44 "He should take into account with discrimination the engagements of former collectors

[5] This is an obscure sentence, and there is one word "*sarasarī*" which I have had to leave untranslated In the text it is joined with *ghalla bakhsh* by an *izāfat* but on the I O MSS there is a conjunction *u* between the two words *Sarāsari* or *Sarsarī* is used to mean summary, and was applied to summary suits It also means "average or medium but neither of these meanings is applicable here Wilson s Glossary gives Sarāsarī-sharai as meaning the average proportion of the crop set apart for the village officers and servants and probably something of the kind is meant here The phrase "*ābād gardānid* probably means developing estates by increasing the number of tenants, or by improving their condition rather than developing its material condition by raising more crops At p 286 line 9 of the Persian text of the Aīn, Vol I, the word *ghalla bakhsh* is used to mean corn bearing (See J II 44 last line) Perhaps then the phrase *ghalla bakhsh i sarasarī* may mean "the average production of corn It should be noted that I O MS 236 has *yā mulāhaza* instead of ba mulahaza

increasing[1] the revenue, have such increase applied to the augmentation of his rank and allowances

Twentiethly.—A soldier's horse dies, and he immediately buys another, and produces a correct descriptive roll of it, or sometimes he gets a new horse after two years and more In the first case the soldier suffers loss, and in the second the king's property is injured Also on account of the distance he cannot[2] bring the animal to be branded If his pay be deducted from the date when he ceased to have a horse it will be hard If they transfer the *aznās*[3] to the new horse, and so do not make a deduction from his pay, he will be relieved.

As these remarks had been written with a good intention and from right-thinking, they were accepted. The old accounts were put into order, and by the labours of this wise man the tribunal of the vizier become a house of delight for the public

One of the occurrences was the discomfiture of M'aṣūm K. Kabuli. Though, owing to evil ideas and selfish motives, there had been dissension among the imperial officers, and for a time the rebels had been successful, yet as there was the aid of heaven, and there was daily-increasing fortune, the rebels fell into dismay. M'aṣūm hastened off to the place which has been mentioned,[4] and on account of confusion of plans and the tidings of the approach of the victorious army, he was unable to achieve any success. He chose a strong position and proceeded to build forts At the place Tumohini,[5] where the Ganges, Jumna and Sākni join, he

The meaning then of the sentence may be, 'Whoever develops his estate, and an increase (of cultivators) is perceived on examining the average condition of his crops as compared with those of others, he should have an increased holding'

[1] *Taufir* In Bengal applied to increase of land by alluviation Here it seems to mean increase of demand of revenue

[2] Text *nayārad*, but MSS have *miyārast*

[3] Here we have this curious word again See note 5 The *arnās* was a donation, apparently it applied to the grant of half the cost of a trooper's horse, and probably what is meant here is that the donation or allowance should be transferred from the dead horse to the one bought in lieu thereof

[4] Fatḥābād, and in the direction of Orissa, A N III 449 According to Mr Long, the banks of the Saraswatī at the Hooghly Tribenī formed the ancient boundary of Orissa

[5] Text تر مهاني Apparently the

laid the foundations of two forts[1] He left there Beg Muhammad, Ulugh Beg and some evildoers as also some Zamīndārs He designed that they should be his bulwark (*band*), and he himself took a lower place (*pastarak*) The officers prepared for battle ʿĪsā sent able men and made supplications As he did not show signs of penitence, they did not give ear to his overtures and addressed themselves to the taking on the forts There were severe engagements, and every time the enemy ran away in large numbers On 21 Farwardīn the victorious army arranged a naval battle In a short time one of the forts was taken, and at dawn they broke down the other and proceeded against Mʿaṣum He could not resist them and took to the river. From the tumult of the rebels and the force of the river his boat was sunk, and a few escaped, half-dead, to land A second time was he discomfited, and the imperial servants offered up thanksgivings

word should be Tirmohinī, which, I presume, is another form of Tribenī, mohinī, that is, enchantment standing for a lock or braid of hair I think that the Tirmohinī must be Tribenī in the Hooghly district, and which *is* on the *Bhagirathī* *It is a* well-known place of pilgrimage, and is considered to be the place where the Ganges Jumna and Saraswatī join The Sāknī of the text is probably Shaktī, i e power, and another name for the Saraswatī, which was regarded as the power of Brahma There are two Tribenīs, one at Allahabad, and another near Hooghly and are distinguished as the Yukta benī, or united braid, and the Muktabenī or free braid See the Rev Mr Long's article in the *Calcutta Review* for December 1846 A F mentions a third Tribenī near Qāẓīhatta in Sirkār Barbakābād For Qāẓīhatta see Blochmann J A S B for 1873, p 221 It is in the Rajshaye district below Rāmpūr Bauleah For the Qāẓīhatta Tribeni see J II 120 and the Addenda and Corrigenda, also the Persian text I 388 There is a place in the Jessore district called Trimohinī (see I G) but it does not fulfil the conditions *of the meeting of the three rivers* The paragraph about Mʿaṣum is translated by Prof Dowson Elliot VI 78 and he quotes in a note a passage from the Arāīsh Mahfil in which the meeting of the three streams is represented as occurring some leagues below Dacca Apparently this passage is founded on the passage on the Aīn but the author of the Arāīsh Mahfil corrects it in the next sentence See Major Court's translation pp 60, 61 where Sātgāon should be read for Chātgāon

[1] The text does not say two forts but all the MSS seem to do so see Elliot l c and the text requires the word for two as a little lower down there is a reference to two forts having been taken

One of the occurrences was the punishment of Tarkhān dīwāna and of Tāhir Ilancaq They were in obscurity on account of former defeats, and were waiting their opportunity At a time when the officers were in the sleep of negligence, Tahir went to Tajpur and stirred up the dust of strife Timur Badakhshi fought 460
a rash battle and was defeated This made Tāhir presumptuous Tarkhān dīwāna came to Tānda, the capital, and increased sedition He sent fireladen reeds into some houses Shahbāz K sent Qāsim K Muh Niyāzi[1] and some brave men to punish him He was soon a wanderer in the desert of destruction and died in the Morang[2] The dust of failure was also scattered on the heads of the others

One occurrence was the death of Habib 'Ali s Muhibb 'Ali (Rohtāsi) When the Bihar officers went to serve in Bengal, Yūsuf Mati Afghan collected few men and committed outrages Habib A. boiled over on account of his youth, and engaged in fight without due preparation He performed wonders of valour and played away the coin of his life Muhibb 'Ali was wild on hearing of this, but the other officers would not allow him to go off Shāh Quli—who had long been desirous of approaching the holy threshold—was sent to punish the wretch In short time the rebels met with their deserts, and the dust of dissension was laid

One occurrence was the assignment of Bengal to Sādiq K It has been mentioned that the Bengal officers out of conceit and selfishness severed the thread of singleness of heart Sādiq went off with some men in one direction, and Shahbaz went off in another As ignorance was in the ascendant, the separation was not advantageous They withdrew their hands from work and indulged in mutual animosity Khwaja Salaimān[3] was sent to them from court to give them advice, and an order was given that it was not right to do one work in two divisions Acute and well meaning men should hold a meeting, and the subject should be fully considered among the leaders Whoever should assume the management of Bengal should surrender Bihar to the other officer The Khwāja first went to Sādiq, who hastily took Bengal without there having been any

[1] Afterwards a distinguished officer B 483 and Maasir U III 372

[2] The Sub Himalayan tracts north of Purniah Sarkār

[3] Probably the man who was afterwards bakhshī of the Panjab B 45[illegible]

meeting of the two men Shahbāz, S'aīd and others were angry and left without putting the province into order

One occurrence was that Shahbāz became annoyed with Sangrām Though the latter had not had the bliss of appearing at court he never failed to serve the Bihar officers, and such was his good conduct that Rajah Todar Mal had called him his son When Shahbaz was returning from Bengal he, from interested motives, set about *ruining Sangrām The latter went into the ravines* and prepared for wars When the affair was somewhat protracted,
1 S'aid chose separation and came to Bihar Shahbāz caressed Puran Mal of Gidhaur, who was Sangrām's enemy and encouraged him to injure Sangrām A short time afterwards he imprisoned him (Puran Mal)[1] A Rajpūt, who had formerly been in his (Pūran Mal's service, left him and joined Sangrām He lay in wait to kill Shahbāz, and one day when a man was conversing with Puran Mal in Shahbāz's parlour, that confused one took the man for Shahbāz and attacked him with his sword Puran M acted quickly, seized the Rajput and killed him Shahbāz acted without consideration and put the innocent man (Puran Mal) in chains

One of the occurrences was the submission of 'Īsā K From the time that a disaster[2] had happened to the imperial forces, of which some account has already been given, he had been greatly alarmed He had been bewildered by the arrival of the troops, but when motives of self interest and factiousness had disorganized the leaders of the army, and they in a short sighted manner had fallen out with one another, this landholder become somewhat confident and reassured He out of foresight sent envoys to Sādiq K and the other leaders, and used soothing words He agreed that he would send M'asum Kābuli to the Hijāz, and that he himself would behave like a good servant *Also that he would send one of his relations to* court to serve there, and that he would send there valuable presents He would also send back what he had taken from the army at the time of the confusion He was arranging to do all this when suddenly Shahbāz K, S'aid K. and the other officers came away, as

---

[1] The Iqbalnāma makes it clear that it was Pūran Mal who was imprisoned

[2] This refers to Shahbāz's disastrous retreat described at pp 438–39 of text

has been said Thereupon that evilly constituted one gave up submissiveness and indulged in extensive desires The officers out of ignorance left him some territory, and he showed some obedience He sent off to court the elephants, guns etc which had fallen into his hands Though he did not dismiss M'aṣum K, yet he restrained him in some measure from strife-mongering The farsighted sovereign accepted these things, but he did not approve of the officers coming away in the manner described Khwāja Sulaimān reported that however much he spoke to Shahbāz K about staying some days, he in his wrath would not agree to do so H M sent him (Sulaiman) again to that country along with Naẓir Daulat in order to obtain information about his (Shahbāz's) doings, and to rebuke the officers

One of the occurrences was the quelling of the disturbances caused by the officers[1] of (Sulaimān) Karartāni At the time when that country had been a little quieted, and the imperialists, in consequence of 'Isā K's being bound by his agreements, were watching the course of events in the neighbourhood of Orissa, that turbulent one ('Isā) stirred up the dust of strife with the help of Sulaimān Sarbani A number of Afghans gathered together, and set about plundering An attack was made upon Sālih s Wazir K and there was a battle in the district of Bardwan Ṣāliḥ fought well and then took refuge in a fort in Bardwan The imperialists on hearing of this sent a force, and also marched there themselves When the troops arrived within six kos of the enemy, the latter withdrew from the siege, and addressed themselves to fighting The imperialists took post on the bank of Mangalkot[2] river Just then the (main body of the) army arrived They were rejoiced to find that the river was fordable by elephants Meanwhile Khwaja Sulaiman and Nāzir Daulat arrived from the court and brought the news of victory In a short time they erected two earthen forts 462

---

[1] Sulaiman Karartānī and his sons were dead, but his descendants or officers (Auliya Karartānī) made a fresh disturbance But possibly Auliyā Karartānī is a man's name

[2] N E Bardwan B 440 It is not in the I G new ed., though it is in the old ed IX 313 It appears to me that B's N E is a mistake for N W The Mangalkot river is perhaps the Ajai Mention of this river is also omitted in the I G

meeting of the two men Shahbāz, S'aīd and others were angry and left without putting the province into order.

One occurrence was that Shahbāz became annoyed with Sangrām Though the latter had not had the bliss of appearing at court, he never failed to serve the Bihar officers, and such was his good conduct that Rajah Todar Mal had called him his son When Shahbāz was returning from Bengal, he, from interested motives, set about ruining Sangrām The latter went into the ravines and prepared for wars When the affair was somewhat protracted,
31 S'aīd chose separation and came to Bihar Shahbāz caressed Puran Mal of Gīdhaur, who was Sangrām's enemy, and encouraged him to injure Sangrām A short time afterwards he imprisoned him (Pūran Mal)[1] A Rajpūt, who had formerly been in his (Pūran Mal's service, left him and joined Sangrām He lay in wait to *kill* Shahbāz, and one day when a man was conversing with Puran Mal in Shahbāz's parlour, that confused one took the man for Shahbāz and attacked him with his sword Puran M acted quickly, seized the Rājpūt and killed him Shahbāz acted without consideration and put the innocent man (Puran Mal) in chains

One of the occurrences was the submission of 'Īsā K From the time that a disaster[2] had happened to the imperial forces, of which some account has already been given, he had been greatly alarmed He had been bewildered by the arrival of the troops, but when motives of self-interest and factiousness had disorganized the leaders of the army, and they in a short-sighted manner had fallen out with one another, this landholder become somewhat confident and reassured He out of foresight sent envoys to Sādiq K. and the other leaders, and used soothing words He agreed that he would send M'asūm Kābuli to the Ḥijāz, and that he himself would behave like a good servant Also that he would send one of his relations to court to serve there, and that he would send there valuable presents He would also send back what he had taken from the army at the *time of the confusion* He was arranging *to* do all this when suddenly Shahbāz K, S'aīd K. and the other officers came away, as

[1] The Iqbālnāma makes it clear that it was Pūran Mal who was imprisoned

[2] This refers to Shahbāz's disastrous retreat described at pp 438–39 of text

has been said Thereupon that evilly constituted one gave up submissiveness and indulged in extensive desires The officers out of ignorance left him some territory, and he showed some obedience He sent off to court the elephants, guns etc which had fallen into his hands Though he did not dismiss M'aṣum K, yet he restrained him in some measure from strife-mongering The farsighted sovereign accepted these things, but he did not approve of the officers coming away in the manner described Khwāja Sulaimān reported that however much he spoke to Shahbāz K about staying some days, he in his wrath would not agree to do so H M sent him (Sulaimān) again to that country along with Naẓir Daulat in order to obtain information about his (Shahbaz's) doings, and to rebuke the officers

One of the occurrences was the quelling of the disturbances caused by the officers[1] of (Sulaimān) Kararānī At the time when that country had been a little quieted, and the imperialists, in consequence of 'Isā K's being bound by his agreements, were watching the course of events in the neighbourhood of Orissa, that turbulent one ('Isā) stirred up the dust of strife with the help of Sulaimān Sarbanī A number of Afghans gathered together, and set about plundering An attack was made upon Sāliḥ s Wazīr K and there was a battle in the district of Bardwan Ṣaliḥ fought well and then took refuge in a fort in Bardwan The imperialists 462
on hearing of this sent a force, and also marched there themselves When the troops arrived within six kos of the enemy, the latter withdrew from the siege, and addressed themselves to fighting The imperialists took post on the bank of Mangalkot[2] river Just then the (main body of the) army arrived They were rejoiced to find that the river was fordable by elephants Meanwhile Khwaja Sulaimān and Nāzir Daulat arrived from the court and brought the news of victory In a short time they erected two earthen forts

---

[1] Sulaiman Kararānī and his sons were dead, but his descendants or officers (Auliya Kararānī) made a fresh disturbance But possibly Auliyā Kararānī is a man s name

[2] N E Bardwān B 440 It is not in the I G new ed though it is in the old ed IX 313 It appears to me that B s N E is a mistake for N W The Mangalkot river is perhaps the Ajai Mention of this river is also omitted in the I G

over against the camps, so that the enemy might not give trouble at the crossing. On 30 Khurdād (about 10th June, 1585) the officers obtained a victory and had a joyful time. It rained the whole of the night At dawn the troops proceeded to cross during the rain, and some men and horses were swept away. The enemy formed into battle-array Sādiq drew up his forces, and entered the fort, and himself went to sleep (!) He left capable men to see that the troops did not disperse When midday passed, the rebels returned to their quarters, thinking there would be no battle that day At this time Sādiq resolved on battle He sent a message to the officers that "The sole thought of the enemy was to turn back, let us now apply ourselves to battle" The brave men accepted this message, and came forward to fight The enemy was thoroughly confused, and formed into two bodies One body attacked Wazīr and another assailed Sādiq and Muhibb 'Alī Nāzir Daulat and others distinguished themselves. Sādiq drove off his opponents At this time it appeared that Wazīr was nearly being defeated Muhibb 'Alī and others went to his assistance, and in a short time the enemy was defeated, and a great victory was gained Nearly 300 of the enemy were slain, and about 100 of the imperialists 1000 of the foe were slain in their flight The thorn of sedition was uprooted, and the oppressed offered up thanksgivings

One occurrence was the death of Dastam Qāqshāl Who can estimate the marvels of the Shahinshah's fortune, or reckon up his great deeds S'aid, Shahbaz, Bahār and other strenuous servants had
463 tried to put down that evil-doer and had failed. Now, a few men of moderate capacity erased the writing of his existence When the officers, from defect of understanding, failed to put that country in order, and went off to Behar, that turbulent fellow (Dastam Q.) invested the fort of Ghorāghāt with a large force Tahir, Saifu-l Mulk and Khwājah Muqīm brought the jewel of skill and courage into play, and made a proper defence Meanwhile Bābūī Mankli came from Sherpūr Murca, and it was reported that Muhibb 'Alī had arrived The enemy left the siege and retired to a distance The auspicious servants came out and fought. Inasmuch as crapulousness soon besets those who have been intoxicated by presumption, and the shameless and turbulent are not long-lived, that shortsighted one fled and was killed, along with many others

Victory adorned the men of clear vision The elephant Son Kaduh (Golden Pumpkin) and other spoils were taken, and Dastam's son Khūsh Fal was taken It would appear as if the officers had departed in order that Fortune might show herself without the help of service sellers, and that a lesson should be given to the ungrateful!

Also, at this time, there was a great gift from the Caliphate (Akbar's court), and many households obtained relief Owing to the right-thinking of the world's lord, things became cheap, and on this account the government[1] share pressed rather hardly on the cultivators H M remitted in the provinces of Allahābād, Oudh and Delhi one in 5¼ shares of the spring crop and one fifth share in the *hawali*[2] of Allahabād For the autumn crop he remitted one sixth in the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh In the khālṣa lands this amounted to 7 krors, 7 lakhs, 47,062 *dams* From this some estimate may be made of the condition of the fief holders This bounty relieved the agriculturists, and much gratitude was expressed

On 16 *Tir* the lunar weighment took place and H M was weighed against eight articles The needy were satisfied and thanksgivings were rendered On this day Shah Qulī Mahram came from Bengal and did homage On the 12th Amardād, Ṣādiq K came post from Bengal, but as he came without being summoned he was rejected

An occurrence was the arrival at court of the Khān khanān A message had been sent to him that he should come as soon as he was satisfied with the condition of affairs in Gujarat As by the might of daily increasing dominion sedition had been put down, and great and small were in tranquillity, he left Ahmadābād on the 8th (Tīr) and did homage on the 24th id

Rai Singh Jhala had the bliss of performing the *kornish* His adventures are somewhat remarkable He was one of the land 464
holders in Gujarat and was related to the Jam and to Khangar He was distinguished for his bravery One day he was marching about

[1] Apparently the meaning is that owing to Akbar's beneficial rule grain became cheap and consequently the peasantry found it difficult to pay in money the government revenue.

[2] *Dastmazd i jal a bani* The wages of rule

[3] That is the home lands or lands in the neighbourhood of the city

and holding a musical procession on account of a marriage feast On approaching the house of Jasa (or Jaisa) the cousin of Khangār, he received a message that he must either retire, or stop his music, or fight Though he had few materials for battle, he set his heart on combat, and by great exertions was victorious Jasa was slain and his younger brother Ṣāhib came forth to take vengeance He too played away the coin of his life But though Rai Singh was victorious, and though his enemies were killed, he by the jugglery of heaven disappeared It is the custom of the Rājputs that at the time of battle they dismount from their horses and fight at a distance from them This is lest the horse become unmanageable and carry the rider out of the field, and so distract his comrades, or lest courage for the combat should not remain and one should use his horse to withdraw himself from the field After his victory Rai Singh went up to the horses, and Sahib's Rajputs, who had been left in charge of them, resisted him, and were killed He too fell severely wounded, and being half dead he was reckoned among the slain At night a *jogi* saw him took him to his cell and tended him When he recovered, he travelled about in the wilds with the *jogi* His clan were certain that he was dead, though some thought that as the body was not found, he was still alive His wives all burnt themselves, except his favourite spouse, who would not yield herself to the flames She lived on with a melting soul In the end of the previous year, he after nineteen years, took leave of the *jogi*, and came to his own house He took again upon his shoulder the burden of social life Those who had known him recognized him, especially that burnt hearted sharer of his bed By the help of the Khan khanān he regained the chieftainship of his district [1]

[1] This story is also told by Nizam u d dīn Elliot V 443 and there is a picturesque account of it in Noer's Akbar translation II 105 6 Rai Singh's ultimate fate is mentioned by A F at Vol III p 524 of the A N and is placed by him in the 32nd year 995 1587 In Elliot it is said the Rai Singh only disappeared for two years and this is in accordance with the Lucknow lithograph but it differs from A F's account who says that Rai Singh wandered about with the jogis for 19 years However in an old MS of the T A in my possession the period of his disappearance is given not as two but as twenty and two years It also appears that the names of the two cousins who fought were Rayib and

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khan A'ẓim to the south country Garha[1] and Raisin were assigned to him as fiefs, and he was sent off after receiving weighty counsels H M 's sole idea was to give tranquillity to the feeble ones of the Deccan and to improve the rulers thereof If they would not administer justice and cherish their people they were to be properly punished, and the case of the inhabitants was to be entrusted to sympathetic persons 'Abdu l muttalib K, Rajah Askaran, Shirazi K Mir Jamālu d din Husain Anju, Burhan al mulk Deccani 'Abdu Rahman the son of Muyid Beg, Hāji 'Abdullah Kashghari, Subhān Quli Turk Ali Murād, Sher M ihammad, 'Ali Quli and other brave men were disp itched from the presence An order was given that every one should go to his *tuyul* (fief), and arrange for the expedition to the 465 Deccan Shihabu d din Ahmad, Sharif and others of the province (of Malwa) were ordered to join the army An order was also given that Āṣaf K should go from Ajmere with some leaders of that province Khwajah Fath Ullah was made bakhshi and Mukhtār Beg the Diwān of the army That wise man of the age, Fath Ullah Shirazi, received the title of 'Aẓdu daulah (Arm of the empire) and was sent to guide Rajah 'Ali the ruler of Khāndes Some other able men were sent with him in order that if it were fitting they should give advice to the other rulers of the Deccan

One of the events was the sending of Shahbaz from Bihar to Bengal At this time news came that he was objecting to go there and was coming to court to make a representation Karm Ullah his brother was sent to stay him from this evil idea and to make him obedient An order was also given that M Yusuf should go from Oudh and take charge of Bihar

---

Sahib and that Rai Singh was wounded while fighting on the side of one of these cousins He was not the same person as Rayab or Rayil There are two Jhalawārs one in Rajputana, and the other in Kāthiwār It is the latter that was Rai Singh's country The T A makes Rai Singh be killed just as the Khan khanān was going to court but A F's story is and it is more likely to be correct that he was presented to Akbar and that he was not killed till some two years afterwards

[1] Both of these are in Central India and in Akbar's time were included in the province of Mālwa See Jarret II 196 and 199

CHAPTER LXXXIII

Expedition to the Panjab

Whoever receives[1] a ray from the world lighting sun, and who reads the inscription on his heart's portico, does not, without some heartfelt cause, abide in one place, but every now and then takes his pleasure in a new spot of delight Especially is this so with wise enthroned ones, for the repose of the different tr[illegible] man kind is impledged to such right-thinking and just per[illegible] and the irrigation of the four square garden of the
their justice In the first place the abode[illegible]
from the weeds and rubbish of disturl
among the provinces, and direct know[illegible]
condition of things Evil doers sink
men acquire distinction In the s
come swept and garnished as well
and are enlightened by the glory
steed conveys the sovereign to [illegible]
by increased the country
unity The glory of the shadow
the acute sovereign every now
and constructs there
ear-rejoicing fountains noble
harbourages Every one who
466 superficialities is astonished
those lordly dwellings and [illegible]
time when Fathpur—that
of the age, able and [illegible]
H M's

the Punjab had flashed upon his clear soul From time to time this thought developed more and more Men were surprised because they did not see the cause of this, and the far-seeing and experienced were watching for the reason At this time news came that M Hakim the ruler of Kabul had packed[1] up the materials of existence (i e had died) on 16 Amardad (12 Shaban 993 or 30th July 1585) and that the dust of disturbance had arisen in Qābulistan (Afghanistan) The soldiers of that country were wickedly thinking that they would become wanderers in the desert of failure and would go to Tūrān This[2] news was a fresh instance of the far seeingness of the world's lord, and relieved many from their bewilderment Seekers after wisdom, both in old and in recent times, are agreed that the hearts of just rulers are an iron fortress and a celestial armour for the right minded and sincere, and for honest traders, and that for the double faced, seditious, and wicked they are a life-slaying sword and a heart piercing dagger The fortunate who take up their quarters in that city[3] of God, or who occasionally enter there, are freed from the powerful arm of Time and sit joyfully on the summit of a happy day, and the foolish who meditate contending against this body of men who hold fast to the Divine, or have evil thought concerning them, spike themselves on the edge of a sword, and by their own insistence settle themselves in ruin

Verse

'Tis the fate of all who resign themselves to dreams
That they draw[4] the sword against the sun

Those who opened far-seeing eyes perceived that the Divine assistance was attached to H M and he only felt an increase of *affection for them as he* considered them to have been labouring under the disease of ignorance From the beginning of the Shāhinshah's reign, every one who from an evil disposition, or from asso-

[1] He was only thirty-one, having been born in April 1554

[2] The meaning is that Akbar's desire to visit the Panjab was due to a prescience that troubles would rise there

[3] Allahābād This is carrying out the metaphor of the fortress and a play upon the name of the city of Allahabad.

[4] A metaphor for people who do useless things to their own injury

CHAPTER LXXXIII

Expedition to the Panjab

Whoever receives[1] a ray from the world-lighting sun, and who reads the inscription on his heart's portico, does not, without some heartfelt cause, abide in one place, but every now and then takes his pleasure in a new spot of delight Especially is this so with wise enthroned ones, for the repose of the different tribes of man kind is impledged to such right-thinking and just personalities, and the irrigation of the four-square garden of the world depends upon their justice In the first place the abode of empire is cleansed from the weeds and rubbish of disturbance by perambulations among the provinces, and direct knowledge is thereby obtained of the condition of things Evil doers sink into the abyss of failure, and good men acquire distinction In the second place remote districts become swept and garnished as well as the home-farm of sovereignty, and are enlightened by the glory of justice The world-traversing steed conveys the sovereign to those places, and knowledge is thereby increased, the country developed, and diversity changed into unity. The glory of the shadow of God envelopes mankind Hence the acute sovereign every now and then makes some tract his abode, and constructs there delightsome palaces, enchanting gardens, ear rejoicing fountains, noble temples of worship, and beneficent harbourages Every one who cannot withdraw his regard from
66 superficialities is astonished to behold the sovereign abandoning those lordly dwellings and traversing fields and deserts At this time when Fathpur—that glorious diadem of God—was the envy of the age, able and observant men perceived that in spite of H. M.'s great affection for that place, the thought of hunting in

[1] Apparently the meaning is that such persons take a lesson from the sun which travels round the earth

the Punjab had flashed upon his clear soul From time to time this thought developed more and more Men were surprised because they did not see the cause of this, and the far seeing and experienced were watching for the reason At this time news came that M Hakim the ruler of Kabul had packed[1] up the materials of existence (i e had died) on 16 Amardad (12 Shaban 993 or 30th July 1585) and that the dust of disturbance had arisen in Qābulistān (Afghanistan) The soldiers of that country were wickedly thinking that they would become wanderers in the desert of failure and would go to Turān This[2] news was a fresh instance of the far seeingness of the world s lord, and relieved many from their bewilderment Seekers after wisdom, both in old and in recent times, are agreed that the hearts of just rulers are an iron fortress and a celestial armour for the right minded and sincere, and for honest traders, and that for the double faced, seditious, and wicked they are a life slaying sword and a heart piercing dagger The fortunate who take up their quarters in that city[3] of God, or who occasionally enter there, are freed from the powerful arm of Time and sit joyfully on the summit of a happy day, and the foolish who meditate contending against this body of men who hold fast to the Divine, or have evil thought concerning them, spike themselves on the edge of a sword and by their own insistence settle themselves in ruin

Verse

Tis the fate of all who resign themselves to dreams
That they draw[4] the sword against the sun

Those who opened far-seeing eyes perceived that the Divine assistance was attached to H M and he only felt an increase of affection for them as he considered them to have been labouring under the disease of ignorance From the beginning of the Shahinshah s reign, every one who from an evil disposition, or from asso

[1] He was only thirty one having been born in April 1554

[2] The meaning is that Akbar s desire to visit the Panjab was due to a prescience that troubles would rise there

[3] Allahābād This is carrying out the metaphor of the fortress and a play upon the name of the city of Allahabad

[4] A metaphor for people who do useless things to their own injury

ciating with the wicked has cherished evil thoughts, or has gone into opposition, has received proper punishment, and has trod the path of failure without the efforts of the managers of empire. Readers of this book of fortune do not require to search for proofs of this. The death of this young man is a fresh instance of it. In his former acts of ingratitude he was young and ignorant, and so he did not suffer so much loss, but a crew of wicked men, who made him a tool for disturbance, brought him to condign punishment. There was a time when he took a lesson, and had recourse to supplication. From ill fortune his evil thoughts increased, and India was again filled with dust. He retired discomfited, and his honour was lost on the field of battle. The gracious sovereign again forgave him and allowed him Afghanistān, as has been related. He ought not to have been able to lift up his head for shame, but in his evil
467 nature, kindness produced badness, and favours made him go further astray. The superintendents of fate made him a wine-bibber and this was a source of diseases for him.

Verse

After much madness he fell into pains difficult of treatment, and the cup of his life was over. In spite of his high birth and noble lineage he by association with the base and with flatterers gathered no flower from the tree of existence, nor did he catch any fragrance from the spring-time of dominion. When he died, the bazaar of the seditious became flat and the double faced turned to unity. H. M. was seized with sorrow at this time of joy but he recognized the power of fate and sought for a remedy, and wended his way to the abode of resignation. He engaged in comforting the children, and gave attention to the consoling of high and low in that country. As some Afghans were from foolishness in terror, and thought of taking refuge in Turān, and were making the Mirzā's children the instrument of their own ends, an order was rapidly sent by the hands of Wali Beg Zu alqadar and Fath Ullah that the timid should be encouraged, and be restrained from such evil ideas. He also instructed them to say that the deeds of the past had been erased from his heart and that nothing flowed from it except forgiveness. An order was also given that Kuar Mān Singh should proceed

rapidly to Kabul with some troops and should tell all, high and low, of H M's justice and love He was also to comfort the Mirzā's survivors and all other men whether Turks or Tājiks In accordance with his former thoughts about comforting the Kābulis, H M beheld, after the manner of the heavens that the repose of others depended upon his own activity, and like a star, perceived that their tranquillity must result from his movement (Accordingly) on 11 Shahriyār (22 August 1585), after one watch and two gharis of the night had passed, H M set off for the Panjab and reached the camp near Daulatābād He sent off S Ibrāhim and some others to guard the capital, and on the 22nd took some repose near Sarai Abād on the bank of a tank which Rajah Todar Mal had made The Rajah scattered largesse and presented gifts and offered up thanksgivings At this stage the Khān khānān took leave to return to Gujarat On the 31st H M halted at Delhi and visited the tombs of the saints He spent most of the day in distributing benefactions at the tomb of Jinnat Āshayāni (Humāyun) On that day M Yūsuf K did homage When Shahbaz K was sent from 468
Bihār to the eastern districts, the Mirzā received a fief in Bihār When an order reached him, he sent off men to that country, and came himself post to H M After arranging the business, he took leave At dawn the house of S Farid Bakhshī Begi was glorified by the Shāhinshāh's visit, and he attained his long cherished wish The royal standards proceeded by Sonpat and Pānipat and on 13 Mihr reached Thānessar As the evil designs of the Kabulis now became bruited abroad, H M in his abundant kindness dispatched Mir[1] Sadr Jahān Mufti and Banda 'Ali Maidāni to that quarter in order that they might go quickly and soothe the people The august cortége proceeded by Shāhābād and Ambāla and halted on the 18th at Sirhind He enjoyed the delightful gardens there, which are famed for their beauty A noble assemblage took place there On this day news was received that the Rānā was nearly caught, but that on account of supineness he had managed to escape On the 4th Jagannāth, Jafar Beg, Sayid Raju, Wazir Jamil, S Saif Ullah, Muhammad K, Jān Muhammad, Sher Bihari and some others proceeded rapidly

[1] B 468 He was a favourite with Jahangir, and the Iqbālnāma speaks of him as a panchazari See Maasir III 349

and at the end of the day reached his house Apparently one of the companions of the Rānā gave him information and he took refuge with his family in the defiles His house and household were plundered From foresight they did not judge it proper to return by the same way, and so proceeded towards Gujarāt When they had gone some way they turned towards Dungarpur They came thoroughly to understand the Rai of that country, and who was a double faced person by profession They took from him a large sum of money and much cattle by way of present (*sawari*, i e tribute etc) and then turned back The Rānā wanted to come out of the hills and to stir up strife in the country, but as the army suddenly arrived, he had to retreat with failure

Also at this time Dudā the son of Surjan ended his days, and the world became cleansed of a stain Also S Ism'ail died He was the grandson of S Selim Fathpuri, and propriety shone from his countenance From bad companionship he fell from pure ways into habits of drinking, and so madness took possession of his soul, and he had grievous ailments

Verse

Let not the wise man be sunk in wine,
For this flood ruins wisdom's palace
They drink wine to produce [1] death
They do not drink for pleasure and intoxication

69 On account of his being grievously afflicted they left him behind at Thanessar, and he died [2] in much pain on the 16th He left a warning to the wise

Also at this time the news came that Kuar Mān Singh had crossed the Indus with an army and that a body of his troops had come to Peshawar Shāhbeg was terrified and took to flight, and the Afghans came in tribes to make their submission On the 24th H M crossed the Sutlej at Macīwara by a bridge, and halted his army near Dihakdar He went on by Hādīsbād, Jalandhar, and Sultānpur On 1 Ābān he made a bridge over the Biah at Jalālābād and crossed his troops He himself crossed on an elephant On this day the solar weighment took place, and high and low

[1] *az pāitark-i hasti* in order to bid farewell to existence
[2] Cf Badayuni Lowe 358

rejoiced. Congratulatory writings enlivened the eye and heart, and on the territories of Birwāl (?) and Ambāla he partook of the sport of hunting On the 6th he reached Kalanūr and enjoyed himself in the garden which is known to the world as the scene of the Accession. There was daily worship of God On this day he sent Ḥakīm Ali and Bahāu-d-din Kambu to Kashmir Yūsuf K the ruler of that country always considered himself as one of those who had been elevated by the Shahinshāh, and continually kept himself in remembrance by sending presents He represented the distance as a reason for his not coming in person Now that H M had come to the Panjab, it occurred to him that he should send one of his servants to summon him (Yusuf), as some of his letters expressed a desire to come and do homage Y'aqub his son got other thoughts on account of his father's having been sent for (i e he became suspicious) He fled [1] from the camp and went to his home Accordingly, the envoys [2] were sent to give good counsels to Yusuf and to rebuke and waken up the fugitive If Yūsuf could not come himself, he was to send Y'aqub

One of the occurrences was the death of S Jamāl [3] He was of a noble Indian family, and his sister was in H M's harem He was distinguished for courage and politeness On account of his good qualities he was made an Amir He fell into bad company, and his good qualities became tarnished He stained his character by drunkenness and follies As his condition grew daily worse, he was left behind at Lūdiana, and on the 8th (Ābān, i e October 1585), 470
he departed from this evil world He was a warning to others

Verse

It is indispensable that a man should choose a wise, far seeing and loving friend, and make his walk and conversation his model

[1] Ḥaidar Malik says Y'aqūb fled from Khawāṣpūr (a station between Lahore and Attock)

[2] Ferishta says in his account of Kashmir that when Yusuf heard of the dispatch of the envoys he came as far as Tatta to meet them and received a robe of honour But some Kashmiris told him that if he went to Akbar's Court he would be put to death, and his son would be made king so he dismissed the envoys and returned to Kashmir

[3] Badayūnī Lowe 358 Jamāl's sister was superintendent of the Harem B 425

Some able men of former ages, wl o had become addicted to drink, observed seasons and moderation, and used wine as a medicine They did not give themselves up to the indulgence, nor made it a source of brain disorder and infatuation

On the 14th H M crossed the Cenab by a bridge in the territory of Parsaiur (the Pasrūr of I G), and encamped near Siālkot

One of the occurrences was the insanity of S 'Abdu-r Raḥmān of Lucknow. From bad companionship he took to drink, and for a long time displayed folly In these days the veil was lifted from his actions, and he talked foolishly in the quarters of Hakim Abu-l fath In an access of madness he struck himself with the Hakim's dagger Men gathered round him and took it from him His wound was sewn up in the courtyard, and he was taken care of Though physicians declared that the Shaikhzada's wound was mortal, H M , from his secret knowledge, pronounced that he would recover Superficial observers thought that this was only soothing words, but the far-sighted knew that this meant that he would recover Though for two months and fourteen[1] days he took (only) two or three spoonfuls of soup, there was no change in his condition The pulse-knowers and the examiners of urine gave him up The Shāhinshah continued to give the good news of a recovery, and prescribed *palush i kharbūza*[2] As soon as he ate this, there was an improvement, and he recovered daily, so that in a short time he became well

On the 24th the army encamped near Rasulpūr Sādiq received Multan and Bhakkar and took leave from this station On the 27th he crossed the Bihat (Jhelum) by a bridge, and on this day he left the army to hunt deer The deer of this neighbourhood are superior

---

1 The Iqbālnāma and the I O MSS have 'four instead of fourteen

2 Kharbūza are water melons ' ut it is not easy to say what *pālūsh* is Palash پالوش is said to be an inferior kind of camphor, and one that is adulterated It is also written pālūs and bālūs As bālūs it is described in the Ain, B 79, as the worst kind of camphor and as mixed with pieces of wood It is not likely that Akbar prescribed impure camphor Perhaps we should read *paplus* پپلس which is defined in Vullers I 330 as a kind of food consisting of day bread soaked in butter and syrup Or, perhaps we should read ba alūsh instead of pālush Alush is a Turki word meaning provisions from the king's table, and it may be that Akbar prescribed this food together with melons

to all others for size and courage He enjoyed the sport for a week and then returned On 7 Āzar he encamped at Rohtās, and on this day he climbed the hill of Bālnāth and interviewed some of the ascetics From here Qasim was sent on to level the roads up to the Indus Afterwards he was to make the Khaibar and the 47
road to Kabul passable for carriages In a short time he accomplished this In this place Fath Ullah and Wali Beg arrived from Kabul, and it appeared that the Kabulis had been tranquillised by the graciousness of the Shahinshah, and that those who had been terrified had applied their hearts to obedience

One of the occurrences was the arrival of H H Miriam-makāni On account of her great love for H M, she could not remain (*niyarastand*) in the capital (Delhi ?) H M was delighted at this news, he received her on the 11th Azar = 23 November and brought her with all respect to her lodging Many were of opinion that the august standards should not go beyond Rohtas But as H M's design was to settle Zabulistan (Kabul) and to chastise the Afghans (i e the Raushānis etc), he went on, and on the 25th (7 December 1585) encamped at Rawalpindi [1]

One of the occurrences was the subsidence of the disturbance caused by Mozaffar Gujrati When the Khān khanan went off to pay his respects to H M, that wretch thought the field was open to him, and raised the head of sedition He thought that he might plunder Ahmadabād The Jam advised him, saying that he could not go there quickly, and that he should not imagine so great an enterprise to be easy He should first set his mind at rest about Amin K Ghori, and punish him if he would not co operate with him After that he should attack Junagarh He (the Jām) would join him with a choice force, and so Gujarat would easily fall into his possession By these idle speeches he got him to attack the town of Ambarili,[2] and Mozaffar obtained some successes in the territory

---

[1] For an itinerary of Akbar's marches see Noer's Akbar, trans II 131

[2] امرلي In the T A we have Amarūn or Ambarūn and this is mentioned in Bayley p 232 as the place when the tomb of Dāwar ul mulk is In the Mirat Sikandarī, which is Bayley's original p 127, the place is called Ambarūn and is stated to be on the borders of Kach and 10 kos from Morvī But the place mentioned by A.F appears to be different and to be the Amrelī of

of Amin K The latter represented to the officers of Gujarat that he had not the strength to fight with Mozaffar, but that if he received some help, the insurrection could be easily put down

On the 2nd, Qulij and some strenuous men prepared in Aḥmadabad for battle Saiyid Qāsim and Khwajah Nizāmu d din Ahmad and others were sent to that quarter Beg Muh Toqbai Amīr, Mahibb Ullah, Saiyid Salim and others were sent in advance When they had gone thirty kos, Mozaffar lost confidence and hastened off to Kāthiwāra When the men sent in advance joined Amin K, he acquired courage and new strength He represented that if he had one thousand more horse, he could come from behind, and the imperial army from another direction, and pursue Mozaffar Accordingly, Qulij K and others were sent, other leaders were sent by another route Amīn K came to the town of Rajkot, which was Mozaffar's asylum, and plundered it The ill fated one went off to the Ran[1] (Runn) That is a saline tract, where there is continually the ebb and flow of the tide It is 200 kos long and 30 to 50 kos
72 wide It dries up at the end of the hot weather When fresh water passes away from that country, it becomes saline

The officers halted near the shrine of Dāwaru l mulk[2] There Amin K joined them, and the Jam came forward and made protestations (of loyalty) Both landholders were soothed and allowed to depart to their homes They left their sons to serve in the army The commotions ceased all at once After the completion of the business, the Khan khānān arrived. He had, on the way, arranged somewhat the affairs of Sirohi and Jālor The Rai of Sirohi soon came and paid his respects, but Ghazni[3] of Jalor remained aloof

---

J II. 258 It was a large district in Sarkār Sorath

[1] In the Ain J II 249 much smaller dimensions are given Apparently the description there is of the lesser Rann while here it is the northern and greater Rann which is described, see I G XI 84 85 There is also an interesting account of the Rann in Lyell's Principles of Geology

[2] It is at Amrūn T Akbari, 444. See Bayley's Gujarat p 231 for an account of the saint

[3] Bayley's Gujarat 15 He was S Malik Khānjī Bayley has the form Ghaznavī Blochmann calls him Ghaznīn 493 and 622 As Blochmann points out p 494 Ghazni's son Pahār was executed by Jahangīr for matricide see Jahangīr's Memoirs translation p 353 I believe it is this execution that is referred to by Terry

But when he saw that the foot of resolution was firmly planted, and that escape was difficult, he submitted As he did this because he could not help himself, he was not allowed to enjoy[1] his lands, and was taken along (with the Khān-khanān) Jalor was given to others

By the help of God he (the Khan-khanān)[2] was delivered from a great danger Near Sirohī it occurred to him that he would enjoy the pleasure of hunting, in company with his ladies In the eagerness of youth he became somewhat separated from the army, while pursuing the sport Having ridden much, and it being very hot, he took a rest under a tree One of his huntsmen opened the hand of oppression and laid hold of a cow The Rajputs of the neighbourhood came forward to fight, and the Khan khanan got up to take part in the melee Some servants who were near at hand joined him A great contest ensued, and things were nearly coming to a *crisis* *But in that hopeless position they got the victory, and the* Rajputs were punished

At this time Khangār the ruler of Cutch died, and was succeeded by his son Bihārā[3] Though the Jam has more men and lands, Khangār is regarded as the chief ruler, and permission is taken from him on the occasion of successions, etc

---

[1] I am not sure of the meaning The word is *tasarraf* I think that the next sentence means that Jālor was given to others

[2] The Khān khānan was then under thirty It surely is he, and not Ghaznī, that A F is referring to though one would hardly have expected the K K to be travelling with his harem

[3] The Bihārā Khangār of Bayley, 17 and the Khangar of B 419 Khangār was Zamindar of Cutch, and according to the Ain, J II 250, his residence was at Bhūj I G VIII 151 At p 55 of Bayley Khangār is spoken of as the ruler of Girnār

CHAPTER LXXXIV

The arrival at Courts of the sons of Hakīm M. and of the Kabul soldiers

The reports of the Shāhinshāh's justice, of his search for truth, and of his appreciativeness broke the chain which made lovers of their native land apprehensive of exile. Not a day passed without a set of remote foreigners gathering the bliss of homage (*kornish*), and of having their various wishes gratified. For this reason it was the wish of the high and low among the inhabitants of Kabul that they might come to court and obtain the desire of their souls from the everlasting dominion. But fidelity and loyalty held the foremost place. When the Mīrzā died there was some disturbance, and every one was trying to save himself. Farīdūn K. restrained the Mīrza's sons and the simple minded Turks from going to court. He was always saying that H. M. knew from the Kabulis of the seditiousness of the Mirzā, and would punish it. He considered his own bad behaviour and so his idea was to ally himself with the ruler
3 of Tūrān. By his cajolery he misled many short sighted persons, and the majority were nearly being persuaded to adopt this course. At this time holy firmans arrived, one after the other, and the projects of the wicked were broken up. Faridun was meditating to take the Mirzā's children with him and to fly to Transoxiana. Far sighted and right-thinking persons took to keeping a watch over him. At this time the sound of the approach of the victorious army rose high. Faridun too turned from his former thoughts, and had recourse to supplications. But, from shortsightedness and topsy turvyness of ideas, he could not abide in one mind. At last Kuar Mān Singh arrived, and the thoughts of concord took possession of him. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and some brave men crossed the Indus, and marched forward, and Shah [1] Beg went from Peshawar to Kabul. The peasantry submitted, and when the victorious

[1] B 377

army halted at Bikram, Khwaja Shamsu d din, Muhammad 'Ālī, Hamza Beg and other brave men pushed forward The Khaibar route, which had been closed by the turmoil of the Tarikīs (the Raushānīs), was reopened, and the turbulent banditti crept into the corner of failure The party reached Jalalabad, and produced tranquillity by acting justly 'Ali Muh Asp and all the well affected Kabulis became adherents Bakht Nisa[1] Begam was there, and was delighted on hearing the news The Mirza had sent that chaste lady with his beloved son Afrāsiāb to court in order that she might make intercession and apologize for his deficiencies He also sent with her Hasan[2] and Husain the twin sons of Shahrukh M Upon the unavoidable event (M Hakim's death) Afrāsiab turned back as he was near at hand (had not gone far?) Faridun, in his evil thought, tried to turn back the Begam also At this time the imperial officers arrived, and the picture of evil intentions was obliterated On 29th Āban Mān Singh hastened to Butkhāk, and M Kaiqubād, who was 15[3] years old and Afras ab who was 14, joined him with many of the soldiers Their faces were illuminated by the hope of the Shahinshah's graciousness At dawn they came to Kabul, and by open handedness and sweet words the hearts of men were won On 4 Āzar, Kuar Mān Singh made the charge of the country over to his son Jagat Singh and to Khwaja Shamsu d din He himself proceeded with the Mirza's belongings and the country leaders to the sublime threshold On the 25th he did homage at Rāwalpindi The newcomers were treated with suitable respect First, Afrāsiab Kaiqubād, and Wali,[4] the Mirza s sister's son were admitted to an audience, and then Faridun, Āli Muh Asp, Shah Beg, Gadā Beg, Tash Beg Qucin Takhta Beg, Qasim Parwāna,

---

[1] M Hakīm s sister the wife of Khwāja Naqshbandī Her husband died before M Hakīm Jahangir calls her Najību n nisā She died in the third year of his reign aged 61 She had two sons

[2] B 313

[3] The variant 11 is supported by I O MSS and the Iqbālnama Probably 15 was adopted by the copyist because Kaiqubād was the eldest son and therefore older than Afrasiab This difficulty is got over by the apparent fact that Afrāsiab was not 14 but 4 as shown in the Iqbālnama

[4] S Bakht Nisa Text has Diwalī but this is wrong See Tuzuk Jahāngīrī p 272 which tells of his marriage to a daughter of Prince Daniel See also Maasir M III, 406

Moẓaffar Koka, Jamish Bahadur, Tatār Beg, Ghaiur Beg, Ulugh Beg, Nur Muh , Khwāja Khiẓri, Dost Muh Turnabi, Khāki Galabān
1 Atālıq, Qāsim Koka, Khwāja Yaqut (an eunuch), Ātam Bahādur, Khwasham Bahādur, Haidar 'Ali 'Arab, Qāẓi 'Izzat Ullah, Farrukh[1] Beg Maṣawwir (painter) and others received suitable robes and horses, and trays of muhrs and rupis Various favours were con ferred on them Faridun, who was of an ungrateful nature, and whose trade was turbulence and disloyalty, was made over to Zain Koka in order that his disposition might be studied

On 2 Dai H M encamped at Hasan Abdāl and near there held a *qamar gah* hunt Here Ḥakim 'Ali and Bahāu d din arrived from Kashmir The ruler thereof, from pressure of flatterers, and the strength of his country, did not take the road of good service Though after the manner of double faced persons, he indulged in protestations, he neither showed an intention of coming to kiss the threshold nor of sending his son Y'aqub His ignorance increased The royal wrath—never inappropriate—was aroused, and an order was issued that the victorious army should awake him from his slumbers

---

[1] Presumably the Calnaq mentioned in B 108 The Iqbālnāma says he is unrivalled at the present day

CHAPTER LXXXV

The appointment of an army for the conquest of Kashmir

The sole idea of wise kings is day by day to refresh the garden of the world by the streams of justice, and assuredly this design is accomplished whenever extensive countries come into the hands of one who is just and of wide capacity. And when an empire has been civilized by an enlightened and just ruler, and the people thereof—small as well as great—sit in the shade of tranquillity, it is unavoidable that such a prince should cast a profound glance on the deeds of neighbours who have taken the path of dissimulation. He must look closely in order to perceive if their former conduct can be brought into line with love and order, and if they can be induced to treat their subjects properly. If they do not, then justice requires that they should be punished, and their land taken from them. Especially, if they, after having been treated with various kindnesses, take the path of presumption, and turn away from cherishing their people, and sit down in self-indulgence Accordingly when the envoys returned from Kashmir, and represented the arrogance and wickedness of the Ruler, H M, on 9 Dai, 20 December 1585, dispatched M. Shāhrukh Bahādur,[1] Rajah Bhāgwant Dās, Shāh Quli Mahram, Mādhu Singh, Mubārak K. and many Ahadis, under the charge of M. Ālī Akbarshahī, Shaikh Y'aqūb Kashmīrī, Haidar Cak and other strenuous and brave men Aminu-d din[2] was made bakhshī. Also on this day, Zain K Koka was sent off to guide aright the Yusufzais, and to conquer Swad (Swāt) and Bajaur 47
This large tribe formerly lived in Qandahar and Qarābāgh From there they came to (the district of) Kabul, and became powerful M. Ulugh Beg Kābuli massacred[3] them by a stratagem. Those who

[1] The conjunction in text before Bahādur is wrong

[2] Amīnu d dīn, it seems, was made by Akbar Yatishbegī or Captain of the Watch See Jahangīr's Tūzuk, translation pp 13, 14 and note

[3] Elphinstone's Cabul II 10

remained took refuge in the Lamghānat Afterwards they settled at Hashtnagar [1] It is nearly one hundred years since they settled in Swād and Bajaur, and lived there in the practice of robbery and turbulence In this land there was a tribe that had the title of Sultānī and claimed to be descended from a daughter of Sultan Sikandar [2] The Yusufzais for some time zealously served them, and then became ungrateful and took possession of the choice lands Up to the present day *some of the former inhabitants spend their* days in distress in the defiles, and from love for their native land are unable to leave

During the Kabul commotion the heads of the Yusufzai submitted and had recourse to fawning They expressed shame for their former wickedness and made promises of service One of them, Kālu by name, was treated very graciously In a short time however, they returned to their former ways, and applied themselves to robbery and oppression Kālu himself fled from Court Khwāja Shamsu d din caught him near Attock and sent him back The gracious sovereign treated him kindly Inasmuch as kindness is of no benefit to an evil nature, he again absconded, and took refuge in his former dwelling, and led astray other landholders H M dispatched Hasan K Patni, Rajah Mukat Man, Jānish Bahādur, Askaran Pancānan, Hira Pradhān, Rām Cand, S Kabir, Faulād and others [3] under the command of the Kokaltash 'Arab Khānjahānī was made bakhshī The whole idea was that the crooked tribe might be guided aright and that the black hearted ones who did not accept counsel should be punished Faridun K was made over to the author

Also, during this year [4] Ism'ail Quli K was sent off to Balūcis-

[1] Text اصغر Aṣtghar I presume Hashtnagar is meant but it is Aṣtghar in Maaṣ r II 363 and in I O MS 236

[2] That is Alexander the Great The tribe Sultānī does not seem known now Perhaps A F means the kabrs Cf account in text with J II 392 393 and in Elphinstone s Cab il App C A F does not state as quoted by Elphinstone that Alexander s descendants were connected with the Yusufzai The tribe *Sultānī seems to have derived its* name from that of its rulers of whom the last apparently was Sultan Wais See Elphinstone p 11, and Asiatic Quarterly for April 1901

[3] I have omitted some names

[4] There is the variant *walī* time

tān. When the news came that this people had gone the way of disobedience, and did not perform service, he was nominated for this important task Rai Rai Singh, Abu l-Qāsim Tumkīn (Namakīn) and many other brave men accompanied him Hāshim was appointed bakhshī. Also, on this day Kuar Mān Singh was sent off to 476
Kabul, in order that he might civilize that country by justice Saiyid Hāmid Bokhārī, Bakhtiyār Beg, Muh Qulī Beg, Hamza Beg and many men of note accompanied him An order was given to him that when he came near the Khaibar he should halt for some days and chastise the Tārīkīs, and make the road safe, so that pedestrians (*pawandagan*) might feel at ease The sovereign arrived at Atak-Benares on 12 Dai, 23 December, after travelling 305 *kos* and a little more in 4 months and 1 day and in sixty-five marches At dawn of the following day he reached the quarters of Zain K Koka and Kuar Mān Singh, who were in the neighbourhood and renewed his valuable counsels On the 15th he sent Farīdun K to the Hijāz as, mayhap, the stain of his misconduct might be washed out there, and he might gather the materials of bliss He embarked on the Bihat in a boat and was taken to Bhakkar From there Sādiq K sent him off by river, and had him conveyed to that place of pilgrimage Though the farsighted among the courtiers represented that if he did not relieve such a rebel from the burden of existence, he should put him in prison and read him a lesson there, H M. adhered to the tenour of his summons and did not listen to this suggestion

Hajī Siyandak, Aḥmad Beg and others kept an eye on those who had gone first When they learnt how kindly they had been received, they left Kabul for the holy threshold, and on the 20th had the bliss of a reception, and were treated with princely favours

One of the occurrences was the sending of soldiers to attack the Yūsufzai The homes of this rebellious crew are in the hill-country of Swād (Swāt) and Bajaur. Many of them live in the plains The Indus surrounds them on two sides On the two other sides they have the Kābul river, and the northern hill country The length of their territory is 30 kos, and its breadth 15–20 There are delightful valleys and beautiful tracts

As the Kokaltāsh went on to Bajaur without paying any attention to the plains, H.M dispatched on the 25th (Dai) Qarā Beg,

Ziā-al-mulk and some others under the command of S Farīd bak<u>hsh</u>ı They made a good attack and then returned They reported that there was a great deal of work to be done ın the plaın, and that another army should be appoınted ın order to root out the thorn of rebellıon After that ıt should enter the hılls from another sıde and joın the Kokaltāsh Accordıngly, on 4 Bahman S'aıd[1] K, S Faızı, the poet laureate, Sher <u>Kh</u>wāja, 'Alı Muh, Alıf, Qāzı 'Alı, Sālıh dıwāna, Fath Ullah Sharbatdār, Ayūb Beg, Y'aqub Beg, 'Abdu
7 r-Rahmān Beg[2], S Abu l Barkāt[3] and others, together with 300 horse belongıng to the author, were sent off

At the first stage, to which this humble one had gone to take leave of his brothers, H M, from his favour to the humble, cast the shadow of his graciousness upon him and exalted him by various kindnesses A *qur<u>kh</u>aṣa*[4] (special collection of ensigns) was assigned to the force, in order that by doing homage (*korni<u>sh</u>*) thereto it might be fortunate The troops were to march behind this. The rendezvous was at Nardān[5]

On the 7th (Bahman) Mir Sharif Āmuli[6] was sent to Zābulistān as amin and sadr of that province (Kabul) On the same day Qāsim Beg Tabrizi was raised to the post of Mir Adli (Judge advocate) of the camp H M said, ' Always implore God and seek to do His will, and unite recognition (of God) with prayer and keep free from cupidity and cowardice which cause the wise to waver, for many pure souls are turned from the recognition of the truth by the deceitfulness of the world, and the prosperity of oppressors Nor should you in the administration of justice (*dawari*) decide matters by witnesses[7] and oaths but should make inquiry with profound dis

[1] He was a Gakhar and a brother of Kāmal K B 486

[2] So in text but I O MSS have <u>Sh</u>aikh and this is probably correct and the person meant seems to be A F s son

[3] We see from this that two of A F s brothers were in the force For Abul Barkat see B XXXIII

[4] B 50 note 4 We learn from the T A Elliot V 451 that this reinforcement was sent off on 2 Safr 994 = 13 January 1586 Apparently the qur<u>kh</u>āsa was attached to A F s squadron

[5] This name is doubtful The MSS seem to have Tardān or Tarwān The name appears against p 513 of text as Nārūn

[6] A noted heretic see B 176 and 452

[7] These remarks seem to be embodied in the instructions to the Mir Adl and Qazi in J II 41 No de

crimination, and study the lines of the forehead If difficult questions be too hard for you, report them to me Regard self-indulgence as wrong, and attend to duty, in season and out of season "

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rajah Birbar to Swād When it became known that if the work were left to those first sent, it would take long to finish as there were many recalcitrants, and it was difficult to get through the mountain defiles, it was resolved that another army should be sent under the charge of an experienced servant In ısmuch as the head of this confused and ambitious one (himself) was filled with thoughts of battle, he represented to H M that although his serving in his presence was the elixir of fortune, yet he wished to make trial of foreign service— which was the testing place of loyalty I too, who had been raised by H M from the lane of contempt to a conspicuous post in the world, wished to lighten my shoulder somewhat I was strengthened in this desire by thinking that I might be able to do good service, and also shut the mouths of those envious persons which were gates of impropriety Should I lose my brief life, I would acquire an eternal good name H M perceived in my demeanour the marks of sincerity, and accepted my prayer This gave me new vigour. He said that he would send with me some experienced soldiers, whose opinions I should follow in the matters of camping and engaging. At the end of the day when it was the time for taking leave, H M. said it had occurred to him that lots should be 478
cast between me and Rajah Birbar, so that without reference to either's wishes the Divine decree might be elicited Inasmuch [1] as

---

pendence, we are there told, should be placed on witnesses

[1] It is characteristic of the Lucknow editor that he has no note on this passage That it is obscure and in need of comment is shown by the variety of readings The text is بر انجا که خواهش دیگر بود نقش بسیار بر گرفته آمد A variant which occurs also in the Lucknow ed has خواهش IO MS 236 has نقش دیگری IO 235 has, apparently, بسیار برابر گرفت نقش بسیار را بر گرفت Neither has آمد amad My impression is that Abul Fazl is playing upon the words دیگر divers, بسیار many, and کم less Naqsh bisyār is probably the same as Naqsh beah, which I take to mean a big i e lucky, throw The latter phrase is given in Vullers s v naqsh and in the Bahār 'Ajam, and is stated to be the opposite of *naqsh kam*, *kam* may perhaps be *gam*, lost, or wanting but I think not, for kam may also mean evil or unlucky. The Darbārī Akbarī in the course of

there were divers wishes the big throw failed, and all at once the little throw came out in his name Both of us entered upon a prolonged sorrow As there was no help for it, I left the broken thorn of grief in my heart, and seated myself in the caravanseray of meditation That man who was fitted for battle or for banquet (*babazm u razm*) went off by heaven's decree on 12 Bahman, 21 January 1586 Qāsim Khwāja, Gadā Beg, Ḥājī Siyanduk, Ahmad Beg, Tāsh Beg, Khwāja Hisāmu d din and other distinguished persons went with him Next morning at dawn, H M on returning from hunting visited the Rajah's camp and exalted him by various favours

In a short time they swept the plain Whoever was refractory was punished, and whoever submitted had his honour and property preserved and the troops went off elsewhere (?) The victorious army then addressed itself to the conquest of Banir (Buner) and proceeded by the ravines When they had passed through some defiles they came to Duk [1] Here the Afghans proceeded to offer battle and there was a hot engagement A large number were made prisoners and many also were killed Sher Khwāja and others displayed much valour As it was evening, and the road was not clear, they turned back and came to the staging place When they learned that there was no road that way (the one by which they were advancing when they were attacked by the Afghans), they returned to the plain in order to march by another route

At this time Hakim Abul Fatḥ was sent off to Swād with a force Zain K Kokaltash had represented that by God's favour he had crossed through difficult defiles, and had got possession of Bajaur, and of the most of Swad, but that the troops had been harassed by the continual forced marches (*takadu*) The Afghans were assembled in the Karākar (?) pass between Swād and Bunēr. If some brave men were sent to him, the enemy would soon have his deserts, and the whole country would come into possession in an

a long and discursive article on B r bar says p 301, that the angel of death pointed out Birbar s name Perhaps this means that the author read raqm i yam the letter of death for raqm i kam or that he read raqm i gamnāma e g the letter of his disappearance Vullers s v *kam* II 879 *, says the word is used to express an unlucky throw and quotes a couplet from Nizāmī in support of this view

[1] Dukī is Hindkī for a hill Erskine's Bābar 152, n 3

excellent manner Accordingly on the 19th, Hasan Beg, S 'Umri, Ahmad Qāsim, Tūfān Beg, Mulla Ghiyuri, Mohan Dās, were sent along with Cerūs[1] and *shamsherbazan*[2] (swordsmen) under the command of the Hakim He ordered that if the soldiers previously[3] sent were in the plains they should quickly join the Kokaltāsh, and hasten by the Malakand[4] pass, which was the nearest way At the end of the day H M visited the Hakim's tents, and gave him excellent counsels

In a short time the forces gathered together and hastened on 478
by the prescribed route Also at this time news came that the ambassador of 'Abdullah K the ruler of Turān, and Nazar Bé, who had long held Balkh in fief, had nearly arrived with a large caravan On account of the Tārikis they had trouble in coming through the Khaibar, and so *Mubarak Nohani*, Ghazi K and other brave men were dispatched under the command of S Farid Bakhshi Begi to conduct the visitors

One[5] of the occurrences was the pacification of Bengal When the idea of the expedition to the Panjab occurred to H M, the news came that Wazir K was unable to carry out the duties there alone, and that the rebels of that quarter were bestirring themselves Accordingly Shahbāz K's younger brother was sent to bid him go from Behar to that country When H M arrived at the bank of the Bihat, it was represented to him that Shahbāz K was *possessed* by a great desire to come to Court, and that he was on his way thither H M sent off *sezawals* to turn him back nolens volens, and to send him on the above service They met him near Jaunpūr and withheld him from carrying out his wish On 20 Bahman he sat down to guard Bengal, and won hearts by soothing words and by the open hand In a short time the Afghans had recourse to supplication, and the dust of dissension was laid, and the weak com-

[1] I presume these are the Cerus of India mentioned at vol II 287 as being always in attendance on Akbar, and whom he employed in the fight between the Sanyāsīs at Thānesar Or they may be the men from the Eastern districts who use shields called *cirwah* B 252

[2] B 252 and whom he calls gladiators.

[3] That is those sent with Bīrbar

[4] I G XVII 72

[5] This passage is translated in Elliot VI 79

forted He sent off troops to Bhātī to punish 'Isā K Owing to the wondrous fortune of H M, 'Isā had not the courage to fight, and the territory which Ṣādiq had surrendered according to the peace, came into possession The conquests extended up to the port of Chittagong, and things were satisfactorily arranged 'Isā sent rare presents, and used conciliatory language He represented that as Ma'ṣūm had, from ill fatedness taken the path of ingratitude, he (Ma'ṣūm, apparently) trembled for himself, and wished to do good service at a distance (ghaibānī, i e without waiting on Akbar, or Shahbāz) He was now sending his son to Court The answer was given that it would be good if he (Ma'ṣum) would go to the Ḥijaz, and come from there to Court Many Afghans also abandoned Qutlū He too used cajoleries, and Shahbāz, in his simplicity, accepted these, and gave him back Orissa

'so, at this time a force was sent to the country of Kokra[1] This is a tract between Orissa and the Deccan Mādhu Singh the zamindar there was behaving presumptuously, in reliance on the difficulty of crossing an intervening mountain The imperialists hastened thither and proceeded to plunder Much booty was obtained He had the good fortune to offer tribute, and to obtain repose under the shadow of unequalled dominion

Also the Magh ruler—which is near Pegu—sent large presents, including elephants, and made propositions of concord This was one of the marvels of good fortune, for there was no great officer
480 except Wazīr K Neither was there a fleet, which is the chief means of making war in that country, whereas the enemy had a large supply of war boats.

One of the occurrences was the coming to Court of Yusuf K the ruler of Kashmir When the army marched to conquer Kashmir, the idea of the leaders was that they would go by Bhimbar, as large armies could march by that route with ease and celerity, and also as some of the landholders there used amicable language

[1] See B 479 3 where Kokra is said to be the old name of Chutiā Nāgpūr B refers to the Fifth Report old ed 417, and to the Tazuk J 154, 155 where the country is called Kokhra and described as belonging to the provinces of Bihar and Pannah The reference to the Fifth Report is to James Grant's account of the province of Bihar He writes Kokerah

The idea was that when the roads were cleared of snow, and the winter had come to an end they would advance through the passes. As the retribution of the wicked is a thing that does not endure delay, an order was given that during (the season of) the fall of snow and when the enemy were off their guard, they should proceed by the Paklı[1] route, where less snow falls They were obliged to give their minds to this On this news, Yusuf K resolved to give battle, and sent off many experienced men in order that they might construct a fort near the river Nain Sukh[2] (the delight of the eyes). In every defile they were to establish a strength and to prepare for war The force that was sent had passed Bārahmula by six *kos* when the daily-increasing fortune (of Akbar) became conspicuous The ruler of Kashmir erased from his mind the idea of that plan, and he recalled the men he had sent! Under the influence of the talk of short sighted advisers and of slaves of gold he fell into the heavy slumber of neglect The difficulty of crossing the passes, the arrival of snow and rain, and the fact of the victorious army's belonging to a hot country made him still more somnolent Self indulgence and miserliness stained him with the dust of neglect When the opportunity had gone out of his hands, he learnt that the strenuous servants had set themselves to conquer the country and had arrived near Paklı The dust of commotion rose high, and various opinions were brought forward Whoever casts away far sightedness, and who in times of prosperity has no thoughts about adversity, shall assuredly arrive at the evil day of the success of the enemy, and the foot of his desires shall strike against the stone of despair After a little while he in much giddiness again thought of fighting From time to time, topsyturviness of thought made him still more silly When the troops aided by Providence had traversed heights and hollows and had come near Bulyās,[3] Yusuf K awoke from his presumptuous slumbers, and tried

[1] Commonly called Pakhlī It was west of Kashmīr J II 347 and 390 It was a Sarkār and is stated by A F to be in general tributary to Kashmīr It is now known as the Hazāra country I G XIX. 318

[2] A tributary of the Jhīlam opposite the T B. (at Rārū) is a gorge along which the Nain Sukh, 'Eye s delight rushes with a loud noise to meet the Jhīlam (Murray s Hand book of the Panjab) The river is now known as the Kunhār

[3] The expedition of M Shāh ...

to amend his insubordination As there was no way of preserving his kingdom except submission and going to do homage, he emerged from the pass of Kuarmast,[1] under pretext of wishing to examine the (intended) battle field with a few men and sent a skilled envoy to lay open his secret intention The officers had been exceedingly harassed by the severe cold, the dearness of provisions, the difficult roads and the rain and snow They received the envoy and then sent him back, and Yusuf came with a few confidants of the army on 4 Isfandarmaz (about 14th February 1586) They treated him with respect, and had a conference They then formed the design of returning

81 When the news came to court, an order was issued that Yūsuf's coming was approved of, and that he would be welcomed with princely favours, but that the idea of the officers about returning was not right If Yusuf were not meditating any fraud and was treading the highway of truth, the right thing was that the army should enter the delightful country (of Kashmir), and, after having taken it, should make it over again to Yusuf The officers, willing or unwilling, had to advance The Kashmir leaders in their perverted fashion, and from somnolence of intellect, appointed Husain K Chak as their head, near Kuārmast, and set about fortifying the defile Just then Ya'qub, s Yusuf, joined them, and they left their new chief, and clove to him There was daily fighting in the Pass Madhu Singh, Amin-ud-din and others cleared it, and Hasan Beg

and Rajah Bhagwan marched against Kashmir from the west and followed the bed of the Jhilam and the line of the modern road But they did not get beyond the borders of Kashmir The Bulyās of text is the Phūlbas of Badāyūnī Lowe 363 the Bhūliyās of the T A Elliot V 452 and the Bhulbās of the Tuzuk J 292 B 479 refers to this passage in a note but he is mistaken in supposing that Jahāngīr says that Bhulbās is 2½ kos from Bārāmulah Bhulbās or Bhulyas is evidently the Pelissa, formerly Bolyasaka, of Dr Stein s map of Ancient Kashmīr and lies on the right bank of the Jhīlam It is several stages west of Baramula and some 50 miles away from it At p 293 Jahangīr says that it was at the Pass of Bhūlbas that Ya'qub the son of Yūsuf, fought with the army commanded by Rajah Bhagwan Das At p 294 Jahangīr mentions his entry into Barahmūla

[1] The Kotal Kūarmat كوارمت of the Tuzuk 294 Jahangir says it is steep and is the last pass on the road Apparently it is what is described in Murray as the Barmūla Pass

Ahadi and some Rājputs acquired deathless fame by sacrificing their lives. Forty men of distinction among the enemy were killed. The foe was dismayed and scattered.

At this time the landholders of Karnā[1] were induced by the address of Shaikh Ya'qub, Kashmiri, to come forward and make submission. It was agreed that a force should enter Kashmir through their villages. Upon this the Kashmiris came forward with entreaties and proposed a peace. They represented that their ruler had gone to court, and that so it was right that the dust of dissension should be laid. They proposed that the pulpits and coins should make mention of the Shahinshāh, and that the mint, the saffron, the silk,[2] and the game should be imperial. A superintendent (*darogha*) should be appointed for each department, and then the army should return. As the army had been harassed, these proposals were accepted by the endeavours of Yusuf, the ruler of Kashmir. The charge of the saffron and silk was made over to Qalandar Beg, that of the mint to Khwājah Miraki, and that of the game to Mulla Mozahari. Though H. M. did not approve of the settlement, he had regard to the circumstances of the army and of the Kashmiris and accepted[3] the agreement.

One of the occurrences was the injury to the good service of

---

[1] کرنا in I O MS 236 and in Iqbāl nāma. It is the Karnāha of Stein's map and is a tract lying north Bhūlbās. The Karnās or karawānas were originally chaghatais. See T. Rashīdī Introd. 76 and App. 491.

[2] *Abresham*. Perhaps this means woollen shawls. They are the chief product of Kashmīr and the T. A. Elliot V. 452 and Badāyūnī mention shawls and not silk.

[3] Cf. Elliot V. 452 and Badāyūnī Lowe 363. It appears that the imperial officers were influenced by the news of Zain K. Koka's defeat. Mr Lawrence in his excellent book on Kashmīr speaks p. 193 of Ya'qūb's having defeated Akbar's army with great loss in 1582. Evidently this refers to Rajah Bhagwān Dās's expedition. Akbar's first attempt on Kashmīr was made much earlier, viz. in the fifth year, when he despatched Qarā Bahadur there. He was defeated by Ghāzī K. A. N. II. 129.

There is a detailed account of the proceedings between Yūsuf and Akbar's officers and of Ya'qūb's fights with the latter in Haidar Malik's history of Kashmīr. It appears that Yūsuf behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted his army and country. Ya'qūb fought vigorously and the Moghul army suffered terribly from the cold etc., and were glad to retreat on any terms. Haidar says nothing about the engagement to give the produce of the saffron etc.

Zain K Kokaltāsh When he was sent off to conquer Swād and Bajaur, he began by addressing himself to the conquest of Bajaur There were 3,000 house-holders of the Yūsufzai there, and they were haughty on account of the difficulties of the passes The army entered by the way of Dānishkol,[1] and the army had not time to see the routes Jānesh Bahādur and some other brave takers of cities (*Shahrgīrān*)[2] made an attack, and punished a great number. When the fortunes of the Yūsufzai became bad, Ghāzī K, Mīrzā 'Alī, Ṭā'ūs K, Nazīr and *other leaders wished to submit, and all over, the* thorn of turbulence was uprooted From there he proceeded to
182 Swād. 40,000 householders lived there When the army reached the river-bank, the daring ones of the country rose up to fight, the vanguard gave way a little, but the brave *altamsh* came forward, and on seeing this, the vanguard reformed. A hot engage-

---

[1] J 2 392. Elphinstone, Cabul, II 36 speaks of Dānishkol as a river A F says in the Ain that it is a road from India He also mentions it at III 526 of the A N

[2] شہرگیران Shahrgīran So in text, but the word is unusual, and is probably incorrect Major Raverty in his Notes on Afghanistan, p 259, gives a much more probable reading He has Shahr i Gibar, "the city of the infidels , and says that the refer ence is to Bajaur which is locally called a Shahr, and which was regarded as inhabited by infidels Bābur calls them infidels, and so justifies his slaying 3000 of them See also Raverty's p 117, where he speaks of a cleft or gorge being called Gibar and also of a fortress being so called

Major Raverty says, p 257 of his Notes, that the disaster to Akbar's army took place in the Karakar and Malandaraiz Passes, and adds that the army was on its way from Swāt, which they were unable to hold, into Buner, in order to join Akbar at Attock At p 262, in a note, he says that the Afghans of Swāt will not allow that the Mughals ever succeeded in entering their valley, and affirm that they were overthrown in the Shāh kot Pass Shāhkot is marked on Fincastle's map *to the south of* Chakdara and the Swāt river, and east of Arnandara I daresay the Afghans are right in saying that Zain K did not enter the lower Swāt valley, and it is very possible that Shāhkot was the scene of the final disaster In his report to Akbar Zain K. had stated that Buner *was the only place that* remained *to* be conquered He probably did not cross the Swāt river, but kept along the south side via Karakar, etc I don't think his object then was to return to Akbar He was trying to subdue Buner

ment ensued, and the enemy was defeated and put to flight The Kokaltāsh laid the foundations of a fort in Chakdara[1], which is the centre of the country, and set himself to chastise the other inhabitants He was victorious 23 times, and destroyed seven stockades[2] With the exception of the Karākar defile and the district of Buner, the whole country had been subdued by him But the soldiers were somewhat worn out by the hill marches and the frequent conflicts The Kokaltāsh asked for reinforcements, and H M nominated Rajah Birbar, Hakim Abul Fath and others When they joined, the dust of dissension and double mindedness (*durangī*, lit two colours) rose up Previously, there had been hot words between the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah, and the latter and the Hakīm were also not on good terms By the jugglery of fortune they, in spite of their lofty natures, entered the narrows of envy They could not brook any partnership in the royal favour— which embraces far and near. They could not comprehend this The adoption of such feelings, besides leading one into the depths of enduring pain, and producing lasting sorrow, is a contending with the incomparable Deity, and results in making oneself the reproach of high and low From the time when the armies of the plain set off to assist the Kokaltāsh, the Rajah's head and heart were disfigured by wrinkles, and he indulged in such remarks as these to his confidants 'It looks as if my fortune had been inverted that I should have to traverse hill and plain with the Hakīm, for the support of the Kokah When shall the things end?" On the march there were daily, improper expressions used to one another When they reached Malakand, the Kokaltāsh received them and behaved with cordiality He set himself to cross the army and the baggage over the Pass The night wore[3] on to day there Hakīm Abūl Fath went off with some followers to

[1] *I G X 122 but the Fort is on* the north side of the Swāt river, and not on the south as the I G seems to state It guards the wire bridge, which used to be the site of a ferry Chakdara was attacked, and was the scene of much fighting in July 1897 See Churchill's story of the *Malakand Field Force* and Viscount Fincastle's Frontier Campaign both published in 1898

[2] Text *lashkar*, but should be *sangar*, as shown by I O MS 236, and the Maāṣir II 364, two lines from foot

[3] "Shab-hamanjā ba rūz āward"

the fort of Chakdara The Rajah was angry at this departure and fell into evil thoughts At dawn they assembled at the fort The Kokaltash arranged a feast, and invited the newcomers The Rajah ventilated his resentment and would not go He said that all the able men should gather round the royal Qur [1] and hold confidential talk there The Kokaltāsh suppressed his anger and came to the Rajah Other leaders came there too The proper thing was to have made over the *Qur* to the Kokaltāsh and to have assembled in his quarters and held a council In that meeting the Rajah and the Hakim came from hard language to mutual abuse By the forbearance of the Koka, things quieted down somewhat After some unfitting altercation, the Kokaltāsh said
33 "The hill work is nearly finished, and the rebels of Karākar and Buner have come forward in a submissive manner But they have not advanced from words to deeds I have asked for reinforcements in order that I might leave a body of men in the fort, and then march to punish the malcontents The fresh army should undertake this task I and the old army will remain in the centre of the country on guard Or they might elect to remain at Chakdara and he would go and punisn the hillmen" The Rajah and the Hakim replied that they would accept neither proposition The orders were to attack the country, not to guard it They should all combine to chastise the enemy and then hasten by that road together to court. The Kokaltāsh replied "Why should we leave disorganised a country which has come into our hands after so much fighting? Nor is it advisable to go by that route which is so full of heights and hollows. If you don't accept either of my propositions and are resolved to march, it is far better to go back by the way we came On that side there are troops stationed, and the enemy will have no power to interfere with us They would not listen to this and stuck to their first idea The Kokaltash, from an ill timed submissiveness, put the rules of command on one side He was afraid lest those eloquent courtiers should make disagreeable remarks (about himself) and that the much occupied Shahinshāh would be

For this phrase see Vullers and Bihar-i 'Ajam s v Shab

[1] The qūr was with the reinforcement Birbar used this as evidence that he was supreme

displeased with him for a time They were afraid lest they should not be able to accomplish the work by themselves and that they should be disgraced By the jugglery of fate it was determined to make an unsuitable march, and a discussion arose about arranging the troops The Raja and the Hakim declined from the apprehension already mentioned (of failure) to take the command of the right and left wings The command of the right wing was given to Hasan[1] Patani and of the left to Qāẓ[2] 'Alī The van was put in charge of Ḥasan Beg Gurd After much talk the Hakim took his place in the *altamsh* (the reserve of the advanced guard) On 2 Isfandarmuz (12th February 1586) they set off for Chakdara towards Karākar,[3] and when they had marched five kos they encamped at the village of Kandak (?) Next day, as the road was full of defiles (purtang) they left the right wing as a rear guard, and encamped half a kos from the defile The plan was that on this day the guard should make a slight attack and then retire At dawn when that body (the main army) came to the pass (kotal) a battle began From time to time victory showed her face, and in a short space the defiles were traversed and much booty was obtained Thousands of prisoners were made When the altamsh, which was chiefly composed of Kabulis, heard the news of plunder, they rushed forward, and they were followed by many others of the troops The Kokaltāsh, who had taken up his stand, was helpless and had also to advance There was a confused conflict The Afghāns came from behind and plundered Hasan K Patani made a stout fight, but was wounded, and had to retire The work of the advancing troops became arduous On perceiving this the Kokaltash turned his rein,[4] and planting his foot firmly took part in the conflict That day and night and the most of the following day there was hard fighting The Kokaltash himself shot down *four chiefs and the Afghāns* gave way a *little* Although the end 484
of the day brought the joy of victory, yet the loads of the camels

[1] B 467

[2] Apparently Qazī Alī Baghdādi

[3] Karākar pass is marked on Mr Churchill's map E S E Chakdara

[4] That is he turned back to the rear guard with which the right wing had been amalgamated The latter had been commanded by Hasan Patanī but he had been wounded

and bullocks were plundered, what was on the elephants and mules was brought into camp. Next day they advanced six kos and halted near Khānpūr (Raverty's Notes, 262). The Koka took charge of the rear-guard, and after fighting all the way reached the station. He went to the Rāja's tent and had a consultation. He recited in eloquent language the previous discussions, blamed the haste that had been shown, and spoke of his own better judgment. The question was what should be done now. As little of the road remained to be traversed, his audience did not take into account the heights and hollows. So they all replied that the proper course was to get through the defile and then to halt for some days and then renew the punishment of the rebels. The Kokaltāsh represented that the defiles in front of them were the worst of all, and that to go by such a route would be to cast away their honour. The proper course was to build a wall at the station where they were, for it was fairly spacious. There was no danger of their being attacked from the heights[1] and there was abundance of water and grass, and plenty of food. Here they should stand firm and afterwards inflict punishment on the presumptuous rebels who had taken possession of all the heights. Another course was that as they had in their hands the enemy's families and much of their property, they might write soothingly to them, and take from them promises of obedience. They might return the prisoners, keeping some as hostages. If this proposition also be not approved, they could halt for a time and send news to court. An army would come from there and guard the top of the Pass.

As heaven's decree was otherwise, the others stuck to their own opinions, and thought what was in reality their loss was their gain. On 6 Isfandārmaz (16th February 1586) they proceeded towards the Balandari[2] Pass. The Koka prudently took upon himself the charge of the rear-guard, and a harder battle than that of the previous day ensued. When they had marched a little way, and it became evening, the camp (urdu, here perhaps the main body of the army) thought that what was but the beginning of a great defile was the top of the pass. So they halted. But when the Koka came up, it became known that it was necessary to

[1] *āsīb i sirkob*. Text wrongly has *asp*.

[2] J. II. 391.

traverse another defile before they could come to the top of that winding way As there were heights (*sarkobha*) close by, an attempt was made to push forward It was arranged that the vanguard should get to the top of the defile, and take possession of the heights, while the camp should remain below, and should get through the difficult pass as soon as it was light As the Afghāns were pressing on them from behind, the Kokaltāsh and some brave men turned back Others thought that the untimely march and pushing forward of the vanguard indicated that the defile had been traversed So they pressed on, and the proper rules of marching were disregarded Though efforts were made to make them understand and to turn them back, they were of no avail The Afghāns fiercely attacked them from every side with arms and stones and the troops in their ignorance and confusion rushed down from the top of the hill to the low ground In that crowding they lost heart, and elephants, horses and men got mixed up A multitude threw away their lives though many brave men stood their ground and valiantly sacrificed themselves At the end of
the day some got through the defile and came on to the low ground 485
The Kokaltash was on the point of yielding up his life, but Janish Bahadur seized his rein and drew him out After going some way he, on account of there being no path, dismounted, and after a hundred difficulties got to the camp Foolish babblers called out that the Afghans are coming after us, and they went on in a disorderly manner In the darkness the men lost the track, and got into the defiles The Afghans had stopped to seize and divide the spoil Next day many of the stragglers lost their lives, and some were made prisoners In the turmoil as many as 500 lost their

[1] Elphinstone remarks in a note to his history Abul Faẓl must have been minutely informed of the real history of this transaction but his anxiety to soften the disgrace of Akbar's army and to refrain from anything that may reflect on Bīr Bal was so great that his account is confused and contradictory ascribed to him I may mention that although he begins with a full and even eloquent description of the total destruction of the army, he concludes by stating the loss at 500 men Khāfī K. says 40 to 50,000 men were killed Ferishta following the Tabaqāt Akbarī puts the number at 8000

lives. Among those known to H M were Rāja Bīrbar, Hasan Patanī Gadā Beg, Rāja Dharmkand Sankar, Khān Muh Mullā Sheīī,[1] Arab Shaikh Khakka, Mullā Ghayurī, Jan Muh Bakhshī, Shaikh Junaid, S Hamid Farmulī Bahadur, Amān Ullāh S'aid

On the 7th[2] the news of the disaster reached H M The deaths of loyal servants, and especially the death of Rāja Bīrbar, his spiritual companion, grieved him exceedingly, and his heart turned away from everything As dignity consists in outward restraint and not in abandonment (to grief), H M., as the Primate of the spiritual kingdom, preserved external composure For two[3] days and nights he did not take his daily food and drink By the efforts of Maryam Makanī, and the lamentations of his faithful servants, he was prevailed upon to take food His design[4] was to plant the

---

account of the Yusufzaī disaster seems to be that given by Khafī K in the Muntakhab al Lubāb I 191 *et seq* He says that every one in Bīr Bal s force was killed and that Zain K and Hakīm Abul Fath escaped because they were not there They remained behind and were in ignorance of Bīrbal s (or Bīrbar) attempt to get through the defile Khafī K says that the number of killed amounted to 40 or 50 000 He appears to call Raja Dharm Kand, Rāja Dhīr A F says little about Raja Todar Mal s success in chastising the Yusufzais afterwards, but the T A Ell t V 452 says he built forts etc and reduced the Afghāns to great straits

The Iqbalnama gives a detailed account of Zain K s speech to Bīrbar It says that more than 2 or 3000 men were killed in the expedition

[1] A di tinguished poet See B 610 etc It would appear from B 197 that Shīī thought ... earlier ... Akbar s pr... to D...

See Badayunī Lowe, 319 There is a long account of the poet in Badayūnī III 248

[2] A F does not tell us what the month was It cannot have been Isfindārmuz unless the 7th be a mistake for the 27th for Zain K and Bīrbar only began their fatal march on the 6th Isfandārmaz (see text, p 484) The Tabaqāt and Badayūnī say that the defeat took place on 5 Rabī ul awwal 994) This would correspond to 14 February 1586 or nearly to some day of the first week of Isfindarmuz Zain K and the Hakīm waited on Akbar at Attock

[3] This is according to the MSS Text makes the time only 24 hours and misses out the conjunction between food and drink

[4] Meaning that he thought of going there in person The T A says Bīrbar hurried on without consulting Zain K Evidently he was mainly responsible for the disaster, and one cannot help wondering why Akbar chose a boon companion for such an

royal standards on those hills and to punish the wicked tribe, but at the entreaty of his loyal followers he refrained from this On the 9th[1] that jewel of the diadem, Prince Sulṭān Murād, and many devoted servants were sent off Rāja Todar Mal accompanied the prince

On the same day the army crossed the Indus and the Kābul river, and encamped at Miṣr[2] Agreeably to H M 's orders Zain K Koka, Hakim Abul Fath and Qāẓī 'Ali of the former army joined the force Though in the eyes of the superficial a defeat had occurred, and there had been a disaster, in consequence of envy and incapacity, yet in the eyes of the profound it was the beginning of a great victory From the days of Ulugh Beg, the Yusufza'ī tribe, which was more than 100,000 strong, had, by the help of their difficult mountains, practised highway robbery They had caused much injury to traffic and intercourse The Kābul rulers had not the strength to chastise them and the rulers of India on account of pressure of other business, and the chatter (*hamzabani*) of persons of small capacity, had not attended to this matter At this time the holy idea was to restrain (the Yusufza'i) from injuring people and from evil ways and to make them obedient and serviceable An evil habit which is of long standing, and has been inherited 486
from ancestors, is with difficulty eradicated Clemency is not inclined to sever the thread of life It does not put to death great criminals It looks to destiny, and waits for the wondrous working of fortune When the armies that were sent were appointed, endeavours were made not to be hasty in killing the sons of men, who are fruit-bearing plants and the sublime foundation of God

expedition, or why he did not reject the arbitrament of the lots The Khulāṣa T has a long eulogism on Bīrbar and says that Akbar remarked that his death was the greatest grief he had experienced since coming to the throne As pointed out by the author of the Ma Ṣir there is a letter of Akbar to the Khān Khanān, among Abul Fazl s letters in which Bīrbar s death is bewailed

[1] This probably means the 9th Rabi ul awwal Badāyūnī states that Murad was sent across the Indus because there was a rumour that the Afghans were going to attack Attock but that afterwards the prince was recalled and Todar Mal was sent

[2] Apparently some place in the Yusufza'ī country At p 495 of text a Yūsufza'ī leader is described as Miṣrī

Whenever the victors or generals sent batches of those wayward and crooked-minded ones to court, they were given gold and robes of honour, and were released. Inasmuch as the time of retribution had arrived, the stewards of Fate caused such an aspect of things as the defeat, and the [illegible] of the brave and loyal were spent in good service, and they earned a good name. The Shāhinshāh perceived that his brave required the punishment of the Yūsufzāī, and that it was proper to erase the record of their existence. In the opinion of the men of the age it was next to impossible to clear the hill country of [illegible], but in a short space a great clearance was made. A large number were killed, and many were sold into Tūrān and Persia. The country of Sawād, Bajaur and Bunēr which has few equals for climate, fruits and cheapness of food, was cleansed of the evil-doers.

One of the events was the victory of Kunwar Mān Singh. When it was reported that the Tūrān ambassador and Nazr Bē were coming with a large caravan, and that the Khaibar was [illegible] impassable on account of the wickedness of presumptuous men (the Raushānīs), he sent Sardār Bēg to guide them to court. When he came to Jamrūd Mādhū Singh, Bhagwān Dās and some others were sent by Mān Singh to join him. They entered the Khaibar and joined the caravan at Daka. Mān Singh with a few hastened to 'Alī Masjid. The Tārīkīs, thinking the force a small one, invested 'Alī Masjid on a dark night and several of them got to the top of the fort. Brave men stood firm and prevailed against the enemy. Shāh Beg K. and his son also performed mastery (?) of valour. The wicked men gave up the investment of the fort and took post on another height. They sate there and meditated evil, but at dawn the brave men drove them off and killed many of them. On the 7th, at the beginning of the day the (news of the coming of the) ruler of Kashmir arrived, at midday came the news of the death of Rājā Birbar, and at the close of the day came this joyful news (the victory at 'Alī Masjid). Next day the Tūrān caravan reached the Serai of Khairābād on the other side of the Indus. On receiving this news *H.M.* on account of the ruler of

---

[1] J. II. 393, 2nd para.

[2] Elphinstone describes this passage as a curious instance of A. F.'s adulation and inconsistency.

Turan's having sent choice pigeons of that country along with Ḥabib[1] pigeon fancier (*kibutarbaz*), who was famous among pigeon sports men, sent for him and that family of delight (the pigeons) before 487
the ambassador had had the honour of an audience and gathered happiness Also on this day Nazr Bé and his sons Qambar Bé Shādi Be and Bāqi Be did homage by prostrating themselves at the holy threshold and so had their foreheads glorified

One of the occurrences was that the ambassador from Turan had an audience When the world conquering standards reached the bank of the Indus, and the design of marching to Zabulistan became conspicuous and the Khaibar Pass which used to be traversed with difficulty by horses and camels had been made passable for wheels, and a bridge had been made over the Indus, there was a tremendous agitation in the country of Turan From fear of a rapid march of the World's Lord, the gates[2] of Balkh were generally kept closed 'Abdullāh K the ruler of Turan had the *enlightenment* and discernment to have recourse to deprecatory behaviour, and tendered supplications He sent Mir Quraish, who belonged to a noble family of Saiyids, with choice horses strong camels, swift mules, animals of the chase, and choice *postins* (dressing gowns) and other rarities of the country He also sent an affectionate letter and pulled at the chain of friendship As H M was some what troubled in his mind on account of the disaster of Rāja Birbar, the ambassador for some days did not have an audience This was disconcerting to him, and when H M learnt this he had compassion on the vis tors and gave permission for an audience On the 21st (Isfindārmuz = 1 March 1586), there was a princely festival in the Diwānkhana which had been recently erected, and the ambassador was exalted by prostrating[3] himself at the holy threshold He produced before H M the rarities of that country (Turān)

One of the occurrences was the recall of Prince Sultān Murād

[1] Doubtless the Ḥabib of Shahr sabz of B 302 Ḥabib is also referred to in terms of great praise in a letter of Akbar to the Khān Khānān in Part I of A F s letters in which his arrival with the pigeons is des cribed

[2] *Darwasa* Perhaps this only means the approaches

[3] *Basujud i-qudsi astan* By prostration at the holy threshold. But either this is a mere flourish or A F has forgotten or omitted to explain what he has said above at the

Râja Todar Mal represented as follows: "On the day when H.M was going to take the field in person, the task had, at the entreaty of the grandees, been made over to the nursling of fortune, Murâd. It is proper that auspicious sons should be sent to conquer distant countries, and to subdue great rulers, and that the present work should be made over to a servant" H.M accepted what was said and recalled the Prince He sent off Kunwar Mân Singh—who was near Jamrûd[1] and was meditating the punishment of the Târîkîs—on this service, in order that he might carry it out, in accordance with the views of the Râja (Todar Mal). Mân Singh established his camp on the bank of the river (the Indus) in the direction of Buner and near Ohand,[2] which was one of the great cities of old times, and concerning which a mound of earth now speaks eloquently! He established a fort there and set about civilising the country Râja Todar Mal established a camp near the Lungar hills (Koh-i-Lungar)[3] which belong to Sawâd

foot of p 272 There he says that such was Akbar's reverence for the family of the Prophet that he would not allow his descendants to put their heads at his feet or rub their foreheads at the threshold of fortune Now he has just told us that the ambassador was of a noble Saiyid family, and his name shows that he belonged to Muḥammad's tribe of the Quraish!

[1] Forts in the Punjab near entrance to Khaibar See I G and Murray's Handbook to the Punjâb

[2] Text has *nasdik i Sind* "near the Indus.' But this is a mistake for *nazdik i-Ahund* (Ohand or Ohind) as I O MS No 238, and Chalmers' translation, see Noer s Akbar, translation II 182, show. For Ohind see Jarrett II 404 n 6 It is N E Attock and on right bank of Indus It was a Buddhist city See Elliot I. 48 Raverty T N 78 note says the proper spelling is Uhand He thinks the name is modern, but this is contrary to A F s statement Ohind is described under the form Und in the I G XXIV. 130

[3] Perhaps this is the Lundkhwar of the Govt map It is west of Ambala and on the other side of the hills from Ohind Evidently the object was to shut up the Afghâns in their hills and by blocking up the exits on both sides to starve them into submission Todar Mal was too cautious to venture into the hills which had been so fatal to Raja Bîrbar and his army Tiefenthaler describes Langarkoh as a strong fort near the district of Swad, I 86 Langar-koti is also mentioned in the A N III 510, second last line It is referred to at p 248 of Raverty's Notes

Brave men seized those two exits of the Afghāns and made things difficult for them Every day active men entered the hill country from either side, great endeavours were made to chastise the wicked 488
by capturing them and by plundering As they were helpless they had recourse to entreaties, and the dust of commotion was laid A new freshness was imparted to the Age [1]

[1] I O MS 235 inserts here—at the end of the thirtieth year the *khātima or conclusion which occurs* at the end of the 2nd volume of Bib Ind and also the preface of the *3rd volume*

CHAPTER LXXXVI

BEGINNING OF THE 31ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR MIHR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

The parterre-adorner of sovereignty (the sun) brightened the face of joy with the news of the arrival of the New Year His servants adorned hill and plain, and joined form and spirituality. On the eve of Friday, 29 Rabī'-ul-awwal 994, 10 or 11 March 1586, after the passing of eleven hours, thirty-seven minutes, he cast his rays on Aries The city became fragrant, the plains grew beautiful

Verse [1]

You complained just now that the leaf-scattering Bahman
had arrived.
Look up and behold the garden, for Bahman has passed away.
In the thunder of the sky hear the sound of the drum
The world holds a bridal, for the garden
Comes in bridal dress

The sagacious sovereign celebrated a great feast, and made great and small partakers of joy On 19 Farwardīn (28 March 1586) —which was the supreme feast—Mīrzā Shāhrukh, Rāja Bhagwant Dās Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram and other officers obtained an interview They brought the ruler of Kashmīr to court He was privately asked why the kindnesses of the Shāhinshāh had passed from his memory, and why the influence of his son—who had fled from the court—had increased, and had by stratagems turned back the victorious army Why had he himself not added the glory of acts to his talk about peace? He had the grace to be ashamed, and to reply by silence H M, out of kindness, had resolved upon restoring Kashmīr to him, but the imperial servants represented that he

[1] This quatrain has already appeared at the beginning of the 29th year See p 431

ought to have some punishment for his backslidings, and that Kashmīr should first be conquered, and afterwards restored to him H.M. accepted this view and made him over to Rāja Todar Mal

On the same day, the troops that had been sent to Balūchistān arrived, and Ghāzī K, Chita, Bahādur K., Nuṣrat K., Ibrāhīm K and other Balūc leaders were received When the troops went to that country, the land owners were at first somewhat refractory But as there was goodness in their dispositions, they quickly understood what was right, and took the path of supplication Their prayers were granted, and they were honoured with robes and horses The country was restored to them

Also, on this day Rāja Todar Mal returned from the hill country of the Yūsufza is and did homage He made over the chastisement 489
of the Afghāns to Rāja Mān Singh

One of the occurrences was that the troops attacked Berār It is a country in the south, and is adjacent to Mālwa, and so an account of it has been given in the final[1] volume

Inasmuch as the rulers of the Deccan did not obey properly, the Khān A'zam Mīrzā Koka was appointed to punish them He went to Hindia, and arranged for an expedition He sent a body of troops and took Fort Sānoli from Nāhar[2] Rao The latter submitted, and so did the other landholders, after a slight conflict H M gave choice pieces of Mālwa to M Koka in fief When the appointed officers met, there arose dissensions among them The C in C became confused on account of suspicions,[4] and the work fell out of gear Shihābud-dīn Aḥmad K was vexed, and went off to his jāgīr without leave The C in C came after him in order to fight him Instead of having recourse to supplications, he (Shihāb) prepared for battle, though, by the endeavours of prudent men a contest was averted, they did not act together In consequence of the intrigues of foolish persons, Tulak K[5] who was an old (bābari) officer, became sus-

---

[1] That is, in the Aīn A

[2] The Sheola or Senola of the Aīn, J II 234 It was in Sarkār Narnālah

[3] Mentioned in J II 229

[4] M Koka disliked Shihāb because he suspected him of having been accessary to the murder of his father Badayūnī Lowe, 372 Badayūnī says that Raisīn was the jāgīr to which Shihāb went See also Elliot p 441

[5] This is Tūlak Qūchīn, a very old servant of the empire Bloci

pected, and was sent to prison That memorial of former sages, Amir Fathullāh Shīrāzī, was much harassed, and returned from the ruler of Khāndes without having effected anything He sorrowfully went to the Khān-Khānān in Gujārat The soldiers were perplexed by the delays and dissensions The enemy who had been alarmed, took courage Rāja 'Alī the ruler of Khāndes, Farhād K, Jamshīd K, Azdar K., Mīr 'Ioqi and the rest of the Berār and Ahmadnagar armies gathered together and set off to give battle The imperial grandees awoke in some measure from the sleep of negligence, and assembled to consult How could the work be carried on when the friend was not distinguished from the foe, nor humility from hypocrisy? From their double-mindedness, they did not see in themselves the strength to fight Nor could they act unanimously They turned aside from confronting the enemy, and went off to Berār They sent their baggage to a place of retreat (gosha a corner) and went off rapidly. On the route, Hatiā[1] Rao, a land owner, was put to death on suspicion of his acting a double part Without proper inquiry, a body of troops was sent hastily to Kherla, and it did not effect its purpose Much injury happened to the baggage animals After many exertions they found Berār empty and ravaged it On New
490 Year's Day they took Elichpūr, the capital, and plundered it Some were of opinion that they should not draw rein till they reached Ahmadnagar, but a large number thought that they should keep hold of such a flourishing country, and that they should march gradually After the talk of ignorant men, no one put his hand to any work The army, having with it abundance of spoil proceeded to Gujarāt The idea was that when the enemy came up and things should become critical, the soldiery of Gujarāt would be stirred up to render

mann, in his account of him at p 445 says he had indulged in slander but this seems to be an incorrect translation of a passage in the Ma āsir U I 478 What the Ma āsir says is that Fūlak was the victim of slanderers The Iqbālnāma also speaks of him as unequalled for courage and generalship and says he was suspected without cause and imprisoned Badāyūnī says that Azīz Koka was also very rude to Fathullāh Shīrāzī and abused him in public This is likely enough for Azīz Koka had always an unbridled tongue

[1] Hatia is mentioned in the Āīn J II 229 The Iqbālnāma seems to call him Hatia Nahara This name is also mentioned in the Āīn l c

help, and that the spoil would not be lost [1] The enemy was astonished at his turning back and proceeded to take advantage of it They left their artillery and other equipage behind and followed (the imperialists) They sacked Hindia, and set fire to it No strength remained to the imperial troops on account of their having had to march through so many difficult defiles Many men could not keep up The imperial troops were seen to be retreating, and the dust raised by (the enemy's) scouts became visible A portion of the imperial army had a fight near the town of Chāndaur with the land holders there Though much plunder was obtained, Hāji [2] 'Abdullāh Sulṭān Kashghari was killed He was the son of 'Abdur Rashid, the ruler of Kāshghar Near Khāndes, Muh Quli Uzbeg deserted from the enemy and joined the imperial army He described the weakness and fewness of the foe, and represented that if they turned round and gave battle they would be victorious They could bind him, if they liked, and take him back with them If his account did not turn out to be correct, they could kill him A council was held, and by the endeavours of experienced men a battle was resolved upon One day was spent in preparation. Owing to the prating of unexperienced men, and the fears of the general, the drums of retreat were beaten at dawn They went on rapidly without keeping in touch with one another The animals and the baggage went off at night while the officers marched by day The courage of the enemy was increased by this behaviour, and they pursued with boldness Twice there was a slight engagement between the rearguard and the enemy's van, and the latter was defeated Though they did not recognize their superiority, and the Deccan was surrendered after it had been gained, yet much booty was obtained On the 22nd they halted at Nadarbār, and

[1] As shown by the account in the Iqbālnāma and also in text much of the spoil was eventually lost But the translation in Elliot VI 85 leaving the baggage is misleading It was not lost or abandoned then When A F says text 489, that the baggage was put in a corner he means I think, that it was left somewhere in safety Azīz K did not at first retire from the enemy he went off to the Berārs but he could not hold them and his idea of coming back from Gujarāt to recover the baggage failed

[2] He was a commander of 700 and half brother of Quraish Sulṭān B 459

rested Before this, some Deccanis had come into that region, and stirred up strife The land agents of Qulij K had not treated the peasantry with consideration, and had departed When the imperial army arrived, the thorn of rebellion was uprooted, and the enemy retired from Khāndes The Khan A'zam went on rapidly to Gujarāt, with the thought that he would get help from the army of that province The Khan Khānan considered his coming an honour, and gave him a warm welcome He quickly collected a choice force, and joined him But on account of the talk of evil men they took a perverse course They sent Mir Abu Turāb to interview the Deccanis and to arrange for a peace, and then every one returned to his fief The enemy was delighted at this result and sent presents (*peshkash*) Mirzā Koka marched out from Māndu and attacked Hamir
91 Tetpuri and inflicted suitable punishment on him He is one of the Malwa Zamindārs When the army went off to Berar, he, finding the country unprotected, fell upon Mandu and ravaged several places Some parts he set on fire They say that one of the supporters of that land holder asked encouragement from an enthusiast [1] The latter got angry and said, "Who dares to stretch out the hand of oppression on the territory of the spiritual and temporal monarch (Akbar)" and slew him with his dagger

One of the occurrences was the sending of Raja Bhagwant Das to Zābulistān (Afghanistān) When Kunwar Man Singh was sent to punish the Yusufza'i, the Rāja, who was commanding in the Panjab, was appointed to that service (Afghānistān) On account [2] of his

[1] The passage is obscure But I think that the I O MS 236 by putting an izāfat after *rabūda* removes the difficulty The words *rabuda-i* īzdī mean I think one carried away by a Divine enthusiasm In the A'īn text I 561 we have *rabūdagi* used in the sense of ecstacy or madness See also A N III 637 six lines from foot where the words *rabūda i khāmosh* are applied to the mad nan Payinda of Sind

[2] Rāja Bhagwān went mad about this time see next chapter Badayunī Lowe 364, implies that this was due to Akbar's having violated the safe-conduct which the Raja had given to Yūsuf the ruler of Kashmīr Akbar imprisoned Yūsuf and according to Badayūnī wanted to kill him

Bhagwan Das in order to save his safe conduct and sense of honour struck himself with a dagger But there was probably madness in the Ambēr family for Bhagwān's daughter, the wife of Jahāngīr, poisoned herself

evil star, he propounded certain improper desires, and the sovereign, surmising madness, restrained him from going. An order was issued to experienced men to prepare Sulṭān Daniel for this service Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ismā'īl Qulī and many other officers were appointed to accompany him. Thereupon Rāja Bhagwant Dās repented a thousand times of what he had said, and apologised and begged for forgiveness. H.M. accepted his apologies and on the 23rd he was allowed to go with many other prudent servants.[1]

[1] The account in this chapter of the Berār and Deccan campaign of 'Azīz Koka should be compared with the T Akbarī account in Elliot V 442, 443 and with Badāyūnī, Lowe, pp 372 and 373. Perhaps peace was made with the Deccanīs because Akbar wanted the Khān Khānān's services in Northern India

CHAPTER LXXXVII

RETURN OF H M TOWARDS FATHPŪR[1]

H M spent three months and twelve days pleasantly in Attock Benares Though he spent some time in hunting, some time in the blacksmith's shop in looking after gun-making, and some time in practising with a gun in the daulatkhāna (royal precincts?), and also night and day transacted political and financial business, yet his real design was to spend some time on the banks of the Indus in order to punish the Yusufza'i, and thereafter to proceed into Zābulistān (Afghānistān) But, on account of the dismay of the Tūrānians, the entreaty of the ambassador from that country, and the dearness of provisions, he determined to turn back On the 24th[2] (Farwardin), after the lapse of one watch of the night, he proceeded towards India, and thereby heaped happiness on abundance of men On 15 Ardibihisht (24 April 1586), he crossed the Jhelam by a bridge, and halted for a time On this day the paternal aunts[3] of M Shāhrukh, and the latter's middle son Shah Muh Mirza and some Kabulis waited on him At the time when the royal standards were on the banks of the Indus those chaste and secluded ladies had petitioned to the effect that they had a keen desire to kiss his threshold Their weariness and weakness had deprived them of this bliss Khanzāda Khanim came with the Mirzās to Kabul, and from a desire to pay her respects, she set off for India She joined in with M Shāhrukh, and then there happened what has
492 already been mentioned She was helpless and had to stay in Gardez where she was rejoicing in the company of the Mirzā s son

[1] He did not get to Fathpūr then and the Iqbālnama changes the heading to Lahore"

[2] The Tabaqat A has 24 Rabi u s sānī (4 April?)

[3] These two ladies Khānzada Khānim and Begum Sultan were daughters of M Sulaimān The second one went with her father to Mecca and on her return was married to one of the Mirzas of Qandahār

Begam Sultān had accompanied M Sulaimān to the Hijāz and in Persia On account of her marriage she stayed some time in Qandahār. When she got an opportunity, she came to Kābul When this was known, H M sent Ulugh Beg Kābuli, and an order was issued that Khwāja Shamsud-din should provide the equipment and send them off At this stage (the Jhelam) they had the bliss of doing homage. Haidar Āli, Shādmān Hazāra and Naṣr Beg, who, on account of their evil conduct, had not come before, brightened their foreheads by doing homage, and were exalted by princely favours

One of the occurrences was Rāja Bhagwant Dās's becoming mad When he took leave to go to Kābul, he crossed the Indus, and put up in the serai of Khairābād For some days he looked after military matters Suddenly, his intellect grew darkened, and he became very giddy They were compelled to bring him back to Attock, and to place him under care A physician named Sāmān was feeling his pulse, when suddenly he drew his dagger and wounded himself On hearing this, H M sent Hakim[1] Hasan and Mahādev along with Khangār and Daulat K in order that the Rāja's friends might employ whichever of the four they preferred They chose Mahādev, and after a long time he got better

One of the occurrences was the sending of Kunwar Mān Singh to Qibulistān When Rāja Bhagwān Dās fell ill, Ismā'il Qulī was sent in his room He, from inexperience and selfishness (*garm bazari*), formed crude wishes, and indulged in idle thoughts He fell out of favour and an order was given that he should be put on board a boat and shipped off, *viâ* Bhakar, to the Hijaz He awoke somewhat from his somnolence, and had recourse to supplications Though his apologies were accepted, he was removed from his post and ordered to chastise the Yusufza'i Madhū Singh, Sa'id K Gakhar, Abul Qasim Tamkin and the servants of Rāja Bhagwant Dās were nominated to assist him Kunwar Mān Singh and another force were sent to Kābul

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Arab Bahādur He chose a residence in the hill country of Bahrā'iqh to the north of Dugāon[2] and near a black mountain By the help of evil minded

---

[1] B 542 and 544

[2] Dūgān, دوگون in text In Ain J II 176 we have, In the vicinity of the town (Bahrāiqh) there is a

Zamīndārs he established a fort there, and used to go about plundering, and then take refuge there. One day he had gone off rapidly Kharak Rāi, a landholder, sent his son Dūla Rāi to attack the fort, and he took with him some followers of Hakīm Abul fath who were in that neighbourhood They marched 25 kos and reached the fort Thé garrison thought it was 'Arab, and did not take
3 measures to defend the place By their activity they got possession of it, and having seized the choice goods there, they set out on their return 'Arab heard of this and lay in ambush for them Dūla had sent off the goods, and had halted to eat Suddenly, 'Arab attacked the baggage, and the men abandoned it and fled Dūla and some brave men came up, and defeated 'Arab Many were killed and some were made prisoners, and some ran away That turbulent fellow ('Arab) and some others got into a side-path,[1] and Dūla, on hearing of this pursued them, and put an end to 'Arab

On the eve of the 16th the daughter of Rāja Bhagwant Dās gave birth to a daughter in the house of Prince Sultān Salīm, and

---

village called Dokon which for a long time possessed a mint for copper coinage Dūgāon is on the edge of the table land and on the banks of the Sarjū about four miles west of Nānpāra. It is now deserted but there are the remains of a very large and substantially built town It is said to have become deserted at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign in consequence of a saint named Shāh Sājan, whose tomb is still there, having cursed the place (Gazetteer of Oudh Lucknow, 1877), I 114 On a copper coin figured by Mr C J Rodgers, No 19 of Plate XX J A S B for 1880, p 213 the name is written Dokanu or Dogānwa Nāndpār (called Nāndpara in Tiefenthaler, I 290) is 22 m N Bahrā'ich It is described in I G XVIII 367 There is an elaborate article on the Dogām mint by Dr Vost, J A S B for 1899 pp 69 and 74 The Tabaqāt Akbarī refers to 'Arab's death, Elliot V 453 and Badāyūnī says ' his head came rolling down from the mountains of Kumāon and found its resting place on the pinnacles of the fort of Lahore (Lowe 364)

[1] Text چاهی a place The Maaāṣir N II 773 and I O MS 236 have جانبه jāniba, a side, or siding and this is probably the true reading The meaning seems to be that they took their way, and so got separated from their companions The variant cāhī, a well, is probably a guess It is not likely that three men would fall into a well The Iqbālnāma has wādī a watercourse Badāyūnī Lowe, 364 says the general report was that 'Arab died a natural death

[2] The 16th Ardībihisht corresponds to about 26th April 1586 She died during her father's life time and is buried in the Khusrau Bagh Allahābād near her mother.

there were various rejoicings The horoscope according to the Greek method gave 18 degrees of Sagittarius and according to Hindū calculation it was 1 degree 41 minutes The enlightened sovereign called her Sulṭān Khirad and, contrary to the usage of contemporaries, he had an assemblage to render thanksgivings There was a great feast in the house of Maryam Makani, and there was a presentation of gifts, and there was largesse

Also, at this time Mirza Shāhrukh and some heroes were sent to conquer Kashmīr, as the Kashmirīans had cast aside the peace, and their deceit was manifest The Mirza was appointed to punish the promise breakers As it appeared that the Mīrzā's heart was not in the work, and that the thoughts of love for his native land did not leave him in his natural state, he was relieved from the task, and attention was given to the appointment of some one else

When the mind of H M was somewhat relieved from affairs, he ordered a march from the banks of the Jhelam On 5 Khurdād he crossed the Cinab at the "Shop keeper's" Ferry near Kanjā by a bridge

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

The illumination of Lahore by the advent of the Shāhinshāh

The idea of most people was that the world's Khedive would not turn his rein till he arrived at Fathpur But the sovereign of an awakened heart did not yield to such a wish, and the pleasant palaces of that city did not engage his heart His sole thought was that he would stay for a while in the Panjāb and would give peace to the Zābuli land (Afghanistan) cleanse Swād and Bajaur of the
94 stain of rebellion, uproot the thorn of the Tarīkīān (the Raushānīs) from Tirāh and Bangash, seize the garden of Kashmīr, and bring the populous country of Tatta (Scinde) within the empire Furthermore, should the ruler of Turan remove the foot of friendliness, he would send a glorious army thither, and follow it up in person With these profound views he resolved to spend some time in Lāhore the capital He traversed 112½ *kos* from Attock Benares in twenty-six marches and reached Lahore on the night of the 15th (Khurdād), 27th May 1586 He selected for his residence the houses of Rāja Bhāgwant Dās Every section of mankind had their heart desires gratified The market people gathered profits and some light penetrated to the bigoted and conventional On 2[1] Tir, 12 June 1586, the lunar weighment took place, and that noble personality was, according to the annual custom, weighed against eight things and the wishes of the needy of the time were satisfied[2]

At this time the marriage feast of Prince Sultan Salim took place When it was brought to his august notice that Rāi Rai

[1] This date corresponds to 5 Rajab 994 and consequently to the anniversary of Akbar's birth according to the Muhammadan calendar There is some confusion both in the T Akbarī and in the translation from it in Elliot V 453 The T Akbarī puts the events of the 31st year of the reign into the 32nd (Badāyūnī has animadverted on this mistake) and Elliot on p 453 has wrongly got the date of 13 Rajab as that of the weighment, instead of 5 See Newal Kishor's ed p 370

[2] By the articles being afterwards distributed to them

Singh desired that his chaste child might enter the Prince's harem. the appreciative Shāhinshāh granted his request, and arranged for the marriage presents and for the materials of joy On the 16th (Tir), 26th June, he, together with the princes and grandees went to the house of that fortunate one (Rāi Rāi Singh), and in an auspicious hour the joyful union took place There was a daily market of joy Also about this time the daughter of Sa'id K Gakkar entered the service of that nursling of the Caliphate and thereby conferred greatness on her family

One[1] of the occurrences was an instance of great liberality on the part of the Court Owing to the goodness of the administration, grain became very cheap in the provinces of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi, and it was difficult for the cultivators to pay the revenue (lit the cost, '*pa ranj*," of protection) The just sovereign remitted one sixth In the Khāliṣa lands this amounted to four crors, five lakhs, sixty thousand and five hundred and ninety six (45,60,596) *dams* From this, some estimate may be made of the reduction to the *jagirdars* A multitude of men obtain assemblies for thanksgivings and rejoicings

Verse

How good is the nature of the sovere
He strews pearls in lieu of flowers ar
Both wide plains and narrow defiles
Glory in the presence of their king

[1] Cf p 463 where a similar remission in the previous year is described The Iqbālnāma also refers to the subject and says the price of grain became so low that the ryots were unable to pay their rent An order was therefore issued to remit one sixth on the khāliṣa lands which caused a loss of 4 krors 5 lakhs 60 000 dāms = 10 lakhs 14 000 rupīs The fief holders were also enjoined to make a similar reduction on their estates Both A F and the author of the Iqbālnāma say that from the figures for the khāliṣa lands the amount of remission on the fiefs may in some measure be estimated In the Āyīn the khāliṣa and the fief revenues for each Sarkār are given, but if we total the revenue for the three provinces of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi and then deduct one sixth the amount of the remission comes to many more than four krors Probably no remission was made where the revenue was payable in kind

One of the occurrences was the failure of the tricks of Muẓaffar Gujarati When that slumbrous witted one had no power left to make war, he had recourse to stratagems He secretly sent to Ahmadabad a person to whom had been given the title of Hamān the name of Pharaoh's vizier and of Abraham's brother), and he wrote several letters to the imperial officers His notion was that if these reached the officers of the province, they would become sus pected, and that the dust of double facedness might be raised in some of them, and that some might come over to his side. By good fortune the bearer of the letters, and also the letters, were seized, and his vain contrivance was discovered That wicked man was capitally punished Muẓaffar had also retained mercenary persons to take the lives of the officers Accordingly he corrupted an Afghan named Shahbaz K who was with Mukammal Beg That traitor killed Mukammal, but he too was caught and suffered the punish ment of his disloyalty Alertness was the order of the day, and the schemes of that vain contriver were destroyed

Also at this time the condition of the Yusufzai tribe became difficult Assuredly, whoever withdraws his head from subjection to the world's lord falls into various miseries While the officers were exerting themselves in attacking and plundering, in killing and in binding, the heavens were also taking vengeance on the Yusufzai Food became dear and the air grew unwholesome Serious diseases broke out, and strength and cunning failed Sulṭan Quraish, Bustan Kālu, Sulṭān Bāyazid and other chiefs appeared before Isma'il Quli, and behaved with humility It was agreed that when they came out of the hill country with their families[1] they would beg for forgiveness from the Court

One of the occurrences was Sadiq K's attack on Sahwan He came from the court to Multān, and took an army to that quarter Mirzā Jāni Beg, the ruler of that place sent Bartaq and Koçbak Arghūn, Mirzā Beg and Rustam Tarkhān with many troops to fight,

[1] Aghruq perhaps tents etc The Iqbālnāma refers to the distress of the Yusufzai and says their leaders appeared before Isma'il with shrouds round their necks The Khulāṣatut-Tawārīkh says the same thing and adds that it is well known that the Yūsufzai sold their women for food

and there was a great battle. Kochak and Mīrzā Beg were killed, and Rustam was made prisoner. Becoming bolder on account of this success, Ṣādiq went on without taking into consideration the number of the soldiers of that country and invested the fort of Sahwān. Some of the wall was thrown down by mining, but as the earthen parapet was very high they were not able to enter There was such delay that the garrison was able to make another wall. As the work was difficult, they withdrew from it and went to Naṣīrpūr, and collected spoil The ruler of that country came forth with a large equipment to fight, but before he arrived, Ṣādiq K. perceived that the proper thing to do was to retire

CHAPTER LXXXIII

The sending of Qāsim K to conquer Kashmīr.

496 As the Kashmīriāns in their folly did not adhere to the treaty, and as Ya'qūb the evildoer thought that he was safe behind the barrier of difficult mountains, and was proceeding rapidly in an evil course, H M addressed himself anew to the conquest of the country A discussion took place about sending troops there Many leaders thought the enterprise difficult and were not inclined for it Though the writer of the noble volume frequently pointed out excellent methods for the conquest, there was no good result By the orders of H M, a meeting of astrologers was held, and a close investigation of the horoscope of the year, and of the state of the constellations, was made The diagrams (*namudar*) showed that if some energy were exerted the conquest would be quickly made When this was brought to the knowledge of H M, his royal idea took form At this time Haidar Cak and Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī represented, "The grandees of that country will not swerve from our views, and if a few of the landholders be sent with the Panjāb troops, it is probable that the country will come into H M's hands without a contest" Accordingly, Mubārak K and Jalāl K Gakhars[1] and other Zamindārs were sent off The two Kashmīrīs waited near Bhimbhar in expectation of assistance In the meantime it flashed upon H M's mind that the suggestion that landholders should be taken, indicated that there was some evil design Accordingly he assigned this service to Qāsim K who was among the singular of the age for ability and courage On 18 Tīr, 28th June 1586, Fath K[2], Masnad 'Ālī, Gujar K, M 'Alī Akbarshāhī, S Daulat Khanjarī,[3] S Sikandar Rafīq Shāh Muhammad, Mīr Abdur Razzāq Mamūrī, Yādgār Husain Lal

[1] They were both Gakhars Mubārak being Sultān Sārang's grandson and Jalāl Sultān Adam's grandson B 486

[2] He had charge of the leopards

[3] The Iqbālnāma has and Hijr (or Khanjarī)

Deo, Sonar[1] Chand, Khwaja Zahir, Padshah Quli Shafaqat, Wali Beg, Hazārī Beg and many manṣabdārs and ahadis and officers' servants were sent off under his command Every one of them was furnished with counsels suitable to his capacity They were to practise enlightenment justice, the non sufferance of wickedness, the accepting of apologies, and the chastisement of the evil Sharif[2] Sarmadi was appointed Bakhshi, and an order was given that the men who had been previously sent should not deviate from the orders of the General

One of the occurrences was the sending back of the Tūrān ambassador Though by the return of the royal standards from the banks of the Indus, the ruler of that country had recovered from his alarm, yet when it was represented to H M that he was anxious on account of the long detention of his ambassador, H M showed him special favours and gave him leave on 12 Shahriyur (23 August), and also set apart various rarities He despatched Hakim Hamām, who was able and loyal with a message in order that he might convey the letter and impress on 'Abdullā K the choice qualities of the Shāhinshāh He was also to study the minds of high and low and to report thereon Mir Sadr Jahān Mufti was also sent to express condolences for the death of Sikandar[3] K He had died three years before, but as at that time there was an idea of conquering the country, condolences had not been sent Now that 'Abdullā K had recourse to amicable expressions and had adopted the rules of concord, the Mīr was sent upon this mission

[1] The Iqbālnāma and I O MS 236 have Sanesar

[2] He was a poet B 516

[3] 'Abdullā's father He died in 991 or 1583 The letter which follows refers to his death

CHAPTER XC

Draft[1] (Sawād) of the Shāhinshāh's letter.

The odours of the workshop of the springtime of singleheartedness, and the vision of the masterpiece of the pinacothek of far seeing wisdom which the garland-twiners of friendship's garden had decked, and the written characters of the artists of the delightsome picture-gallery of the high born one, who is the glory of throne and diadem, unveiler of the countenance of wisdom and knowledge, distinguished legislator[2] of the philosophic world (?), great lord of the universe of justice, enkindler of the lamp of the Khāns, uplifter of the royal[3] umbrella, at that most excellent of seasons, when the drums of the New Year were beating with a world-cherishing sound under the blue dome, and the great Luminary, the Universe's Donor, to wit, the world-warming sun, the enthroned Sulṭān of Day, Dictator of the seven climes of the elements, and the bodies, had *cast his glorious shadow over the heads* of one and all, and when the gales of spring were breathing the vegetative souls into the frames of the newcomers to the realms of earth and water, and the March-winds[4] had washed the dust worn squadrons of the army

---

[1] Does the use of word *sawād* mean that this was a rough draft and that afterwards another exordium was prepared viz that which appears in letter 2 of the Inshā? The exordium of this *sawād* is that of the 3rd letter of Inshā, but the body of it agrees with the 2nd letter of the Inshā

[2] It is نواس in the text but perhaps نوین nuvīn prince is the true reading

[3] کیانی Kayānī Here used to mean any great king for Abdulla had no connection with the Kayānian dynasty of Persia The point of the whole of the exordium seems to be that it was a marvellous coincidence that the ambassador and the letter arrived about the time of the New Year

[4] Text Abr i Āẕarī, but it is not the Persian month Āẕar which corresponds to November, that is meant, but the Syrian month Āẕār that is meant Apparently then we should read Āẕārī See D Herbelot s v Azar who warns his readers against

of spring The foundations of friendship rose up anew, and the laws of singlemindedness received fresh honour The cordial words of love, kinship, unity and well wishing which had imbibed a fragrance from the perfumed pen, and had flowed from the jewelled reed have been received and have been much appreciated They have greatly rejoiced us

It will not be hidden from your wise heart and your heaven-reaching perception, which is a treasury of Divine mysteries, and a mirror of the face of understanding, that this suppliant at the gate of the unconditioned (*beniyaz*) One hath during the thirty years which by Heaven's aid he hath spent on the throne of prosperity, ever kept before his eyes the truth that all this autocracy and world-rule, all this sword-bearing and clime conquering, are for the purpose of shepherding and for doing the work of watch and ward, not for the amassing of treasures of gold and silver, or for decorating the throne and diadem, or for letting one's feet halt in the mud of transitory pleasures, or for sinking the head into the collar of unstable desires Hence, there has ever been nought but goodness and good-will towards friend and foe, kinsman and stranger 498 There hath been a constant striving towards the soothment of mortals, whether high or low, and for graciousness to men of the age, whether anear or afar God knows that the cleansing of the four[1] *dangs* of India, and the sweeping away of the weeds and

the confounding of the two months The Syrian month corresponds to March

[1] The phrase means ⅙ of the seven climes There is a saying that India is 4 *dāngs* and Persia 2 *dāngs* See Gulbadan's *Mem* 170 See *also* Akbar's letter to Shah 'Abbās in first part of A F's letters where the expression 'four *dāngs* of the 7 climes is used The expression *four dāngs* occurs in the Persian epitaph to William Hamilton, Surgeon, St John's Churchyard, Calcutta. See Wilson's Inscriptions on Tombs in Bengal, p 16, where the phrase is wrongly translated by the words ' the four quarters

James Fraser in his history of Nādir Shāh, p 16 of 2nd ed., states that he has copies of the letters which 'Abdullā K. wrote to Akbar and in which he calls him to a severe account for being so fond of the Brahmin or Indian priests and so indifferent to the Muhammadan religion It would be interesting to have these letters. They do not appear to be included in the list of MSS at the end of Fraser's volume (Are they in the Bodleian?)

rubbish from this garden, which is bounded on three sides by the ocean, did not proceed from self-will and self-indulgence, and that we had no object except to be kind to mortals, and to obliterate the oppressors Hence it is that wherever I turned myself, difficult things were easily accomplished, and that the face of satisfaction emerged beauteously from the veil of hope When our amiability was such to the others of God's servants (i e mankind), what could it be to that highborn patrician who belongs to the noble and befriended ones of the palace of sovereignty, and with whom we were linked by the bonds of ancient affection and near relationship To the eyes of the acute and prudent it is evident that any one of these ties is sufficient And when all of them are together, it is evident that there can be nought but unison This singlemindedness is the material of the civilization of the world, and the bond of mankind

With regard to the intimations[1] about stopping letters and intercourse, though in the eye of reason, silence is better than speech in such matters, yet we shall overlook this We consider, however, that lengthy discourse about these things is unfitting, and so content ourselves with this verse which has been writ'en concerning glorious ones of the Faith

Verse

Of God, people have said that He had a son , of the Prophet they have said that he was a sorcerer
Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men Much less I !

God be praised ! From the beginning of our existence and from the emergence of the rays of the light of the Sultanat which is yoked with auspiciousness, the straight path of religion and faith, and the right road of truth and certainty have been the desire of our eyes. Assuredly, in accordance with the saying that rule and faith are twins, the elevation of the degrees of august sovereignty, and the uprearing of the standards of daily increasing fortune are

[1] This probably refers to some remark of 'Abdullā about breaking off communications with Akbar on account of his having ceased to be a Musalmān

of the ocean, and have lifted up the head of turbulence, and stretched out the hand of oppression upon the pilgrims to the holy places May God increase their glory! They (the Franks) have become a great number and are stumbling-blocks to the pilgrims and traders We thought of going in person and cleansing that road from thorns and weeds But as we heard that some of the officers of Persia had proved disloyal to their sovereign, and had cast away the firm handle of fidelity—which had been the means of their exaltation—and had committed various improprieties, it passed into our mind that we should appoint to that region one of our sons—from whose forehead there streamed the rays of auspiciousness, and in whose horoscope were the lights of justice—and not undertake any other work until that was disposed of At present when the Sulṭān of Turkey, regarding the treaties and agreements made by his father and grandfather as non existent, has looked to the ostensibly feeble condition of Persia, and has, several times sent his troops there, we shall, passing over the circumstance of the deviation from the highway of Sunnism (*sunnut u jamā'at*) and looking only to the relationship (of that dynasty) with the family of the Prophet, proceed thither and help them Assuredly, ancient things should be borne in mind, especially at this time when, as we hear, the ruler of Persia has dispatched able men of that country (to us) with presents, and with a prayer for help It befits our sublime spirit that we should fling out the reins of interest towards 'Irāq and Khurāsān It also appears to us that as the ties of friendship and relationship with that workshop of sovereignty ('Abdulla) have existed from old times, and have been revived by the sending of a loving letter, in company with that asylum of Saiyidship and magistracy, Mīr Quraish, and when the bonds of affection have been thereby strengthened, you also should proceed from your dominions towards that country so that it may become a meeting of the two seas of glory, and superiority and the rising of the two auspicious planets of splendour and beauty By oral communications, without the intervention of couriers and messages, the foundations of love and unity may be made stronger, and various heartfelt words, and secrets allied to truths, which are concealed in our hearts, and also matters of theology and observance of the truth may be mentioned in the friendly

meeting, and we may also hear the refined subleties in the matters of Divine knowledge which have cast their rays on the soul of that workshop of magnificence ('Abdullāh) The cream of life and the excellence of prosperity consist in sociability and spiritual intercourse, especially when between two chosen ones of God who have been glanced upon by the court of sublimity Assuredly, this proceeding would be the cause of general excellence at that time when by God's help this wish shall be realised—inasmuch as the ambition of those who are approved by God and have been exalted by him is to do what is well-pleasing to him, and not to acquire name and sway among men Accordingly it is our heart's desire—and we hope that it is also yours—that we may have intercourse with one who is eminent for his knowledge and following of the truth, and that we may be in union with him and not depart from his counsel Now that the association of concord and agreement is patent to all, what is proper in the matter of assisting the rule of 'Irāq and Khurasān will come forth from its inner ambush to the world of manifestation

The apologies[1] which you have made with a loving pen with regard to the catastrophe of our honoured protegé (*farzand*, lit child) Shāhrukh Mirzā have delighted our justice-loving heart True it is, he, on account of youth, self conceit, and bad companionship, has exhibited so many improper actions Each one of these causes has contributed to his affairs coming to such a pass In the first place, on account of the promptings of some short-sighted persons, he has many times failed on obedience to ourselves. Secondly, he has not behaved to your noble self in a becoming manner. Thirdly, he has behaved in such an improper manner to his venerable grandfather, who had so many spiritual and mate

[1] *Ḵẖaṣā m'azirat* The use of this word is explained by a passage in the Rauẓāt ut-Ṭāhirīn at the beginning of the account of the year 991 It is there stated that 'Abdullah K wrote to Akbar that Mirzā Shāhrukh had very improperly attacked and plundered some of his villages, and that in consequence he ('Abdullah) had sent troops to restrain the Mirzā, and that thereupon the Mirzā acting merely upon suspicion, had abandoned the country and proceeded towards Akbar The fault then was not "this faqīr's, i.e. 'Abdullāh's, as he had acted out of friendship"

rial claims upon him Every chastisement that has come upon him has been of the nature of a Divine monition and inspiration Now that he has awakened from the sleep of negligence, and has turned towards the strong handle of our graciousness, we cannot be otherwise than kind and forgiving to him We hope that, in accordance with your noble nature, you will overlook his transgressions

In order to strengthen the foundations of affection, we are sending the wise and loyal Hakim Hamām, who is a sincere speaker of truth and a rightly acting disciple From the beginning of his service he has been in close attendance on us, and we never had the thought of sending him away When such has been his relationship to us that he has made suggestions to us without the intervention of any one else, if similar treatment be accorded to him in your noble audiences, it will be as if we and you were con-
01 versing directly with one another

In order to convey our condolences for the death of the pardoned and blessed Sikandar K we had appointed that reservoir of Saiyidship and high magistrate Sadr Jahān, who is one of the great and holy ones of this country From various causes there has been delay in tendering these We now are enabled through his kindness to send him

We are sending some specimens of presents under the charge of the excellent Muhammad[1] Ali along with a separate list May we always continue to interchange letters and presents! We have been delighted by your procuring and sending fairy flying pigeons from Farghana and the able pigeon fancier Habib We have felt the fragrance of your love and concord in this Though at first sight the regard for a handful of feathers seems but sportiveness, yet, on further consideration it will appear that the evolutions (charkh u bāzī) and play of those birds remind us of the ecstacies of the lords of enthusiasm, and lead to a contemplation of the Deity God who knows the secrets of the hearts, knows that our apparent and casual occupation with such things is but a veil over the beauty of devotion to the First Cause, and that our soul is not satisfied with the simplicity (mujarrad) of outward wings and feathers

[1] This was Muhammad Ali Khazānchī

Verse

A letter[1] with very special words
Has been composed, and now, compliments and blessings

One of the occurrences was a great flood at Sirhind The rain began on the 28th (Shahriyūr) (8 September 1586), and continued for three[2] days and nights A violent flood came from the northern[3] hills, and in the city the water rose to three yards (*gaz*) Outside it was five yards Nearly 2000 houses were destroyed, and the fort-wall was thrown down for 150 yards 500 yards of the old garden were destroyed, and 100 of the new one, and much property was carried away by the water One hundred persons were drowned and 2000 animals The high road to the capital was closed for a time The Superintendents of Fate showed this spectacle, and thereby gave warning to those who were sunk in carelessness, and awoke the slumbering Apparently, H M 's fortune was illustrated by such things If retribution were made for wicked actions, assuredly a typhoon of fire and water would have been necessary But the right thinking and truth seeking of the Ruler saved humanity and so it was not overwhelmed by a day of retribution!

[1] There are three letters to 'Abdullah in the first book of Abul Fazl s letters They are not chronologically arranged, for the first one was written ten years after the second and third Accordingly it appears in the Akbarnama III 704 among the transactions of the 41st year The second and third letters in the book of letters are nearly identical and seem to be drafts of one and the same original The beginning of the letter which has just been translated corresponds to the beginning of letter No 3 of the Maktūbāt but the rest of it agrees with the second letter The third is probably a rejected draft, for it does not appear in the Akbarnama except as to the beginning and it contains a still more laboured defence against the charge of impiety

[2] I O MS has *se* thirty instead of *seh* three and this seems more likely

[3] The Lucknow edition has *shālī* instead of *shimālī* and speaks in note 7 of Shali as a well known mountain There is such a mountain in the Simla district, north of Sirhind See I G XII 371 old edition Sirhind was famous for its gardens

503 the unfortunate Ya'qūb forgot the agreement and led an army against him, and by alertness got the enemy into his clutches

When the victorious army marched from Court, there was a daily market of foolish talkers, until it came to the Cināb They imagined that the completion of the work would be very difficult When they had crossed the river, the news of the bad behaviour of Ya'qub, the mutual disputes, and the imploring letters of the chief men of the country, and, in particular, of 'Alī Sher Mākrī, arrived one after the other The skilful who could read the future from the appearance of the present, and recognise the conclusion from the beginning, recited the tale of victory, and prepared[1] for battle Every one recognised his place The centre was adorned by the presence of the General In the right wing were Masnad 'Āl Fatḥ K, Mubārak K and others In the left wing were Jalāl K, and other battle seeking heroes In the vanguard were Mirzā Ālī Akbarshāhī, Gujar K, Shaikh Daulat, Sharīf Sarmadī and a number of Ahadīs and other gallant men On 21 Shahriyur (1 September 1586) they passed through the defile of Bhimbhar Selim *Zaminda* disappeared (lit went aside) Qāsim K wisely made Bahlol his brother's son the chief, and preserved tranquillity In a short time the devious one (Selim) also joined the army In Rajauri, Bahram Nā'yik,[2] Isma'īl Nāyik, and Shankī Charwar, who were the chief conductors of the Passes, came and paid their respects They offered up good wishes for the conquest of the country They represented that the ungrateful Ya'qub had fled to the corner of contempt, and that the heads of the country were looking forward to the arrival of the army They said there were two roads from that place (Rajauri) One was the Kapartal,[3] and this was the most open of

half of the valley J II 365 n 1 It contained the residence of the Caks (at Tārāgāon) See also Stein Rājataranginī, Book II verse 15 note

[1] Text مردۀ آرای barda arāī which does not seem intelligible I adopt the reading of I O MS 235 *nabard arāī*

[2] The passes were in charge of officers called Nāyiks, i e leaders See Stein's Rājataranginī II 391

[3] کپرتل I have not found this place on the maps or in Stein's Rājataranginī or in the Gazetteer There are several variants as has been pointed out in the note to Elliot V 464 In I O MS 236 it is Katanbab B 380 n 2 gives the variant کمرتل Ka ma il Th [illegible]

the routes The other was the Pir Panjāl They were the warders of both If they marched quickly, the oppressed would obtain

---

occurs twice in Nizamud din and also again in the A N in the account of Akbar s second visit to Kashmir in the 37th year See p 622 Evidently, it was the pass to the Hastī Watar and Hīrapur route and I incline to think that it must be the same as the Darhal Valley Darhal is about 12 m N E Rajaurī and on the old Pathan road to the Alīābād Serai (Bates) See also Stein II 393 who says that the Darhal and Ruprī Passes are not named in the Chronicles but as they are the most direct route to (or from) Rajaurī and are crossed without much trouble in the summer months they are likely to have been used from an early time It will be remembered that Qasim entered the passes in the autumn Near the Darhal Pass is the Nandan Sar lake The first syllable of Darhal probably means gate and there may have been another and more distinctive name for the pass There is a place Katarmal marked on Stein s map This resembles the word Kapartal but it is in the wrong direction, being about 4 m N W Rajaurī The two places Kandal marked on the maps and lying about 9 m E Rajaurī are more in the right direction and as Karanbal is one of the many variants of Kapartal, it is possible that Kandal represents the place meant by A F

The Akrambāl اکرمبل, Pass mentioned on pp 504 05 must I think, be the Kramavarta of Stein. See his note D II 291 Kramavarta was anciently called Kāmbava id Book III verse 227 and a place near it if not the same place was called Kāmelankotta Only if this is so it would seem that the Hastī Watar of A F is not the Hastivanj of Stein for the latter place is west of Kramavarta whereas Hastī Watar was east of Akrambal or Kramavarta and nearer to Kashmīr This too is in accordance with the description at p 504 l 7 of the A N where we are told that Hastī Watar is the first pass for one coming from Kashmir and the third for the traveller from India The three passes here referred to must be the three great passes referred to at p 504 line 6 which no doubt are the Kapartal Akrambāl and Hasti Watar Passes It cannot be said of Dr Stein s Hastivanj that it is the first pass from Kashmīr From A N III 622 it would appear that Hastī Watar was some ten miles beyond Akrambāl and apparently it was close to Hirapur (Surapura) It must have been near the place marked Dranga in Stein s map It will be noticed that the Ruprī route seems to join the Pīr Pantsal route a little to the east of 'Alīabad Serai See also Stein Book I V 305, note, where it is stated that at Alīābad Serai the ordinary or Imperial route is joined from the south by a route which leads past the Nandan Sar lake over the Darhāl Pass to Rajaurī If Qāsim K. came by the Ruprī Valle

justice and repose This news was received with delight, and there were feastings In accordance with the opinions of the skilful and well intentioned, the Kapartal route was chosen The new comers represented that owing to the difficulty of traversing the passes, and the largeness of the army, there would be delay in arriving, and that the Kashmiri chiefs were waiting [1] on the hill in expectation of the arrival of the army It would be advisable to send some capable men on in front The first thing to do was to raise their (the Kashmiri chiefs') hopes by princely favours, and then to march rapidly into the city, and beat high the drum of victory These statements were weighed and considered and Ya'qub and Jai Tawachibashi, and Sher and Selim were sent forward with some musketeers Shanki Chirwar accompanied them, and the main body of the army followed afterwards When [2] they got to the top of the Kapartal Kotal a different state of things appeared At
504 the top of this pass three walls with a thickness of four yards and a height of ten yards had been erected Also beams thirty yards long had been intertwined The ancients too had cast a spell on the place, so that when a foreign army passed, there were snow and ice and hail Accordingly a wonderful commotion arose In such a tempest they traversed hills and declivities and arrived near the pass of Akrambāl (?) There the snow increased and many animals died of the excessive cold At this time some musketeers who had gone forward with Jai, arrived at the camp in a wounded condition, and reported the treachery of the Kashmiris There were three great passes (garıver) on the route and all the world was eloquent about the difficulty of them It had been represented that the Kashmiris were waiting at Hasti Watar [3] which is the third

he would apparently strike the Pir Pantsal route east of Allābad and possibly also of Hastiavanj which is half a mile lower down the river i.e. more to the eastward But if he came by the Ladak Valley he would strike the road at or to the west of Hastīvanj

[1] That is waiting to desert Ya'qub and to join Qāsim K

[2] See Chalmers translation of this passage in Noer Akbar translation II 201

[3] Colonel Jarrett and the Governor of Jammū J II 347 n 3 and 383, n 1 thought that Hastī Watar was a mistake for Hastī Bhanj (the Hastīvanj of Stein's map) but if so the mistake seems to have been Abul Fazl's and not his copyist for all

range (*garīwa*) from India, and the first from Kashmīr The advance party did not find them there though it appeared[1] that a body of men had come and then gone back. They asked Shanki Chārwar[2] "Why did they come and why did they go away?" He replied, "Apparently they went back through fear that Ya'qūb would seize the top of the hill" Meanwhile Muhammad Land, Dilāwar K, Bahādur K and a number of the Kashmiri leaders arrived and proceeded to give battle[3] Shaikh Ya'qub had two wounds and fell, and nearly died His friends saved him Jai fell on the ground with twelve wounds Some fought bravely, and slept the last sleep All at once there was a storm of rain and snow, and the men were discomposed Jai has been heard to say that he lost his senses in that snowstorm, and that while he was insensible H M. appeared to him, and bade him take courage At that moment his senses returned to him, and he acquired strength But the many wounds, the heavy snow, the loneliness, and the pangs of hunger bewildered him Suddenly some men appeared and he was taken up and carried to Shams Cak who treated him kindly and sent him to the city

The wonderful[4] workings of fate were such that when Ya'qūb fell into the slumber of presumption on account of his having seized Shams Chak, he dropped the thread of wisdom from his hands, and became more keen in doing evil He endeavoured to close the roads

---

the MSS appear to have Watar, وتر and it is not easy to see how Bhanj could in copying have been changed into Watar The mistake is more likely if the original word was *vanj* ونج, but even then it is not probable The text has Satī Watar, the H of Hastī having been read as the preposition *ba*, but the I O MSS have Hastī Watar Dr Stein's valuable paper on the Topography of the Pīr Pantsāl route, J.A.S B for 1895, 376, should be consulted. The place Hastīvanj was visited and identified by Dr Stein and is marked on his map it is about half a mile below the station of 'Alīābad Serai It was here according to tradition that Mihrakula had 100 elephants thrown down I have also contributed a paper on Hastīvanj to the R A.S.J for 1904, *p 269*

[1] That is, the scouts saw the marks of a large encampment

[2] Cārwarah is a village near Srīnagar (Stein)

[3] This account is what the advance party gave The fight was with them and not with the main army

[4] See abridged translation of this passage by Chalmers in Noer's Akbar, translation, 202 *et seq*

He sent forward Abiya his brother Abiya the son of Abdāl Chak Naurang K Zafar K, Fath K, Husain K, Bahādur K, and Dilāwar K —low persons to whom he from arrogance had given those honourable appelations—while he himself remained in the city, making preparations At this time their views took two forms, and their affairs fell into a bad way Those whom he had sent forward exerted themselves in closing the defiles, but some were averse to this business and did not take part in it Haidar Chak, who nourished
505 the ambition to govern the country was[1] with the victorious army His son Husain heard that he was coming, and was waiting for him at Baramgala[2] Many of the above mentioned Kashmiris had a friendly meeting with Husain, and agreed that if Haidar Chak did not abandon his promises they would join him He should leave the (imperial) army and come to them, and they would turn back the army by various presents and by cajolery Kashmir would get repose Fath 'Ali, who presumptuously had the title of Naurang K, did not approve of this plan, so they degraded him The two Abiyās contrived by pretences to abscond The Nāyiks, who were the guardians of the passes, were sent (by Husain and his party) to make supplications The notion was to take some of the imperial servants with them, and to honour the pulpits by announcing there the name of the world's lord, and to turn back the officers by the power of presents

In brief Ya'qub had come to Hirapur[3] intending to fight, but became bewildered by finding that the Kashmiris were disgusted with him Husain K, his paternal uncle, also left him and joined those Kashmiris He held a meeting of the instruments of his own ignorance, and sate to consider how matters could be remedied The resolution come to was that they should release from confinement Shams Chak and Muhammad Bhat, and that they should conduct affairs according to the counsels of these two men When he brought out those two strifemongers, they from spite represented that the

[1] The text has a conjunction before the verb but this seems superfluous Perhaps و is a mistake for او he

[2] Properly Bahramgalla. It is the entrance to Kashmīr and is 24 miles from Rajaurī The ascent to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass begins here It is the Bhairavgala of Srivara's Chronicle (Stein)

[3] On the Pīr Pantsal route Properly Surapūra or Hīrapur

proper course was that he should for some days live apart from commotion and should take refuge in Kistwāra[1] When he had taken some repose and had come to distinguish friend from foe, he should display activity. With a thousand failures he withdrew to that obscure place On the way those two turbulent men separated themselves and took many with them

At this time, when the Kashmīris were on the hill, looking for the coming of Haidar Chak, they were bewildered by receiving a letter from him It said that he was guarded, and that it would be very difficult for him to get away, and very difficult to induce the officers to turn back The Kashmiris were disgusted at this (letter) and had a gathering at Hirapur They made Husain Chak their leader, and turned their attention to fighting Meanwhile Shams Chak arrived, and they set aside the new ruler, and joined him They sent a force to the Pass with the design of fighting, and it was from it that the injury happened to Shaikh Ya'qub and Jai

When the imperial officers came to know, near Akrambāl, the truth about their evil intentions, they imprisoned their[2] visitors, and were more careful in guarding Haidar Chak They held a council (*janqi*) and deliberated about crossing the Hasti Watar ridge, and entering into the country (of Kashmir) Some were distressed by the snow and sleet, and spoke foolishly about turning back, and spoke about tarrying Qāsim K, and some acute men set about ad- 506
vancing, and the others were compelled to do the same At this time Shams Chak sent able men and had recourse to cajolery He began the same story that had been made use of to Mirzā Shāhrukh The reply was that this time, humbug would not succeed The order was that they should purge Kashmir of presumptuous and turbulent persons Let every one who was fortunate join the victorious army, and sit under the shade of clemency They did not accept the words of wisdom and prepared for battle Qasim K proceeded on the 19th Mihr, 10 October 1586, to engage with a high courage The enemy too drew up their forces. That turbulent fellow (Shams Chak) was

---

[1] Text Kathwāra. Ya'qūb's father in law lived there See J II 310, and I G Kistiwār The town is on l bank Chīnāb and used to be capital of a small principality It is S E Srīnagar, and outside of the valley A F in Ā in includes it in the province of Lahore

[2] That is the Nāyīks who had joined them at Rajaurī

in the centre, Zafar was on the right wing, Shams Dūlī on the left, Husain Chak in the van (*tali'a*) and Muh Bhat in the rear. When the imperial advance guard came to the Pass muskets were fired and stones thrown from the forts (*sir'kobhā*), and on account of the pressure of the enemy, and the narrowness of the ground, they were driven back on the left wing Qāsim was indignant at this repulse, and personally went to the place He sent forward Sharīf Sarmadi, Mīr 'Abdur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, Jalālud-din Mas'ud, Haji Muh Targhīzi and Mir Shāh Muh He also took as his companion Khanjarī who had turned back from the left wing Muh Chak,[1] one of the brave men of Kashmir, ran from the right wing A combatant named Lākha[2] engaged him They gripped one another, and together rolled down The spectators were amazed and uttered cries of astonishment In the heat of the fight Zafar[3] was struck by a bullet, and the army at once dispersed Other troops had not come up when the buffet of God's hand smote the faces of the rebellious, and the great force broke up The drum of success beat high, and the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh produced another victory The advance guard and the left wing pursued, and halted at the bottom of the pass Qāsim and the others cautiously took post on the top Yādgār Husain and some other active men were sent on to Srinagar, the capital On 24 Mihr (6 October) the pulpits were exalted by the sublime name of the Lord of the Diadem The ignorant, wild people were pacified by the administration of justice and by increase of love[4] When the army was encamped four kos from Srinagar, Haidar Chak went off to the city without leave Some uneasiness arose in the camp on account of this, but it soon subsided On the 25th[5] (Mihr ?) Qāsim entered the delightful resi-

[1] Haidar Malik calls him a son of Shamsi Chak

[2] He was a Rājput

[3] Haidar M calls him Zafar K Nayik

[4] *Mihr afsūnī* Apparently, there is a play on the double meaning of *mihr*, which signifies one of the solar months and also love

[5] The MSS make the date 23 Ābān or nearly a month later than 25 Mihr But it is very unlikely that Ābān is correct for Haidar Malik represents the entry of Qasim as having taken place immediately after the proclamation The probability then is that the emendation of the editors is right if it be an emendation, and not what they found in their MSS It is 23 *Ābān*

dence of Srīnagar, and there were various joys On that day Ḥaidar Chak joined with a large number of men while the army was still on the march, but Qāsim prudently prevented him from interfering (*taṣarruf*) and so erased characters of apprehension from men's hearts

Nine hundred years before this, in the time of Anat Īlā'īl [1] the 507

---

in I O MS 236, in the Cawnpore MS and in a MS of my own I O MS 235 has not the passage, see its 648th page Ḥaidar Chak says that the army entered the city on the day after the battle which, apparently, makes it enter on 20 Mihr He adds that Haidar Cak was in the city for five days and then was put into confinement

[1] Text اِنت پلاپل, but there are several variants I O MS. 236 has apparently ' At Palapal, ات پلاپل I believe that the name is intended to be the same as Utpalapīra, the son of Ajayapīra the last king of the fifth (or sixth) dynasty, and who according to some MSS reigned for two years See J. II 375 Gladwin calls this prince Atbalanund, and Tiefenthaler I 94, Anandbed Apparently he corresponds to the Lalitāpīḍa of the Rājtaranginī See Stein's Rajataranginī Book IV V 678 Lalītāpīḍa had a son by the daughter of a spirit-distiller, and her brothers afterwards acquired supreme power Their dynasty lasted from A D 813 to 850 Stein, *id* verse 703 Lalitāpīra's reign then would correspond to about 196 A H or A.D 812 or nearly 800 years before Qāsim K.'s conquest in 1586, which is a sufficiently near approximation to A F s 900 years In J II 376 the dynasty which succeeded Utpalāpīra is said to have been Camārs by caste But in two MSS which I have consulted there are no dots on the first letter of this word which is written there ḥamār, حمار I believe that the word really is خمار or خمّار Khamār or Khammār, wine sellers, which therefore agrees with the *bāda faroshān* of A F. and the *kalyapāla* of the Rajtaranginī, *id* v 678 According to the Rājtaranginī Lalitāpīḍa was a wicked and dissolute prince He was succeeded by Samgramapiḍa, and he by Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, also called Vrihaspatī, and who was the young son of Lalitāpīḍa by a spirit distiller s daughter It was her brothers who usurped the power They ruled till A D 850, and then there was a contest and eventually Utpalapīḍa the son of Ajitāpīḍa became king According to the Rājtaranginī he was a king set up by the spirit distiller Utpada's son Sukhavarman, and apparently he belonged to that caste, for his grandmother was Jayadevī, though Stein says she is different from the Jayādevī the spirit-distiller s daughter Utpalāpiḍa was dethroned and succeeded by Avantivarman in A D 855 6 According to A F and Stein I 137 there were only 15 princes of the Utpala dynasty, Avantivarman

ruler of Kashmir, this conquest had been prophesied Accordingly, ancient records speak of it By the jugglery of fortune, wine sellers had obtained the supremacy, and there was a hot season of flagon draining and of oppression Shiv [1] Dat, a brahman, lived in Srinagar in the street of Rathpur He was singular for his good qualities and he had a consort who had few peers for beauty and chastity He was continually distressed by [2] the vogue of the polluted, and was always imploring the Deity for deliverance from that set of tyrants A knowing and skilful man taught him the science of *baital* [3] *sadhana*, for the sages of India regard the *baital* as a holy spirit, and *sadhana* means the rules for causing his appearance Whenever he comes, he tells the truth about every thing Whoever shall cause his appearance must practise certain rites for several days, and must recite special charms On the last day he must, on the dark [4] 14th of the moon, and in an appropriate hour, stretch out a human corpse, perfect in its limbs, in a place where bodies are cremated, and which

being the first But if we take Lalitāpīḍa as the prince in whose time the ghost-story occurred we have twenty princes or exactly the number mentioned in text and we have a still nearer approximation to the 900 years before 1586 or 994, the five additional princes having reigned over 60 years The Utpala dynasty was succeeded by Yasāskara deva (the Jasasra of J II 376) who apparently was of the Kāyath or Sudra caste According to A F J II 378 the Deva (or Kāyath) dynasty lasted till the throne fell to a Muḥammadan (Shamsud-dīn) Ghāzī Cak became king in the middle of the 16th century and the line of independent kings of Kashmīr ended with Ya qūb

[1] The I O MS 236 calls the brahman Sevat سيوت and the text has the variant Sūrat which is also that given by Chalmers As the brahman appears to have recorded the story in Hindī that is in Sanskrit verse he is perhaps the Survata, who was one of Kalhana s predecessors and who is mentioned in Stein s Introduction I 24 Muhammadan rule began in Kashmīr about A D 1340 The word which I have translated street is *barzan* I cannot find Rathpur on Stein s plan of Srīnagar

[2] Hangama The variant nigāh hā, glances is supported by the I O MSS

[3] Both words are spelled in the text The Betāl Sanskrit Vetala is a spirit which inhabits corpses See the Baitāl Pachāisī

[4] i e apparently the 29th day of the lunar month See Jarrett II 17 The dark fortnight is the 14th day of the Kishnpacch or dark fortnight of the moon

is called a *masān*,[1] and must make it fast[2] on all four sides with iron nails He must then seat himself on the shoulder of the corpse, and light a lamp in a human skull, the wick being made from a shroud, and the oil from human fat He must then breathe charms upon human teeth[3] and strew the latter like flowers over the fallen body By the power of God[4] terrific forms make their appearance, and if the heart of the necromancer does not fail him, the corpse begins to move, and utters awful sounds Thereafter the spirit assumes a moderate aspect and asks "Why have you called me, and why is all this pain?" It will then answer the questions put to it, and the inquirer will obtain a remedy in matters that are practicable, and in others he will be taught patience The oppressed brahman set about collecting the materials, and after much search obtained a body such as was wanted But some things he had not got, and he was perplexed how to keep what he had got He could not take the corpse to the city, and he was afraid it would be damaged if kept in the country He made it up like a bundle (*boqcha*), and deposited it in the house of a tanner of his acquaintance so that in that odoriferous place his secret would not be revealed He himself went off to complete his arrangements At midnight, the spirit, who had become apprised of the facts, cried out to the tanner The latter was somewhat terrified, but the ghost spoke reassuringly to him and said "A certain brahman is suffering much, tell him the period of the unjust rulers will be a long one Let him draw his feet inside the robe of patience and refrain from restlessness. Twenty persons of that set will sit, one after the other, on the throne of power When the time of those oppressors shall have passed away, the government of this country will come to the caste of the Kāyaths, and after that, men of the Muhammadan faith will bear rule. The appointed time of each dynasty must pass away, and

[1] Text sasān, but masān in I O MSS It is apparently a corruption of the Sanskrit *shmashān* (Forbes's Dict meaning a burning place)

[2] I presume that this means pegging down the body at the head, feet and sides

[3] The MSS vary, I O MS 23b has dand ān, meaning, I suppose, the ribs, but apparently, teeth are what is meant. Perhaps there is here a reminiscence of Cadmus

[4] *nabard* battle or contest, but the MSS have Yazdī

when the turn of the Chaks[1] arrives, several of that family will prevail
08 Their sway will pass away at the eighth succession, and one of the mighty in spiritual and temporal matters, and whose thoughts, actions, and speech are devoted to the accomplishment of the Divine Will shall sit and deal justly by this country" When the brahman came to the tanner's house, he learned what had happened, and withdrew his hand from his undertaking, and sate down in the corner of obscurity The incidents were recorded to Hindi verse, and old histories and stone tablets tell of them Sulṭān Zainul 'Ābidin—who is also called Baddu Shāh,[2] and who is world famous among the rulers of Kashmir, used continually to say that the government of the country would soon pass to the Chaks, and that afterwards it would be wrested from them

At the time when there was a loud report in Kashmīr of the coming of M Shahrukh and Raja Bhagwant Das Yusuf the ruler went to Wāhid[3] Sufī in Panj Brāra and begged for inspiration That servant of God, and man of enlightened heart, replied that though this army would turn back in the middle of the road, yet the Incomparable Deity had given the country to the spiritual and secular monarch His soldiers would soon arrive

When the news of the conquest reached the sublime Court, there was an increase of thanksgivings to God, and the deserving servants were exalted by various favours The truth of the statements of the Hindu astrologers was revealed In the beginning of Ābān the solar weighment took place It was made against twelve articles There was a great feast, and the needy had their heart desires gratified On this day Raja Bhagvant Das performed the prostration The story of his madness and desire to commit suicide has been described When he had recovered by the attentions of H M, he turned his face to the court On the 4th the quarters of

---

[1] The Chaks came from the north and are supposed to be foreigners

[2] Zainul Ābidīn came to the throne in 1407 and reigned 52 years A. F refers to his prophecy in the Ain J II 388 His other name is written Badū there Perhaps it is short for Bādshāh

[4] Perhaps this is a title meaning The Unitarian Ṣūfī Wāḥid Sūfī is described at p 549 of A. N, and at 551, a visit paid to him by Akbar is described

Karam Ullāh Kambu were made glorious by H M s advent Lofty palaces had been erected, and he had long nourished this wish in his heart (that Akbar would visit his house) As the gratification of desires is one of H M's principles, Karam Ullāh's petition was granted, and he obtained an eternal blessing There was largesse and there were presents, some of which were accepted

One of the occurrences[1] was that Ya'qub made a night attack, and retreated after failure The Kashmiri scoundrels brought him out of the defiles of Kistwāra, and many gathered round him He stirred up strife at Chandarkot[2] seven kos from Panj Brara[3] Mubārak Shaikh Daulat and other brave men hastened to the spot He did not think himself strong enough to fight by day, and so determined on a night attack He wished to engage with those who had come in advance Some represented that the general was behaving with some negligence in the city, now that he had sent off the troops Ya'qub left some men to oppose them, and went off towards the city On the 20th he passed Sa'diwāra,[4] and at midnight entered the city He found some scouts asleep, and put them to death Ya'qub and many scoundrels made a commotion at the principal gate Qāsim and some gallant men displayed great courage Sharif Sarmadi and Hāji 50
Muh of Turshiz (near Nishapur) fought bravely As they were not easy in their minds about the prisoner Haidar Chak, they put him to death Some Kashmiris got into boats and made a tumult at the wicket gate which opens on that side Tufān Kabuli, the Qāzizada, and others stood firm A body of men made a commotion at the gate which leads into the city Mir Abdur Razzāq Ma'muri and others maintained their ground The leader of the band was killed by a bullet Some made an attack on Mirzā 'Ali Akbarshāhi Ayyub

[1] See Chalmers translation of this passage in Noer s Akbar translation II 204 It appears from Haidar Malik s Chronicle that Bahādur the Rajah of Kishtwāra was Y aqūb s father in law

[2] I cannot find this place Perhaps it is on the Candra Bhāga i e the upper course of the Cinab Haidar calls it Candarkot

[3] Panj or Pānch Brāra is the Bij Bihāra of the maps and of Bates a d is properly Vijayesvara Stein II 464 and is situated on both sides of the Jhelam and about 30 m E S E Srinagar

[4] S aadī Manzil in text but I O MS 236 supports the variant

Beg, Yār Beg and Mumin Ahadis distinguished themselves In this engagement Sālih Beg was killed The soldiers prevailed over every[1] house, and in every corner there were hot encounters After much contest, victory, by the help of God, declared itself On the other side of the river, Fath K,[2] on hearing of the news had sent his son Muhammad K with a body of troops He came on, beating his drums On the other side, Khanjari, Shadab,[3] Askaran and others beat their drums, and advanced On hearing the noise of these outside drums, the enemy became demoralised, and by daily-increasing fortune the setting fire to the city by the Kashmiris made them still more broken By the illumination thereof, the skilful marksmen shot down many At the end of the night the enemy withdrew after a thousand failures, and many lost their lives in the flight At dawn Mirzā Ālī Akbarshahi, Gūjar K, Muh K and others followed swiftly in pursuit Owing to the country's being unknown, the turbulent fellow (Ya'qub) escaped, and went towards Desū[4]

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of the ruler of Tatta Though the titular prince of that country was Mirzā Pāyinda Muhammad Arghun, he was insane and could not govern the country His son Mirza Jani conducted affairs On the 28th (Ābān 7 November 1586) Saiyid Jalal, who was one of the nobles of the country, had the bliss of an audience He presented petitions and gifts The former continued the submissions of the nobles, and excuses for the ruler's not coming in person The Shāhinshah accepted these and treated the envoy with favour After satisfying his desires he dismissed him On 5 Āzar 16 November Rāja Basu[5] did homage with an ashamed face and a repentant heart He was one of the zamindārs of the northern hills of the Panjab He used always to be obedient and behave well At the time when the august standards cast their shadow over that province he, from perverse fate, became refractory Accordingly, Husain Beg, Shaikh 'Umri,

[1] *Har khāna* But the reading is doubtful Perhaps it is *sir khāna* the top of the house viz M 'Alis Or Harkhāna may be a place name

[2] B 523

[3] The variant Sādāt "the Saiyids" is supported by the I O MSS

[4] Perhaps the Devasarasa of Stein's map and the Devsar of J II 362 369 But some MSS seem to have Veso or Weso and the place may be the Veshau (Wasī) of J II 362, and the Kosah Nag of Vigne

[5] Of Mau or Nūrpur, J II 331

Hāji Siyandūk, Qambar Be, Qarā Beg, and Nāṣir Daulat were sent If he did not listen to counsel, he was to be punished Rajah Todar Mal wrote a letter to him and warned him of the danger of disobedience The troops had arrived at Pathān [1] when the receipt of the Rajah's letter roused him from slumber He came and paid his respects to the imperial servants, and then accompanied them to Court

One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K Koka to punish the Tārikis Whosoever's star is declining, takes the road of failure of his own accord, and soon receives the retribution of his evil thoughts Such was the fate of the Mohmand and Ghori tribes They had 10,000 households in Peshawar They were aware that good service was a means of deliverance (and) at this time when they were oppressed they should have petitioned the august court, but from shortsightedness and wickedness they made Jalāla Tāriki their leader The life of Saiyid Hāmid [2] Bokhāri was lost in battle with them He was the fief holder of Peshawar and he had gone there as he had the charge of guarding [3] (the road to) Afghanistan His soldiers went back to the jāgīr in India and he was negligently passing his time with a few companions in the fort of Bikrām [4] He left the work of administration to one who was Musā (Moses) in name but not in wisdom Without having examined into his character he gave into his hands the administration of justice He did not perceive that in such matters, length of time in service was of no avail Musa from avarice pressed heavily on those tribes, and stretched out his hand against their property and their honour The latter from want of judgment joined hands with that scoundrel (Jalāla) and made a commotion near Bikrām On account of the smallness of his force Saiyid Hāmid was minded to shut himself up in the fort till the arrival of his brethren and of the soldiers of Kabul

[1] Bathān in text but Pathan in I O MS 236 It is probably the place mentioned in B 616 and 56 as 45 kos N Lahore and as a place where ice was brought from

[2] B 397 Elliot V 255 and Badāyunī Lowe 366

[3] Kishk i Kābul dāshtā Lit He had got the baton of Kabul i e he had been appointed to keep the roads clear and so had come to Peshawar

[4] Bikrām or Begram seems an other name for Peshawar See Jarrett II 405 The Tumān of Bigrām is called Parashawar

and Attock But, owing to the suggestions of short-sighted persons, he could not manage this He sent a man to find out the circumstances of the enemy, and he, from ignorance or malice, reported them to be few in number and to be disorganised Without making a thorough investigation, he sallied out with 150 men and hotly engaged Though in the beginning he was wounded by an arrow he did not turn back In the hand to hand fight his horse fell into a canal[1] and he was killed Forty of his relatives fell bravely along with him Afterwards, the Afghāns surrounded the fort His young son Saiyid Kamal with a few men stood firm, and defended it On receipt of this intelligence Shāh Quli K Maḥram, Shaikh Farid Bokhāri, Tāsh Beg K, and many other officers were sent off, on the 7th (Āzar, end of November) under the command of the Kokaltāsh (Zain K) An order was sent that, if necessary Kunwar Mān Singh should send a force from Kabul and special instructions (*yarligh*) were issued to Mādhu Singh that he should, before the arrival of the imperial army, march from the station (thānah) of Langarkot[2] to Begrām with Rajah Bhagwant Dās's troops

One of the occurrences was the improvement (lit the irrigating) of the empire (lit the four gardens of dominion) The whole energies of the Shāhinshāh are devoted to the soothment of mankind
511 and scrutiny (*pashu iasi*) and justice increase daily As he considers that sovereignty means guardianship he makes no distinction between pain and pleasure He regards additions to dominion as a means of devotion to God, and sovereignty as the companion of service With this view he appointed truthful and wise men in every province that they might duly apportion chastisement and benevolence, and not, from greed, or timidity, fail to do what was proper (?) He also appointed rightly acting clerks to the lofty *offices of Diwān and Bakhshi He made double the thread of* justice (*dad*[3] *u sitad*) (i e he strengthened the administration)

[1] *Jui* A variant has *goi* a hole and we find this in the Maaṣir II 399

[2] Langar is marked on map No 32 of I G Atlas E of Indus and S Attock But according to Badāyuni Lowe 366 Mādhū was then at Ohind (i e Und) which is on west bank Indus and 15 m above Attock

[3] The expression giving and taking generally means commerce or trafficking and perhaps does so here

Inasmuch as lust and anger destroy the world and the good are made bad by evil companionship, the sovereign practised foresight in every thing, and adorned the garden of the world by distributing work, and taking it from one man and giving it to another With this view he on the 14th nominated two able officers to every province so that if one came to court, or should fall ill, the other might look after his work. He also sent with them a Dīwān, and a Bakhshī. Allahabād was made over to Shihāb-ud dīn Aḥmad K., and 'Abdu-l-Moṭṭalib K.; Raḥmān Qulī was made Dīwān, and Ja'far Beg Bakhshī. Oudh was made over to Fath K. and Qāsim 'Alī K. Mullā Nāẓir being made Dīwān and Tarā Cand Bakhshī. Ajmīr was entrusted to Jagannāth and Rai Durgā, Mujāhid was Dīwān, and Sulṭān Qulī, Bakhshī. Aḥmadābād was made over to the Khān-khānān and Qulīj K., Abu-l qāsim was the Dīwān, and Niẓāmu-d dīn Ahmad, Bakhshī Bihār was made over to Sa'īd K. and M Yūsuf K, Rai Pattar Dās became Dīwān, 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, Bakhshī Bengal to Wazīr K., and Muhibb 'Alī K, Karm Ullah was Dīwān, and Shahbāz K, Bakhshī Multān to Sādiq K and Ismā'īl Qulī K, Khwājah 'Abd us-Samad was made Dīwān, and Muqīm Bakhshī Agra the capital was made over to Shaikh Ibrāhīm and Rājah Askaran, Muhibb 'Alī was Dīwān, and Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk, Bakhshī Delhi was made over to Shāh Qulī K. Mahram and the writer [1] of this noble volume, Tayyib, was Dīwān, and Ḥasan K., Bakhshī Kabul was made over to Kunwar Mān Singh and Zain K. Kokā Niẓam ul-mulk was Dīwān and Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Bakhshī. Malwa to the Khān Ā'zam and Naurang K, Mukhtār Beg was made Dīwān, and Fath Ullah Bakhsh Lahore was entrusted to Rājah Bhagwant Dās and Rāi Rai Singh As the court was there, the palace Dīwān and Bakhshī were sufficient.

One of the occurrences was the death of Kalah Sīsūdiah He belonged to the Rānā's tribe, and used to spend his time with him. By his good fortune he entered into service (under Akbar) and received favours But owing to his evil star and darkened intellect he absconded Salāh-ud-dīn and Rām Chand were ordered to pursue him They were to come up with him, and give him good

---

[1] B's statement, p xv, that he was made *dīwān* does not seem to be correct

counsel If he accepted it, he was not to be injured, and be
2 brought to Court Otherwise they were to put him to death They travelled 180 *kos*, and arrived at the town of Fathpur He was hot-headed, and withdrew his heart from them They communicated their instructions, and the presumptuous fellow took graciousness to be timidity, and in company with nine others set himself to fight He and two others were killed and the others were admitted to quarter

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Ali Murād One of the Shaikhzādahs of India, by name Shāh Muhammad, was for a long time his servant He could not endure disagreeables, and always displayed insolence His master overlooked this, and gave his endurance of it the appellation of appreciativeness and patience Whoever does not distinguish between the season for chastisement and the season for forbearance will assuredly fall into great trouble 'Ali Murad had a jagir in pargana Barodah[1] which belongs to the province of Ajmir, and one day he was enjoying the sport of hawking The Shaikhzada came and performed the *kornish* (i e saluted) with his left hand When his master interrogated him about this, he said he kept his right arm for his sword, and not for paying respects He also used disrespectful language The other, whose life was running out, abused him The attendants rushed forward to seize and strike him He drew his dagger and ran at them and they, out of cowardice, retired He wounded 'Ali Murad on the right arm, and the latter[2] set down his hawk and addressed himself to fighting He received another wound and fell with two severe wounds One of the companions settled the business of that ingrate and in a short space of time that brave man ('Ali Murâd) also died

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the Tarikis In the beginning of Mihr (middle September 1586) M Sulaimān came to Kābul As he had a desire to go to court, Kunwar Man Singh left Khwajah Shams ud din Khafi and others to manage Kabul and became the Mirza's guide He was seized[3] with fever at Pesh Bulāq[4] near

[1] In Sarkar Rantanbhor J II 275

[2] According to I O MS 236 he dashed the hawk in his face

[3] See Chalmers translation, Noer's Akbar, translation II 210

[4] Marked on Elphinstone's map some 15 or 20 m S Jalālabad The Pesh Bulāgh of Tūzuk J 129

Jalālābād and became very ill The scoundrels were arrogant on account of the killing of Saiyid Hāmid, imbibed new hopes from this unseasonable delay, and their turbulence increased They abandoned the siege of the fort (Begrām) and formed evil designs The Mahmand and Ghori tribes made heaps of stones in both the Khaibar roads from Peshāwar to Tīrah and fortified them The Yūsufzais and other Afghāns supported them in their wickedness

Tīrāh is a hill country 32 kos long (i e from E to W) and 12 broad On the E is Peshawar, W Maidān,[1] N Bāra, S the district of Qandahār It has defiles full of ups and downs and difficult of traverse As the victorious army that had been despatched from court 513 (the Kokaltash s) was late in arriving, and Kunwar Mān Singh was ill at that time, and suffered pains for a month and a half, the Afghāns thought of attacking the Kunwar Meanwhile he got better, and set his heart upon punishing them He left Mir Sharīf Āmuli, Jānish Bahādur, the Ataliq Khwājgi Muhammad Husain, Ghazi K of Qazwin, and his own son Himmat Singh and many others with the Mirzā (Sulaiman) and took with himself Takhtah Beg and others, to the number of 3000 horse His idea was to get to Tirāh by route of Narwan,[2] and to attack from there the Afridis who were the leaven

[1] As Col Jarrett remarks II 278 n 3 Abu l Fazl always uses Bakhtar for W and Khāwar for E Maidān is apparently the Maidanī hills of the I G and Bāra is probably the river of that name and which is a tributary of the Kābul river The boundary S Qandahār is obscure Tīrah lies a long way E N E Qandahar, but perhaps the outlying parts of Qandahar are meant The words rūih *Qandahar* may mean in the direction of Qandahār Tīrāh is S S W of Peshawar It was the seat of the campaign of 1897 There is a map of Tīrah in Yate s life of Col J Haughton, Murray 1900 The text speaks of two Khaibar roads being fortified Perhaps the meaning is that coming and going were stopped The word for heaps of stones is *sangchin*, for which see Vullers s v Perhaps rough walls are meant

[2] Or Nārdān. Narwan or Narwan is a name for a pomegranate tree and thus may be the name of a pass The word occurs in the Maasir II 245 which here copies the Akbar nama But the rāh nārwan of Abul Fazl may be rāh na-rawān an unknown or unused route, and the meaning be that Mān Singh intended to reach Tīrah by a new route Chalmers has Marwān so perhaps the place is the Mardanak of the maps Or it may be the Mamain Pass leading down from Pesh Būlaq I have not identified the Shādī ravine The word occurs twice, viz n* pp

of the disturbance, and by the same route to come by the ravine of Shādi (?) to 'Ali Masjid in order that the (two) armies might join, and the road be opened Sakit Singh, son of Mān Singh Darbāri and Zain ud din 'Ali, who were going to Kabul, hastened off to Begrām as soon as they heard of the catstrophe of Saiyid Hamid On account of the roads being closed, they had halted there Also Mādhu Singh had arrived near Attock with the troops of Rājah Bhagwant Dās

With these ideas Mān Singh marched rapidly from Pesh Bulaq on 3 Dai (about 13 December) He marched all night and at morning reached the pass of Chahār Chobah [1] It was snowed up With difficulty he traversed heights and hollows and arrived at Bazārak Next day an army under Muh Quli Beg attacked the Afridis and collected much spoil Some thought they should return and convey the plunder to a depot, and march on afterwards This view was not accepted and they pushed on They marched by the defile of Chorah and climbed the hills They passed by the homes of the Ghori tribe, who saved themselves by submitting When they came into the defiles, Jalālah appeared from behind, and Afghāns pressed

513 and 514 and each time is succeeded by the word *ekbargī* It is possible that this last word is a clerical error for Bagadi and the ravine be the Shādī Bagadī gorge of the I G VIII 125 and the Shādī Bagian or Wolf's mouth of Col Hanna's Second Afghan War II 7 The Shādi Bagada is a gorge N Jamrud and is marked on Scott's Reconnaissance map of the Khaibar but Mān Singh would hardly come by it if he was going to Ali Masjid But perhaps his idea was to turn the Khaibar

It seems to me doubtful if Mān Singh went from Pish Būlāq by the Khaibar It seems as if it would have been unnecessary to do so to get at Tīrāh He probably went there direct and came to Alī Masjid by the east end of the pass eventually passing through the Khaibar when joined by the troops from India and when he went to escort M Sulaimān I do not know where the Chār Choba Pass mentioned on p 513 is The Chora mentioned further on may be the Chora road mentioned by Mohan Lal ed 1846 p 59 who says it is passable for camels and horses Bazarak mentioned in text may be the place marked on the maps as Bazar, west of Jamrūd Both Pesh Būlāq and Bazar are marked on the map of the Survey operations during the campaign of 1878 79

[1] Carjnla— The four streams according to I O MS 236 A place called Bāzārak i Nāo is marked on maps E Pish Būlāq

upon them from every side Takhtah Beg and other heroes of the rearguard carried on a strenuous fight And when they were in difficulties, Kunwar Man Singh halted, and sent reinforcements After much fighting the enemy desisted from their insolence He left his eldest son Jagat Singh with the rearguard and went on towards 'Ali Masjid In a short time the wicked wretches again gathered on every side, and the position become more difficult There was no plain where they could fight properly and no shelter which might be of use so that the shooting of arrows, and rolling of stones, might come to an end The brave men contended at close quarters with the enemy, and there were occasionally wonderful combats Suddenly a somewhat open place was seen Man Singh, contrary to the opinion of his companions stood firm there, and Takhtah Beg and some Kābulis entered into the fight Afterwards Muhammad Quli Beg Nuram Kokah and other active men of the 514
vanguard took part, and wonderful deeds were done When things were critical, the breeze of victory arose the enemy was defeated, and retreated by narrow defiles Thanks were offered to God, and there was great joy Some were of opinion that as the day was nearly ended, they should encamp on the field of victory, and many thought it would be proper to go to 'Ali Masjid, which was two *kos* distant As there was scarcity of water, they set off Muh Quli took charge of the rear The army reached the station, at the beginning of evening, by the Shādi route Jalālah lay in wait there when a watch of the night had passed, and the Afghāns collected here and there Some thought that they should sally out at dawn, and prevail over the foe, but as they were much fatigued, they did not do so After midday, Madhu Singh appeared with Rajah Bhagwant Das's force, and the Tarikis at once dispersed Most of the experienced men were of opinion that Man Singh should remain there, and that some officers should go off, and bring in the great caravan by the Khaibar route But out of regard to M Sulaimān, and the numerous families and their baggage, (Man Singh) went by the Khaibar to Pesh Bulaq and brought the Mirza and the caravan to Begram (Peshawar) by the Kharapa[1]

[1] Or Karpah The Currapa Pass which leads from Peshawar to Jalalabad is in the Mohmand country it is sometimes travelled, but as it

route. About this time Zain K. Koka arrived with his army, and there were increased endeavours to uproot the Tārīkī thorn.

---

abounds in rugged ascents and defiles, and as the Caubul river, there stony and rapid, must be often crossed, the southern road through the Khaibar is generally preferred' (Elphinstone) In text the word is written کهرپه Kharīha but I O MSS 236 has Karpah See also J II 401

CHAPTER XCII

THE ARRIVAL, FOR THE SECOND TIME, OF M SULAIMĀN AT THE SUBLIME COURT

Some of his misfortunes, from the time when he obtained leave to go to the Hijāz, have already been related When M Shahrukh proceeded to court, he remained in the Lamghānāt, and spent his days in wishes for Badakhshān M Hakim had consideration for him, and gave him some Badakhshis and Kābulis as companions He quickly marched to the hill country and set himself to take Tāliqān Muhammad Sultān Uzbeg came to fight with him He on account of the great number of the enemy, fortified the foot of a hill (*thakh-band karda*), and stood firm From time to time, he made attacks, and was successful His success made him presumptuous, and he cast away the thread of farsight The longer he stood firm, the more did old servants (*bandagan babari*) join him, while the number of the enemy diminished Without reason, he abandoned his strong shelter and fought against superior numbers Inasmuch as self will puts wisdom on one side, and the quick 515 silver of not listening pours into the ear of reason he did not accept the words of his well wishers He came out, and performed masterpieces of valour The enemy was nearly defeated, and he was almost successful, when, suddenly, 'Abdu l Mūmin[1] Sultan came in person from Balkh The battle was renewed The Mirzā's army did not know of this, and brave men made a hot fight Twice was the enemy put to flight The third time the fighting was more reckless, and just then the ungrateful Qurci Beg led a party of Uzbegs against the fortification The Mirzā at once lost the power of contending, and could not maintain his ground He was compelled to fly to Afghanistan Bakhtiyar Beg was at the river Bāran He received him and brought him to Kabul Kuar Mān Singh hastened from Jalālabad to that place, and treated him with great respect He acted as his guide and brought him to Peshawar, as

[1] Son of Abdullah K.

has been related From there, Jagat Singh, Muhammad Quli Beg, Mān Singh Darbāri Hilāl Aftābci became his companions and brought him to the capital When he arrived within two *kos* thereof, H M sent Prince Sultan Murād to receive him He was accompanied by Rajah Todar Mal, Shaham K, Hakim Abu l-fath Āṣaf K, Khudawand K, the writer of the book of fortune (A F), and many other officers Hakim and the writer were ordered to keep near him (Murād), and be ready with answers M Sulaimān got on foot at a distance, and the nursling of fortune (Murad) also dismounted from his horse They embraced one another according to the rules of their ancestors, and conversing together they proceeded to the court On 14 Isfandārmaz (24 February, 1587), he brightened his forehead by doing homage, and his heart was rejoiced by varied favours

One occurrence was the cessation of Y'aqub's commotion After returning unsuccessful from his night attack, he retired to the defiles of Kishtwara The Kashmiri soldiers brought him out by making solemn promises He stirred up commotion in Harnag,[1] 25 *kos* from the city Qasim K had the idea of sending an army against him, and of himself remaining to guard the city The officers preferred unsuitable wishes Apparently these delicate men of hot countries were averse to campaigning in a cold country and did not like to traverse defiles, and to put their hands to battle The general was obliged to go in person and to leave Fath K and others in the city When he came near Y'aqub, he heard that he had gone off to the city to make a night attack Qasim was astounded and turned back, and sent a force ahead under the charge of M 'Ali When they were 5 kos from the city, it appeared that Y'aqub was lying in wait near the hill of Alar[2] (?), four kos from the city The army pushed on and next day reached the hilly place The

[1] Harnāg is situated l bank Jhelum just above the Kanabal bridge and W of Islāmābād (Bates)

[2] الور variant الو I O MS 235 has اُلر Ular which enables us to identify the place with the pargana Wular of Jarret II 369 It is اولر Ūlar in Persian text But the Ain is wrong in describing it as a pargana N E of Srinagar The pargana or tract lies S E of Srinagar and is spelt Woolar on the map Evidently it is totally distinct from the Woolar lake which lies to N W of Srinagar Bates describes it as a long and narrow valley stretching from N

skirmishers had a slight fight and were victorious The enemies saw that they were not strong enough to fight by day, and arranged a night attack By the help of God, fire caught the reed-built houses of the neighbourhood and the vain imaginers became the target of the brave soldiers Owing to the failure of the night attack, the firmness of the imperialists, and their own dissensions, they dispersed They also sent proposal of peace to the officers Yūsuf Kashmīrī, who had the title of Khan khānān, Muhammad Bhat and many others separated and took refuge at a little hill, and sent messages that they wished to wait upon the general At dawn on the 29th Āzar, 8 December, 1586, the army reached that hill Y'aqub and some others went off rapidly to Kishtwāra, and the cultivated country was plundered From there the army advanced to the little hill where the persons above-mentioned were Next day, those men, by the intervention of M 'Ali Beg, and Khanjari, waited upon the general, and he encouraged them and sent them along with Khanjari to court The commotion subsided On 22 Isfandārmaz, 2 March, 1587, the persons sent were exalted by obtaining an audience and received with princely favours Their names were as follows 1 Saiyid Mubarik, who had been raised to the chiefship, as has been related 2 Punj,[1] the brother of Y aqub 3 Haidar 'Ali 4 Muhammad Husain 5 Ahmad Husain 6 Husain K Cak, whom they had raised to the government at the beginning of the disturbance 7 and 8 Husain K and Ibrahim K, the sons of Mubārik K 9 Muhammad Bhat and his sons 10 'Ali Hasan[2] 11. Bābā Khalil 12 Bāba Mahdi. These (three ?) were the leaders of the Kashmīris under the disguise of holy men 13 Bahādur 'Ali. 14 Bhakrū Lohar 15 Mullā Hasan 16 The sons of Haidar Cak Though at the coming of the victorious troops, they had exerted themselves in fighting, and in devising tricks, yet the wise sovereign adhered to the promises, and treated them with favour A good report of him filled the world

side of Jhelam between Avantipūr and Bij Babāra Wular, Vular, or Wooler is the ancient Holāda Stein II 464

[1] Possibly the meaning is five brothers of Y aqūb, but if so only four are named

[2] Perhaps these are the names of his sons

Also, at this time he sent Saiyid 'Abdullah and Mīrzāda 'Alī K to Kashmīr As they had not done good service in the Eastern districts, they were sent off to Kashmīr on the 27th in order that they might seek by good work atonement for the past

One of the occurrences was the protection of holy men Though the lightening of *the burden of sorrow* is always an adornment of those admitted to the august assemblage, and the speech and action of H M. form the stock of State and Religion, yet a fresh announcement was made that it had occurred to H M that every one who had the bliss of attending court should, according to the number of his years, give one *dām*, or one rupī, or one *muhr* to some good object, so that by that means a well, or a reservoir, or a caravanserai, or a garden might be constructed, and that thereby every kind of distress might be relieved, and there might be a spiritual and temporal growth. The order was properly carried out, and the countenance of good thoughts was illuminated

CHAPTER XCIII 517

BEGINNING OF THE 32ND YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE THIRD CYCLE

At this time, when the Age was praying to the daily increasing Fortune, and there was a new diurnal market of thanksgiving, the world was made of a musky fragrance by the shedding of the *'Attar* (otto of roses) of Spring Small and great were seized by new joy The world adorning king's diadem gave new lustre to custom, and made the Earth the envied of Heaven

Verse

The world's lord once more adorned the Earth
He made Time and the Terrene like Paradise

On Saturday 11 Rabi' as sāni 995, 10 or 11 March, 1587, after the passing of 5 hours, 27 minutes, the fountain head of light filled with glory the Sign of Aries The spiritual and temporal ruler sate on the throne of gratification of desires and of justice Each day there was a new feast, and one of the grandees of the court presided over it On the 16th the Khān khānan and 'Azdu d daula came from Gujarat and paid their respects An order had been given that as that country was tranquil, the general should come to court, and make over the affairs of the province to 'Azdu d daula, Qulij K, and Khwājah Nizāmu d din Ahmad Bakhshi Or if he thought it better that he should remain there, he was to send to court Qulij K. and Khwājah Nizamu-d din Ahmad As the country was quiet, he set off on a swift camel, and made the long journey in the course of fifteen days M r Fath Ullah from his great desire of service came also Nūr Qulij, Qāzi Hasan and other gatherers of auspiciousness, who had accompanied them, were admitted to a reception At the close of this day, M Yusuf K came from Bihar and did homage The lord of the universe came out on the throne of fortune His obedient children, his other relatives, the great nobles, and the

gatherers of contemplative and practical wisdom sate here and there.

Verse

A wondrous banqueting-hall brightened the heavens,
Such as the stars have not seen in their dreams,
Eyes were bewildered by beholding it
Wisdom became tongueless, and the tongue became ear.

Crowds of men obtained their desires, and there were varied delights At dawn H.M visited the garden of Shahbāz K., and thanksgivings to God were renewed

One of the occurrences was that the government of Zābulistān was restored to Zain K Koka As it appeared that the Rajput clan behaved with injustice to the subjects of that country, and that
518 Kuar Mān Singh did not look closely into the case of the oppressed, and disliked that cold country, it was taken from him, and he was appointed to chastise the Tārīkis, and his fief was assigned to him in the eastern districts On the day of the culmination (*sharaf*) an order was given that the Kokaltāsh should hasten from Begrām to Kabul and exercise watchfulness and the distribution of justice The orders were carried out, and Zābulistan became civilized

CHAPTER XCIV

The marriage of Prince Sulṭān Murād

Just as far sighted wisdom considers marriage evil for the emancipated ones of the chosen path, so does it regard it as a great source of success for those who are tied to social life Especially do great rulers approve of it, for their efforts are devoted to the production of unity, and to the removing the dust of complexity by the water of simplicity Inevitably does the highly-born choose a consort, and by that means does he raise up a glorious seed When he reflects how by so many generations the series of creation has come down from the first father to him, how can he refrain from making use of the waters of the Divine fountain? And how can he think it wrong to keep that fountain full? I admit that there is another side to this. It is clear that the commotion of desire causes distraction among men And wherever this pleasure is partaken of in early youth—which is the home of improper desires—evil thoughts produce mischief Though the jewel of goodness hath its seat in man's nature and has not much to do with ancestors, yet if it show itself in a noble family, it has a fresh lustre In the extensive country of India men are active to form this union at a tender age, and this introduces the leaven of evil The world's lord will on no account admit of it before puberty, and will not anticipate the proper time for it Accordingly when that jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate—Prince Sulṭān Murād—had reached the age of 17, H M gave his attention to the matter, and considered it anxiously Meanwhile one who knew the secrets of the harem represented that the Khān A ẓim Mirzā Koka wished that his chaste daughter might attain this great fortune, and that his family might obtain fresh glory The Shāhinshāh signified his acceptance, and the officers of the court arranged matters On 25 Ardibihisht, 5 May, 1587, there was a joyful assemblage in the palace of Miriam Makāni, and the 5
marriage was celebrated in the presence of His Majesty

Verse

One of the occurrences was that the Kabul road became peaceful. Tribes of Afghans inhabited between Kabul and the Indus, and from ignorance and selfishness they molested travellers, and stretched out the hand of oppression over the feeble. H. M. resolved that he would establish *serais*[1] in those dangerous places and put some brave men into each of them. Zain K. undertook the improvement of Sarkhdiwar, which is near Khurd Kābul, Khwājah Shamsu-d-din took charge of the country between the Duāb and Badām Casma. Hamza 'Arab got Barik Āb, Haidar 'Ali 'Arab got Jagdalak, and Haidar 'Ali Khwesh, Sarkh Āb, Mozaffar Koka, Safed Sang, Darvesh Islamabādi, Tārik Āb, Kafshi Bahadur, Basāwal, Takhta Beg, Daka, Banda 'Ali Maidāni, Gharibkhana[2], Shah Beg, the country between Begrām and Atak Benares. H. M. also sent a large sum of money by the hands of Hilal Aftabci to the Kokaltāsh in order that it might be distributed to the above named persons, and that he might carry out this business under his own supervision. In a short time the orders were carried out, and the face of the age was brightened by the roseate hues of justice. Also at this time the Ghori[3] tribe repented of their former conduct and took refuge with the governor of Kabul. At his request an order of pardon was issued to them. For some time, a place was, at his request, given to them near Jalalābād, and afterwards they received land in Peshawar where their homes were. On 22 Khurdad, 1 June 1587, the feast of the lunar weighment took place, and that celestial frame was weighed against eight articles. The needy had their wishes gratified. Also at this time, Sādiq K. came[4] from Bhakar and was exalted by performing the prostration.

One of the occurrences was the wounding of Rajah Todal Mal. On the night of the 17th (Amardad=28 July) he was going to his

[1] Also called *thānas*.

[2] Gharibkhana. This was a station on the route between Kabul and Peshawar, and apparently was in the Khaibar and between Daka and Ali Masjid. It was here that the Afghans inflicted a great defeat on Muhammad Āmīn the son of Mir Jumla in the reign of Aurangzeb, 1079, 1668-69. See Khāfī Khan II. 232.

[3] Elphinstone II. 46.

[4] 28 Rajab = 25 June 1587. Elliot V. 456.

house from the palace A hot-headed fellow came out of ambush and struck him with a sword The Rajah's companions seized and killed him His well-wishers suspected some good men, and out of envy, which is common among the sons of the world, simple people *believed this When far sighted courtiers inquired into the matter,*
it was found that the wicked Khatri[1] had found his opportunity, and 520
paid off his grudge His accomplices were seized, and all received their punishment The Rajah, by the aid of H M soon recovered

[1] See Badayuni Lowe 377

CHAPTER XCV.

The dispatch of an army under Maṭlab K., and the disgrace of the Jalālā Tārīkīs

From the time that Mān Singh had fought in the defiles and had won a hard earned victory, he could not bring himself to enter the mountains again, and spent his time in Jamrud near the Khaibar ravine, and indulged in futilities of speech H M censured him, and took measures for the uprooting of the thornbrake of the Tārīkīs Another army was appointed to go to the hills by the route of Bangash, while Mān Singh should march from Bigrām On 7 Ardibihisht, 18 April Beg Nūrīn K, Sheroya K, Selim K, Muhammad Husain, S 'Alī, Muhammad Alif, Ahmad Beg, Tāsh Beg, Muhammad Qulī Beg, Mozaffar Koka Kafshī Bahādur, Shādī Beg Hasan Alī 'Arab, S M'aruf, S Kabīr, Walī Beg Mohan Dās, Allah Bakhsh, Khwāja Qutbu d dīn and other brave men were sent off under the command of Maṭṭalib (sic) K When they reached the Indus near Sambala, Zangī K and other heads of the Niyāzī clan—who had their home near there joined the victorious army The latter crossed at the Copara[1] ferry (*guzr*), and reached the villages of the 'Isakhel Firuz K, Jamāl, 'Alī and others came and paid their respects Most were of opinion that they should march up to Bangash by Daur and Naghz, and from there hasten on to the homes of the Tārīkīs Jamal Tārīkī, by the guidance of his star, joined the army He represented that the best route was by the Ābdara, which is a defile between Banu and Dar[2] Samand from which the Bangash river emerges After crossing the river in several places in the course of twelve *kos* one arrives at the town of Dar Samand As his words bore the marks of truthfulness, they took that road Near

[1] Col ara in text A note in Chalmers MS says it is Cantaba 40 m S E Peshawar It is the Chaupara of Babur 160 which appears on Elphinstone's map as Chudiwala and in Govt maps as Chapara It is nearly due S Peshawar and at the end of the Salt Range It is mentioned in J II 311

[2] Marked on Govt map N of Thal and S S W Peshawar

Buland[1] Khail the cultivation of the Tārīkīs was grazed upon by the animals, and news came that Jalāla had come out of Lucak—which is a rugged spot and his fortress—and was three *kos* from Dar Samand, and was meditating a night-attack At night the officers came out of their camp and were on their guard Next day they arrived at Dar Samand When the enemy perceived that they could do nothing at night, and as they were also disturbed by the news of the approach of the Jamrud army, they resolved that at the time of encamping, when the soldiers were not in battle order, they would make an attack. In accordance with this resolution they, on 14 521
Amardād (beginning of August 1587), at midday, when the air was excessively hot, suddenly appeared with 1,000 cavalry and 15 000 foot They entered into a fight with Shiroya K, Beg Nurin K, and Selim K, who were in charge of the rearguard At this time Muh Qulī Beg, Hasan 'Alī 'Arab and others arrived, and turned back the enemy's van The wretch (Jalāla) turned his rein and came near the camp by another route Muh Alif, Ahmad Beg, Shadi B, Mohan Dās and others came up, and fought bravely There was a time of life scattering, and of hunting for lives Though the thread of combat was severed, and the general had not the good fortune to mount[2] his horse, and many brave men could not come up, the wondrous Fortune—which is an example of the Divine aid—displayed the countenance of victory Five hundred and fifty of the enemy fell on the field of battle, and 1000 were killed in their flight The foolish one after a thousand failures took shelter in the hills No man of note in the victorious army was wounded, but for nine Turkmans was the cup of life filled Sixteen young men became known by their wounds If the Jamrudarmy had come up, Jalala would have been taken But they followed him up and plundered his home and set fire to his household goods The whole of the Afridi and Orakzai tribes who sheltered that wicked one, gave hostages and became submissive The army returned and came to Bangash, though,[3] on account of the scarcity, it was difficult to

---

[1] S S W Thal

[2] Perhaps the meaning is that the place was too rugged for him to use his horse See B 403

[3] The text makes this a new clause Badayūnī Lowe 368 refers to this expedition I do not think the original means that the wrath of God fell upon the imperialists

remain there Maṭṭalib was seized with a strange insanity and was sent to court

One[1] of the occurrences was the sending of M. Yusuf K to take charge of Kashmir Qasim K. had by strenuous exertions, and a wide capacity, taken that delightful country, and had endured great labours. He brought many recalcitrants to punishment, and he sent many leaders to court A large number too had joined him The country was civilized by justice and foes retreated to the lanes of failure But at this time of thanksgiving his foot began to slide, and bad companionship led him into improper desires He set himself to oppress the Kashmiris, and demanded what the soldiers of the country had taken at the time of Y aqub's[2] supremacy During the winter time, which was not the season of coming and going, men endured with bitterness, but when the climate became milder, the wasps nest of the evil minded became active Many left him, and brought out Y'aqub from his despised position There was a hot commotion in Janir[3] 23 kos from the city Though troops went there, they could not carry through the business Qasim was obliged to go there in person When he approached, Y'aqub hastened
522 towards the city by secret routes The officers followed him rapidly He took refuge at a little hill in Baharab,[4] three *kos* from the city, and waited his opportunity The imperialists arrived there Though by the rapid march the capital was saved from plunder, yet on account of the strength of the place, and the difficulties of the roads their object was not accomplished They had to leave the proper work unfinished and to come to the city The enemy's strength increased After some time, Qasim again came out to fight. Though every day there was fighting between the skirmishers, yet on five

---

[1] See Chalmers translation in Noer s Akbar, translation II 206

[2] The text has *az* Y aqub but no such preposition appears in the I O MSS Apparently the meaning is that Qāsim demanded from the people what had already been collected from them by Y aqub s soldiers

[3] This name is doubtful It may be Ja napūra or Zainapur S of Srinagar and W Bij Bihara In I O MS 236 it seems to be Khapur and Chalmers read Khyber See Stein I 97 for Jainapur

[4] There is the variant Bhagnagar Perhaps pargana Phak Stein II 452 is meant I O MS 236 has Bhag or Bhak Phak is mentioned as a pargana in J II 369

occasions there were close engagements, followed by victory On the sixth occasion, which was when Saiyid 'Abdullah was in command, there was a disaster, and Mirzada 'Ali[1] was killed The brave men defeated the enemy, and got to the top of the hill At this time it came on to rain (snow?) The experienced were of opinion that they should encamp, but this view was not accepted, and they retreated. As they were descending, the wicked foe showered stones and arrows from every side Owing to the hurry, the narrownesss of the defile, and the slipperiness of the road, men lost heart and fell, one on the top of the other, and Mirzāda 'Ali lost his life Sri Rang, the cousin of Rai Rai Singh, and 40 men, stood firm and fought bravely They yielded up their short lives and reaped eternal renown The steadiness of some brave men was the means of saving many Nearly 300 were killed Next day Qasim went forward to do battle The Kashmiris lost heart and fled, and Y'aqub went off to Kamrāj The officers returned and had a joyful meeting Y'aqub and Shams Cak made a treaty with one another, and stirred up commotion But as there is no concord in that country, they quarreled near Andarkul[2] After a short time they were reconciled by the efforts of some men, and it was agreed that as by their being in one place, the disputes between the servants led to disagreements among the masters, they should remain separate With this view Y'aqūb went off to the hill[3] of Sulaimān, and was active there, and Shams Cak went to Andarkul Many thought that the victorious army should also divide itself into two bands But most men did not approve of this, thinking that loss would ensue if they were in two places All resolved first to attack Y'aqub and went off in that direction Every day there was

[1] He was a friend of Badayunī who has some touching verses about his death and that of another friend Lowe 380 Blochmann 465 says Saiyid Abdullah was killed on this occasion but this is a mistake, he died of a fever a year afterwards See *Badayūnī* l c. and the Maaşiru-l Umarā II 401

[2] The Indarkul of Jarrett II 370 where it is entered as in the S W division of the Kāmraj tract. But apparently the proper name is Indrakot According to Murray, it is 12 m N W Srīnagar and is marked as Jayapūra and Andrakot on Stein's map and as the Andarkath, i.e inner fort of his paper, p 197 It is 5 miles below Shādīpūr

[3] The Takht-i-Sulaimān S E. the city

fighting, and by the might of daily-increasing fortune, victory declared herself. On the 5th[1] day of the month (Shahriyūr) Qāsim went off with a number of brave men, and a great battle took place. Fath 'Ali, the leader of the enemy, was killed by an arrow, and the foe were dispersed. The imperialists returned with great joy. Y'aqub joined Shams Cak, and in a short time again came near the
23 city, and stirred up commotion. There is a high spot[2] one kos from the city. It is half a kos long and one fourth broad. There are some ponds round about it, and in front there is a pond which it is difficult to cross. Those two scoundrels took shelter there with a large following, and in season and out of season they emerged, and plundered. Every day a body of the imperialists came out to fight with them. Qāsim K. too got disgusted and petitioned for his recall. H. M. accepted his request and sent M. Yusuf K. as the commander of the country. Jagannāth, Husain Beg, S. 'Umri, Saiyid Bahāu-d-din, Qarā Beg, Muhammed Bhat, Bāba Khalil, Mullā Talib Isfahani and many other strenuous persons accompanied him. An order was given that when the wicked had been punished, Qasim K. should return to Court. When the Kashmiris heard of the coming of the army, they sent some men to the ravines, in order that by coalescing with the Naikān (guardians of the passes) they might make the road secure. When M. Yusuf K. heard of this he sent off Muhammad Bhat, Bābā Khalil and Mullā Tālib with conciliatory messages. Though the guardians of the routes did not wait upon them, yet they yielded to their soft speeches and turned aside. M. Yusuf left Jagannāth at the foot of the pass and traversed it himself with ease. Before they had reached the camping[3] ground the evildoers had dispersed. Y'aqub went off to Kathwara (Kishtwar) and Shams Cak took refuge in the hills of Kāmrāj. M. Yusuf gave Qasim K. leave to go to Court, and secretly bade adieu to Jagannāth. He unloosed the tongue of conciliation and set about winning hearts. A remedy was found for men's terror. He sent Mubarik K., Jalal K. and Saiyid Daulat with a body of men against Shams Cak. The latter made a night attack from Taraganw[4] and obtained much plunder

[1] Possibly the meaning is the fifth day of the fighting.

[2] Perhaps the Hari Parbat is meant.

[3] Apparently Qasim's camp.

[4] The Taragaon of Vigne J. II 360 ... I and the Trahgām of the

At dawn the imperialists pursued him and inflicted such a defeat on him that he did not rise up again, and made his submission on the safe-conduct of Saiyid Bahāu-d din M Yusuf K sent him to court with the Mir (Bahāū d din)

One of the occurrences was the birth of Sultān Khusrau The Almighty Creator has adorned the honoured personality of H M with thousands of praiseworthy qualities, and his fortune is daily increasing But the arrival of every thing depends on the movements of the heavens and is associated with a particular time At this time which was the beginning of the spring time of dominion, the appearance of a grandson—which is one of the great gifts of God, and the most excellent fruit of age—the universe had new expansion and mankind had new strength After the lapse of ten hours and thirty-six minutes on the day of Din 24 Amardād (about middle August 1587), the auspicious pearl displayed itself in the city of Lahore, in the bedchamber of Prince Sultān Selim, from the chaste womb of the daughter of Rajah Bhagwant Dās The news brought joy, and the Age set itself to rejoice The coiners of celestial mysteries opened their far seeing eyes and expounded somewhat of the glorious work of 524
the spheres and the stars

Verse

They held an assembly for studying the spheres,
They elevated the balance of the stars,
Such a horoscope appeared for that son!
What shall I say? Bravo, Begone O evil eye!

According to the Greek rules, the horoscope was the 9th degree of Capricorn and according to Indian sages it was the 22nd degree of Sagittarius If the life wearing world give me leisure, and if it be my destiny to remain for some space in Society, and I be not alienated from literature, and if H M will it, I shall give a full account of this horoscope H M called this child Sultan Khusrau I hope that he may grow up an enlightened man, and acquire noble qualities

One of the occurrences was the subsidence of the Gujarat commotion Panchanan,[1] the brother's son of Khankār, the ruler of Kach,

Ayīn It was the residence of the Caks It is the Trigrām or Tregaon of Stein's map and is N-W Srinagar

[1] Variant Bajāīn.

collected vagabonds and came to attack Halwad Rai Singh of Jhālā rose up to contend with him, and bravely played away the coin of his life Qulij K was in Ahmadābād with some officers and was guarding the city Saiyid Qāsim, Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and others were sent off to punish the strifemongers The latter took refuge in the Bardā[1] hills Their houses were plundered The Jām and Khangar came forward with submissions The officers returned and had a joyful assembly A week had not passed when Moẓaffar came out of the recesses and raised the head of commotion He stirred up strife in the direction of Dūlqa, and so the above-named officers went off there. On hearing of this he went off towards Mūli[2] and out of regard to comfort, a proper search was not made One of the instances of daily increasing fortune was that the honour of Mustafa, son of Saiyid Jalāl, was by the protection of God preserved He was taking his family to Bīraingāuw At the time that the officers were in pursuit, and that Moẓaffar was in a bewildered state, Mustafa took refuge in a village[3] Moẓaffar tried to seize him, and he plundered the place He (Mustafa) planted the foot of courage in his house and prepared to sacrifice his life Meanwhile the noise[4] of drums was heard, and Moẓaffar went off quickly, thinking it was an army Though the imperialists were marching quietly, yet they sent some to beat drums in that neighbourhood

Also, at this time the Yusufzai tribe was punished Owing to their evil fate, the strength of their country and the disaster of the imperial army made them bolder in their presumptuousness and wickedness Though the non arrival of the army added to their
525 refractoriness, yet their egress and ingress were shut up, and they were plundered. Many of them were[5] sold (as slaves), and many died of various illnesses

---

[1] Barī in text

[2] It appears from Elliot V 445 that this should be Morbī

[3] According to the T A. Elliot V 445, this was Akhār, 4 kos from Bīrāmgām (Veerumgāon)

[4] See the story of Nizām ud dīn's stratagem in Elliot V 445 He sent 20 horse with a pair of kettle-drums to beat at a distance of one kos from the village

[5] There is the variant Many of their families were sold and perhaps the meaning rather is that the Yūsufzais sold their wives and children This agrees with the statement of the author of the Khulāsat Tawarīkh that it [illegible] that

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of S'aid K to the government of Bengal News came that Wazir K[1] had died of diarrhœa on 21 Amardad (August) As everything was done prudently, an order was given that S'aid K should go from Behar to that quarter, that Payanda (Moghal) who held fiefs there, should obtain a jagir in Ghoraghāt, that the *tuyuls* of Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Mān Singh in the Panjab should be taken from them, and that they should get others in Behar On 16 Shahriyur Mir Murad[2] was sent off that he might speedily put these two places in the possession of the jagirdars, and take S'aid K to Bengal Mān Singh was summoned from Begrām in order that Rajah Bhagwant Dās might have charge of the royal harem and that Mān Singh might go to his new fiefs and develop them

On 1 Aban the solar weighment of H M took place, and there was a great feast According to the rules, he was weighed against twelve articles The dust of desire was removed from the face of the world, and the needy attained the joy of success Also at this time Shādmān was exalted by princely favours and Ghaznīn was given to him in fief He is the son of Murad Hazārā, and his home is between Ghaznin and Qandahār His ancestors did good service, but he from crooked thoughts and short sightedness had hitherto abode in the wilds At this time he turned the face of submission to the court and received various favours He was allowed to depart on 1 Āzar On 28th Kuar Mān Singh came from Jamrud and paid his respects and was sent to Behar on 6 Dai On the same day Yusuf K, ruler of Kashmir, was relieved from prison and treated with favour He was given a fief in Behar The sole desire of H M was that he would learn the proprieties, and would cherish his subjects and be of awakened mind When his conduct showed marks of prudence the delightful country of Kashmir would be made over to him

the Yūsufzais sold their wives and children for bread

[1] He was from Herat and was a brother of Abdul Majid Āsaf K B 353 He died at Tānda (Stewart's Bengal 179) For Wazir's biography see the Maaṣir M III 929

[2] B 498 The Iqbālnāma calls him a sazāwal He is elsewhere spoken of as belonging to Isfarain The Iqbālnāma adds some details about opposition being offered to M Murād by Wazir's son See A N infra, p 534

One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K. Koka to seize Swād and Bajaur Though the Yusufzai tribe had received suitable punishment, yet they did not refrain from robbery and wickedness At the time when Jalāla Tārikī got into difficulties he went off from the defiles of Tīrāh to the Yusufzais, and the wretches gave him a place among themselves As H M desired that the Kokaltāsh might be delivered from his former disgrace, an order was given that Khwāja Shams ud din (Khāwfī) and a body of men should be left in charge of Kabul, and that Zain K should go with his officers to Swād and Bajāur An order was also given to the army of Jamrud and Bangash that every one should apply himself to the capturing of the ringleader of the Tārikis, and that they should take care that he did not get away in that direction Also Ism'ail
326 Quli was removed from Ohand and sent to near Qabila Ayazi? in order that he might watch over Ishtaghir[1] (Hashtnagar) Sādiq K. and some other officers were sent from court to take post on the plain of Swād in order that Jalāla might be taken on whatever side he emerged To Jagannāth (S Behāri Mal, B 381) who had re turned from Kashmir, an order was issued that he should join the Koka On the 21st the Kokaltāsh had made his arrangements to set about the work Haidar Ali Khwesh and others went with him They took the road of Kāmah[2] and Kushka and that of Samaj[3] The Tārikis and the Yusufzais fortified the Nāwalā Pass[4] and pre pared for battle The imperialists turned back and marched by Dānishkol, and built a fort at the head of the three roads to Bajaur, Hashtnagar and Tirāh They brought corn from the Lamghānāt and erected granaries This raised the spirit of the army By an unknown route they entered Bajaur, and there was some fighting The jewel of bravery received new lustre, and many of the wicked were killed Some escaped by being admitted to quarter The Tā rikī was nearly seized, but he came out by the pass of which Ism'aīl Qulī was in charge, and hurried off to Tirāh Ism'aīl was one of the thānadārs of the plains (*dasht*) He was aggrieved at the sending of Sādiq, and from caprice went to court and left the passage open

---

[1] See J II, n 1, where a list of the eight villages is given

[2] J II 411 [3] A road leading from Kabul to Bajaur J II 392

[4] There is the variant Nawagai and no doubt this is right for Nawagai is a village in Bajaur

At this time Jalāla got his opportunity and came out of the defile and went off When H M heard of the misconduct of Ism'ail Qulī K he censured him, and sent Āṣaf K in his room

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of Rajah Madhukar[1] This mountaineer of slumbrous fortune withdrew from accompanying the army of the Deccan, and instead of apologising, he increased his refractoriness Shihābu d din Aḥmad K and other fief holders went off to punish him On the 23rd, when they came within four *kos* of Undca (Oorcha) which was his residence, he came forward with protestations By the intervention of Rajah Askaran and Rajah Jagman, his submission led to his deliverance He waited upon the general, but from short sightedenss he fell into evil thoughts and went off into the desert. As advice was of no avail, his home was plundered From want of provisions they could not stay there and proceeded to take the fort of Kajwa Indrajit and Satrāi, his sons, and Hardeo, his grandson, had strengthened this place They came out into the defiles to give battle, and were defeated One day Rāghū Dās his brother's son, fought Samānji K and M Beg Qiqshāl gave proof of bravery and were victorious, and that wretch (Raghu) was killed They besieged the fort for a month Every time that the enemy came to fight, they failed shamefully 527
When they had no strength to contend, they fled Every one went off to his fief

One of the occurrences[2] was the capital punishment of M Fūlād

[1] The father of A F s murderer See his biography in Māāṣ r II 131 The genealogical tree in B 483 does not mention the sons named in text Indrajit and Satrujit are mentioned by Mr Silberrad A S B.J for 1902 p 109

[2] See Badayūnī Lowe 327 and 376 As pointed out by Rieu I 118 there is an account of Aḥmad in the Majālisu l Mūminīn The passage occurs in Hājī Ibrāhīm s lithographed edition p 245 Aḥmad is there called the son of Naṣr Ullah the Qāzī of Tatta Aḥmad was especially objectionable to the Sunnīs because he was an apostate, his father having been a Hanifī Sunnī The Majālis 246 tells a story of how Aḥmad implied by an answer to Akbar that the murder of Usmān, the 3rd Caliph was an advantage to religion He was one of the authors of the T Alfī See Elliot V 150 The Iqbālnāma adds some particulars saying that M Fulād was of a Caghatai family, and that Mullā Aḥmad and he had a dispute in the house of Ḥakīm 'Abdul Fatḥ and that the Mīrzā was wounded by the

the son of Khudādād Barlās As the world lord exercises world-sway on the principle of "Universal Peace," every sect can assert its doctrine without apprehension, and every one can worship God after his own fashion. In consequence of this, Mullā Ahmad of Tatta, who had undergone much toil in the acquisition of the ordinary sciences, and who was a firm adherent of the Imāmī doctrines, and talked largely about them, continually brought forward discourse about Sunnīs and Shīās, and from a despicable spirit used immoderate language That hot headed young man from his attachment to Sunnism regarded Mullā Ahmad's doctrines with contempt Owing to the turbulence of youth, he resolved to hunt for his life On the night of 21 Dai, 31st December 1587, he and a companion lay in wait in a dark lane, and sent some man, as if a royal messenger, to call Mullā Ahmad On the way they attacked him with swords and cut off his arm from the middle of the forearm He fell out of the saddle to the ground The audacious villains thought they had cut his head off and without thinking[1] of the consequences came out by the lane He took up his arm and conveyed himself to the house of Hakīm Hasan Khwāja Mulk 'Alī[2] the night watch (*'asas*) by making a strict search apprehended the two delinquents Though by certain indications, such as blood, the case was clear, yet, when he brought them to the palace, they did not tell the truth And though the stains on the swords and the clothing were truthful witnesses, they did not admit their guilt The Khan-Khānān, Āṣaf K[3], Khudawand K. and the writer were sent in order to make enquiries of that traveller to the world of annihilation As he had some consciousness, he expressed the pain of his soul, and told what had happened The just Shāhinshāh released the two evil-doers from the bonds of existence He had them tied to the feet of an elephant and paraded through the city Though leading persons[4] exerted themselves to procure their release they

sword-tongue of Mullā Aḥmad He sent a piāda in the dress of a royal chobdār to Aḥmad and lay in wait with a servant His mother and other ladies interceded for him, but in vain

[1] *Pai gam kanān*, lit losing their feet, a phrase meaning that in doing something the doers do not consider what the result will be Vullers, I 88a

[2] B 542

[3] Apparently A F.'s brother in law

[4] Badayunī says the ladies of the harem interceded for him

were not successful It was a cause of guidance to many who had gone astray, and the contest between Sunni and Shiā subsided Soon afterwards Mulla Ahmad died of his injury

About the same time a Brahman in the town of Sihondā[1] gave out that he was Rajah Birbar He had been wounded, he said, and had then got away from the Yusufzai by the help of a survivor, and was passing his days according to his custom in gathering the materials of salvation Simple minded persons, from the similarity of his appearance, and his abundant audacity, believed him Though the acute persons of the court were agreed that the story was not true, yet discerning men were sent to inquire into the facts The men of the locality were sending him to court, but be- 528
fore he arrived, and the veil over his shamelessness was removed, he took the road of annihilation

On 10 Isfandārmaz 20th February 1588, Qāsim K arrived from the delightful country of Cashmere and was exalted by doing homage 'Ali Sher Mākri and many other leading men of that country were admitted to an audience, and obtained the gratification of their wishes

---

[1] Badayūnī Lowe 368 and 369 where Nagarkot is mentioned as the neighbourhood of the place of decep tion The text has سندة Sanda but the variant Sihonda سهوندة has the support of the B M MS 236 Sihonda is in Kālinjar Sarkār See Elliot Supp Glossary II 110, and J II 166 where we have Sindha, which only slightly differs from the Sandha of text Badayūnī reports that the impostor was first said to have been seen at Nagarkot and afterwards at Kālinjar which was Bīr Bar's jāgīr He also says that the Krorī put a poor, doomed traveller to death pretending that he was Bīrbar and then reported that he had died naturally

CHAPTER XCVI.

Beginning of the 33rd year from the Accession, to wit, the year Āẕar of the third Cycle

At this auspicious time, the drum of the New Year rejoiced the age The ever vernal heart of the Shāhinshāh celebrated the event by a feast

(Verse)

On Sunday 22 Rabi ul akhir 996, 10 or 11 March, 1588, after the passing of 10 hours and 48 minutes, the spiritual and temporal Light-giver glorified the Sign of Aries There was a new feast every day up to the day of culmination In the beginning of this glorious year the marriage of Prince Sultān Daniel was celebrated As marriage is a means of cultivating the garden of creation, and is the adornment of the social world especially in a ruling family, H M arranged that an union should take place between the prince and the chaste daughter of Sultān Khwāja An august feast was prepared and crowds of men became possessed of joy On 20 Khurdād, 30 May, 1588, the ceremony took place in the house of Miriam-Makāni

(Verse)

Also on this day, the lunar weighment of H M took place, and mankind rejoiced

One occurrence was the sending of troops to assist Ṣādiq K When Zain K took on himself the affairs of the plain of Swād, Sādiq was sent to Tīrāh Shāham K Jalair, Burhāna l Mulk, Khwāja
529 Faizi and others were sent off to join him Also an order was given that throughout the empire only the *gaz Ilahi* [1] should be used

[1] J II 61 The standard *gaz* or yard of 41 fingers After much controversy respecting its length ...uthoritatively declared by ...ent to be 33 inches long Elliot Supp Glossary II 177 178

In the *Aīn* A F speaks of the measure as having been introduced in the 31st year

Some account of this has been given in the concluding volume (the Ayin volume)

One occurrence was the birth of Sultan Rustam On 4 Shahriyur (August), after the lapse of 7 hours, a son was born to Sultan Murād by the daughter of the Khān Ā'zim H M named him, and there were thanksgivings

(Verse)

According to both Greek and Hindu calculations, the horoscope was in Scorpio but the degrees differed I have not time to explain the (two) horoscopes, but I may say that this difference of degrees may have the purpose of checking too great joy or sorrow, and of preventing the breaking of the thread of circumspection [1]

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Shahbāz K. When S'aīd K went from Bihar to Bengal, he came to court, and arrived on 2 Mihr He was not admitted to pay his respects and was censured But when it appeared that when he was sent (to Bengal) an order had been given that whenever his mind was at ease about the country, he might come and do homage, he was granted an audience, and received royal favours Rajah Todar Mal had some dispute with him An order was given that the Khān Khānān, 'Azdu d-daula, Hakīm Abul-fath, and the author should enquire into the matter On their doing so, it appeared that self-interest had thrown a veil over the eyes of both of them By proper measures, the dust of contention was laid

On the 19th H M went hunting, and in nine days careered about from Pancgrāmi [2] to Qasūr [3] On the 27th, when he was to come to the city, an injury happened to him near Cakgopāl 7 *kos* from Lahore, but it turned out well He shot a wolf and it appeared to be dead H M was examining it, when suddenly it seized his right foot, and his teeth penetrated But H M struck him such a blow with his other foot that the wolf gave up his life A little damage was done but he soon recovered On 1 Ābān the solar weighment took place According to the annual custom he was weighed against

---

[1] The child died in November 1597 A N III 735

[2] J II 318 It was in the Bārī Dūāb

[3] 34 miles S E Lahore

twelve articles There was a time of rejoicing, and the needy obtained their desires

0 One[1] of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion in Gujarat Pan Cāuan[2] and Jaisa brother's sons of Khangār, stirred up commotion in concert with Mihrāwan the uncle of the Jām and Mozaffar Arghūn, and invested the town of Rādhanpur Rādhan K Baluch and other brave men took steps to defend the place Twice they made a night attack, and they also came out in the day time, and fought strenuously Saiyid Qāsim and other heroes were active in assistance Soon it was bruited abroad that Mozaffar Gujarātī and the Kāithāns[3] (from Kāthīāwār) had risen Khwāja Nizām-ud-din Ahmad Bakhshi, Khwāja Rafi', M'aaṣum Bhakkari and others followed them Naurang K hastened to Birāmgānw, where the rebels were Qulij K stood firm in Ahmadabad with a few men By the divine aid, when the first army arrived within ten *kos*, the rebels dispersed When the second force joined, they left their baggage and proceeded rapidly They crossed the Runn, and plundered the homes of the rebels in the town of Kātārih[4] A great amount of booty was obtained Bahamāra[5] (?) the ruler of that country submitted The officers accepted his submission and proceeded to the town of Māliya They crossed the dreadful Runn in another place A remarkable thing is that the Runn increases (in water) on the 13th to the 15th (of the month), but by H M s good fortune the water did not rise, and the troops crossed with ease Though the rebels were not caught, yet the country was plundered, and a large quantity of booty was obtained From there they went to Morbi, and on the way much of the cultivated land was plundered, and strong stockades (*sangarha*) were taken When the victorious troops came near Morbi the proprietors came out and surrendered Wazir K had in his time given the place to Khangār, and the Khān Knānān left him in possession

One occurrence was the death of Baharji His territory is a cultivated country, and a dependency of Gujarat Its name is Bag-

[1] Cf Elliot V 445

[2] I O MS 236 has Bajīn, which is also the name in the T A

[3] The Kathīs of I G XV 177

[4] Katāria Elliot V 446 and the Kather or Kankar of J II 258 Perhaps the Kirkanagar of Bayley's Map The places are in Cutch

[5] Bahāra in I O MS 236

lāna,[1] and the ruler is called Baharji His brothers wickedly made a commotion, and he took refuge in the strong fort of Muler As he had bound the burden of service on the shoulder of loyalty, Āltūn[2] Qulij, Khwājah Rafi' and others went to help him Before they arrived, he had been got rid of by enemies in the disguise of friends The wiles of the evil doers misled the relieving force and retribution was not exacted, though it was prepared (?) 531

One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion in Gujarāt[3] Fath K, the younger son of Amin K Ghori, made war on his father, and thereby disgraced his family Mozaffar also joined with him and stirred up the dust of strife Amin K. did not see in himself the power to control, and so retired He wrote a supplicating letter to the imperial servants and asked for help Naurang K, Khwāja Nizām ud din Ahmad, Medini Rai, M'aaṣum Bhakkari, Qāzi Husain, Kamran Beg, Daulat K and some of the Saiyids of Bārha hastened to assist him Mozaffar retired to the hills, thinking that perhaps the country would be taken from him, and the son became reconciled to the father Sidhi Rihan Lokhan Karhal and many others waited on the officers

At the request of Amin K and the Jam, Medini Rai went and brought the sons of them both All at once the disturbance ceased Also at this time Ism'ail Quli was sent to Gujarat, and an order was given that Qulij should return to court

An occurrence was the dispersal of the Tarikis It has been mentioned that Sādiq had been appointed to overthrow them in Tīrāh Shāham and others had been appointed afterwards When the army had been collected, he went to the spot He did not think it advisable to enter the defiles but appointed men to watch on every side Shāh Beg built a fort in the village of Bāra (S W Peshāwar), Aḥmad Beg and Muh Quli remained on guard in Maidan (W Tirāh) Shāham Jalāir, Ali Muh Alif and others served in Janaki (?)[4] In this manner able men were appointed in various places The warriors opened the hand of attack, and thus remedied the scarcity

---

[1] Bāgdān of I G VI 190

[2] B 500 He held a command of 300 Āltūn means gold in Turkī

[3] This comes so soon after the paragraph at the beginning of p 530 that it looks as if in the latter place A F wrote or meant to write Kach instead of Gujarat.

[4] Jangal W Kohat ?

of provisions Sādiq K opened the tongue of conciliation, and the hand of liberality, and he made the Afrīdi and Ūrakzai tribes—which are the homes of the Tārikis—obedient The spring crops of the landowners came into the hands of the soldiery, and they could not sow the autumn crops Mullā Ibrāhim, whose son Jalāla reckoned himself to be, was caught The position of the wretch became difficult, and he had no longer confidence in his comrades Every day he went about with his family (*qabīla*) and fell into a hundred troubles At last he went off to Turān by the route of Kānigaram (S.-W Bannu) On 24 Mihr (about 4th October, 1588) the Afghans delivered up his family, and the minds of the imperial servants were somewhat quieted The Afridis and the Urakzai in addition to doing good service gave hostages and undertook the preserving of peace in the Khaibar The army enjoyed itself and returned

532 An occurrence was the conquest of Swāt When Zain Koka came to Bajaur, he established forts in some places, and the ill fated ones withdrew to the defiles They came out at night and carried off the grain The Koka arranged that a body of men should wait in every ravine from the beginning of night, and should lie in wait on the skirt of the hill At midnight some others were sent When the Afghans came down from the tops of the hills, and were taking the crops, the two forces came from in front and from behind, and chastised them The fighting went on for eight months, and many were killed Of necessity, the survivors took the burden of submission upon their shoulders The Kokaltāsh showed a design to take Swāt He brought before himself Jagannath and Āṣaf K who were in the plains and proceeded to that district First, he established a strong fort on the banks of the river Pajkorah (Panjakora) which is the beginning of the entry into the country The Yusufzai had collected stones on the roads and were prepared to fight By the wonders of Fortune they went by a secret[1] road On 9 Ābān (19th October, 1588) when the enemy were busy holding the Qurban feast[2] the victorious troops entered the pleasant country of Swat The bewildered Afghans returned, though some bravely gave their lives

[1] Perhaps the meaning is that they passed without being observed, as the Afghans were engaged in feasting

[2] The Qurbān Id is held on 10 Zī l ḥajja the last month of the Muhammadan year In 996 this corresponded to 21 October 1588

Much booty was obtained The wretches were divided into two parties Some made a stockade on the hill of Batkhari (?), and some did so in the hill country of Mahra (?) The Koka pursued, and erected forts in Chakdara [1] and Malakand, etc He built a fort on the plain near a hill at Sarobi (?) He left capable men at various places The roads became safe and hill and plain were united Traders came from every side and things became cheap At this time Muhammad Bahri [2] and Malik Aghar came from the mountain of Mahra by the route of Sherkhāna to the plain, and invested the fort of Sarobi. Many had gone from there towards Jalālābād, in order that they might convey the caravan Hamid K came out with a few men and fell bravely The sons of S'aid K had not the courage to come and help him, but by the excellence of destiny [3] the enemy was not able to take the fort They left what they had collected and fled As there did not remain much work in Swāt Aṣaf K got leave to go to court He went off post from Malakand Some servants were coming after him Suddenly they beat high their drums, and terror seized the enemy, and they fled, after flinging away many of their goods Afterwards Abu-l Qāsim Tamkin and Sher K were left on guard there, and the work was properly done

One of the occurrences was the punishment of Kālū K.[4] He
is the wicked man who absconded after receiving so many favours 533
from the Shāhinshah He chose the companionship of the turbulent The Afghans of Damghār (?) chose him for their leader and went off to the hill of Mahra with the idea that something might be done When the Kokaltāsh heard of this, he made a night march The vanguard beat their drums, and the Afghans dispersed Though the wretch himself escaped, yet more than seventy men were killed Also at this time Muhammad Bahri and Malik Aghar fell upon Sarobi Mir Abu l Qāsim came out to fight, and Sher K who had been at Ghanji (?), appeared at the time of the fighting Nearly 400

[1] Famous for its defence in the campaign of 1897 98 The Batkhari of text may be the Batkhala of Fincastle's map

[2] Lanjari in variant and I O MS

[3] Apparently this refers to what follows Āṣaf K's servants were coming after him and the beating of their drums made the besiegers fly

[4] He was a Yūsufzai and had surrenderd see p 495 where he is called Kālā Sultan He was afterwards caught and imprisoned See p 559

Afghans were killed, and the power of the villains was somewhat broken

One occurrence was the submission of Rajah Rudar, the ruler of the Kumāon hills He is one of the great landholders of India Though on account of the strength of his country, and his listening to the stories of his ancestors, he had not come to court, yet he used to exhibit deference and send presents At this time, when Mathurā Dās Sahakal went to the Collectorate of Bareilly, he had an interview with him (Rūdar) and suggested an union of concord, and endeavoured to induce him to come to court He replied that he had long cherished such a wish, but he had no proof that he would attain such a blessing by his (Mathura's) protection If Rajah Todar Mal would take charge of him, he would come The Rajah sent his son Kalyān Ḍās to reassure him, in reliance on him he came and paid his respects On 9 Āzar he obtained this felicity [1]

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the Yusufzai They were much disturbed by the fort which had been founded on the top of the ravine, and were lying in wait to attack it Now they united with the men of Mahra and attacked it There was a hot engagement from dawn till evening The broken nature of the ground and the height of the hill made the contest a long one At last the breeze of victory blew, and many of the evil minded ones were killed In a short time the fort was completed and was a means of keeping the refractory in check

One of the occurrences was a great act of liberality on the part of the Shāhinshāh Owing to civilisation and justice there was a great cheapness of articles so that it was difficult for the peasantry in some provinces to pay the revenue Accordingly in the spring instalment for the provinces of Agra and Delhi a deduction of one sixth was made, and for the autumn instalment a deduction was made of one in 4½ and in Agra, Oudh and Delhi of one fourth In the
534 exchequer lands this came to 19 krors, 32 lakhs, 80 175 dāms From this an estimate can be made of the amount of the reduction in the fiefs Also, at this time, Zain Koka did homage When Swāt and Bajaur had been in some measure settled, the Kokaltash was summoned to court, and an order given to Sādiq to hasten there

[1] Badayūnī Lowe 377

(Bajaur) and reduce to obedience the remainder of the refractory to obedience On 15 Bahman the Kokaltāsh arrived at court

One of the occurrences was the disturbance caused by Sālih When Wazir died, Shahbaz made over the subordinates to Sālih who was Wazir's son He did not know that in matters of chiefship and generalship, relationship and the good deeds of ancestors are of no avail They cannot be accepted in the absence of discretion, capacity, etc When Shahbaz K went to pay his respects, the wicked Sālih, owing to bad associates and the keenness of his desires, imbibed crooked thoughts, and was waiting to make a disturbance Before the veil of his reputation was rent, an order was issued Mir Murad, who had gone as *sazawal* of the Amirs of Bihar and Bengal, enlisted every one of Wazir K's soldiers who was willing to serve the Amirs of these provinces, and brought the others along with the son to court Sālih made difficulties about going, but as Mir Murad knew his business, they were of no use Willing or unwilling he had to set out Every day he was looking for an opportunity, and his ideas of making a disturbance were gaining force Mir Murād wrote letters to all the fief holders of the country, and made proper arrangements Owing to the number of the Shāhinshāh's adherents, every wile that Sālih thought of came to nought As he always practised feline tricks and used cajolery, the local officers quarrelled among themselves and (Mir Murad?) did not arrest him (Sālih) But out of prudence they (he?) put men along with him When Ṣālih came to Jaunpur, he deceived the Rajah's son [1] and so from simplicity and bribery the latter did not send any one with him The Mir was obliged to go on, and Khwājah Khalil [2] had the good feeling to separate from Salih and to join (the Mir) Meanwhile the base fellow (Sālih) lavished gold and collected fly like men He got together a number of musketeers Khān Kamāl and Bahai K—two wicked Afghans—joined him with many others Near Fathpur Hanswa [3] he marched to the Mir's quarters with an army of rascals The Mir used foresight, and entered the fort of Fathpur Hanswa The hare brained fellow besieged him there, and also set about plundering He made shelters out of cattle 535

[1] This was Dhārū (Iqbalnāma)

[2] Wazir's Vakil (Iqbālnama)

[3] The Fathpūr Haswā of Elliott It is 70 m N W Allahabad It was in Sarkar Karra (Corah) J II 168

CHAPTER XCVII

Beginning of the 34th year from the Accession, to wit, the year Dai of the third cycle

On the eve of Tuesday, 4 Jamāda-ul-awal 997, 10 or 11 March 1589, after four hours and thirty six minutes, the brightener of the world's face entered Aries The beginning of the tenth year of the third cycle brought the news of eternal dominion H M, according to the yearly custom, held a feast every day till the culmination, and crowds of men obtained their wishes

(Verse)

In the beginning of this auspicious year a daughter was born to Prince Sultān Selim It was on the 28th (Farwardin, 6 April, 1589) that the daughter of S'aid K obtained this great blessing Contrary to the custom of contemporaries, it was made an occasion of rejoicing H M gave the child the name of 'Affat Banū[1] (the modest lady) At this time Muhibb[2] 'Ali came from Rohtas and did homage For a long time H M had desired that he should have the blessing of coming to the Presence Accordingly his fief was given to Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and Multan was given to him as jagir When the order was conveyed to him, he gladly set his face towards the threshold He had the blessing on 14 Ardibihisht and received varied favours On the 15th do, 26 April[3] 1589, Miyan Tānsen died, and by H M's orders, all the musicians and singers accompanied his body to the grave, making melodies as at a marriage The joy of the Age was overcast, and H M said that his death was the annihilation of
37 melody It seems that, in a thousand years, few have equalled him for sweetness and art!

[1] Her death is not mentioned in the A N but in Price's Jahangir, 20 it is stated that she died at the age of three

[2] This is Muhibb Rohtasi B 42. B 612 and Archael Reports (Cunningham) article Gwaliyar

CHAPTER XCVIII

Expedition of Akbar to the delightful country of Kashmir

The world's lord keeps his eyes open for wonders and regards the old world as a fresh ornament of the Creator He does not fix his heart to one place and gathers now affluence from every quarter But he brings a profound vision to bear on the subject, and mingles knowledge with action His heart is especially drawn to any place where there is the wondrous work of destiny Hence he always bore Kashmir in mind He kept before his eyes its delightful climate, and when the Incomparable Deity included that charming land within his empire, his wish to traverse it became stronger Though the eloquent talkers of the sublime banquets deprecated the sovereign's going to such a distance, and putting himself in a corner, these representations were of no avail He said that God, the author of desires, had implanted in him an irresistible wish, and that Jinnat Āshiyānī (Humayūn) had had the same longing "Our going thither is, apparently, the fulfilling of his honoured desires"

Accordingly, on the eve of the 16th (Ardibihisht)[1] after the passing of 2 h 48 m he crossed the Rāvī, and encamped near the serai of Mādhū Singh He had travelled one *kos* and 12 bambu lengths[2] Three thousand stone-cutters mountain miners, and splitters of rocks, and 2000 beldārs (diggers) were sent off under Qāsim K that they might level the ups and downs of the road At this stage H M gave Sialkot in fief to Zain Koka Sarkār Sambal became the jāgir of Qulij Khān Multan was given to Muhibb 'Alī K Shahbāz K was made the Provost Marshal of the Camp (*Kotwal i Urdu*) Raja Bhagwant Dās, Rajah Todar Mal and Qulij K were left in Lahore in order that everything might be carried on with their approval

[1] The I A Elliott V 457 says he started on 22 Jumāda-s Sānī 999 (28 April)

[2] Four hundred bambus made a *kos* each being 12½ gaz Taking the gaz as 33 inches, each bambu length was about eleven yards

On the 20th he travelled 2 *kos* 30 poles, and encamped near Shāhdara.[1] On the 4th (Khurdād) he travelled 4 *kos* 41 poles, and encamped near the village of Jorā.[2] After one day's halt he marched 3½ *kos* 72 poles, and alighted near Amīnābād. On this day the Rajah of Radaur[3] obtained leave to go to his home, and was presented with a choice khilat and 101 horses. His fief was increased by some parganas. After an interval of one day he marched 4½ *kos* and encamped in the territory of Sītarām.[4] At dawn he marched 4¾ *kos* 35 poles,
538 and halted at Talwandī.[5] Then after one day he passed Sūdhira[6] and encamped on the bank of the Cināb. It was a march of 6 *kos* 41 poles. On this day the festival of the lunar weighment increased joy. That personality which was equal to the sky in majesty was weighed against eight articles, and the world rejoiced. On the 31st he crossed the river[7] and an order was given that the troops should cross by a bridge watch by watch, company by company (*Caukī ba Caukī ū qushun qushun*). The march was 1¼ *kos* 51 poles. After two days he reached Gunacor,[8] a dependency of Sialkot. The march was 4 *kos* 5 bambus. There it was represented to him that Allah Bardī, the agent of Sādiq, and Shiqdār of Tiha[9] Hanu and Rāij had opened the hand of oppression, and was dishonouring the weak. An order was given that 'Azdu-d-daula, Shahbāz and Qasim Beg[10] Mīr 'Adil should sit in judgment on him. Soon, his injustice was made

[1] Six miles from Lahore west bank Rāvī. It contains Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān's tombs. A. F. plays on the word Shāhdara saying *nazdīk Shāhdara shādrawān i izzat barafrasht and* 'He neared the mansion of honour near Shāhdāra.'

[2] Corā or Caurī in I.O. MS. 326 but perhaps the *rā* is a case-ending and the name is Jau or Cau. It may be the Jaūhir-pul of the Indian Atlas, which seems to correspond to Shāh Daulapul on the Deeg river, 22 miles N. Lahore. See the India of Aurangzīb by Jadu N. Sarkār p. 1.

[3] Rūdar in text, but there is the variant Radar. The place meant is Radaur in the Ambāla district, 40 m. S. E. Ambala. I. G. XI. 341, old ed. See also Rieu's Pers. Cat. I. 302b. It is not mentioned in the new edition I. G.

[4] Sahasrām in I.O. MS. 236.

[5] J. II. 320.

[6] The Sūdhara of J. II. 321.

[7] The text omits the words by boat but they occur in the variant and in I. O. *MS. 236*.

[8] Variant Kolajor but Gūnācor is right. It lies S. E. Jālandhar and is the place where Bairām was defeated. See B. 317 n. and 619.

[9] I. O. MSS. have Tuba Janā?

[10] It is Khān in text, but I. O. MSS. have Beg. See B. 517 and 541. He was an Arabic scholar.

manifest, and he received the reward of his deeds Though his life came to an end, his death was a cause of life to others Next day H M marched 4½ *kos* 51 bambus and encamped at Ḍikri, a dependency of Sialkot After two days he marched 4¼ *kos* 60 bambus and halted at Jaipūr[1] Kherī, a village of Bhimbar On 9th Khurdād (19th May 1589) he went with a few attendants to see the pass of Bhimbar which Kashmīris call Kājiwār[2] and other hill men, Adī Dat.[3] He enjoyed being on the top of it Suddenly it occurred to him that he would go on alone (jarida), (i e comparatively unattended) Sultan Murād was sent off to take charge of the ladies in the camp, and to keep order in the army Farid Bakhshī Begī was left in the Pass to prevent any but certain persons who were named, from following Then he went on horseback and traversed heights and hollows, partly riding and partly on foot At midday he rested for a while under a tree There were with him the Khān Khānān, Zain Koka, 'Aẓdu d daula, Ḥakīm Abul Fath, Jagannāth, Mir Sharif Āmulī, Qāẓi Ḥasan, Nūr Qulij, Rām Dās, the writer, and some young cavaliers (*ikka juanan*)[4]

On this day he gave weighty counsels to Burhānu l Mulk at the entrance of the pass, and sent him to conquer the Deccan As in the time of his elder brother Murtaẓa Nizāmu l Mulk, the peasantry and soldiers enjoyed some repose and though he was melancholy and a recluse, yet he kept strong the thread of justice, H M did not send Burhānu l-Mulk—who had taken protection at his court—with an army to that country When he died, and news came of the disturbances in the Deccan, he recalled[5] Burhān from the Tirāh

---

[1] Jyepore of the maps S Bhimbar

[2] Text Kājīwar but variant adār seems right It is the Kashmīr gates of Tiefenthaler I 79 See Elliot V 457 N 3

[3] The Adidak of Bates gazetteer 6 miles N Bhimbar, the Aditak of the maps

[4] Of Qazwīn B 498

[5] Ferishta informs us that Akbar had given Burhān estates in Bangash There is a full account of Salābat K in Ferishta's history of the Aḥmadnagar dynasty in the chapter dealing with Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh p 139, etc of Newalkishore's edition He was sent by Ṭahmāsp the king of Persia to Burhān Niẓām Shāh I Ferishta gives him a very fine character and says that he himself was one of those who tried in vain to dissuade him from obeying his insane king and voluntarily putting chains on his feet and going to prison The

army with the intention of sending him (to the Deccan) The events
539 of that country are as follows Shāh Tahmāsp, the ruler of Irān, had sent Shāh Qulī Gurjī (Georgian?) with presents, and he had attained influence in the Deccan, and received the title of Salābat K For the space of twelve years that Nizāmu-l Mulk was in seclusion *on account of melancholy, the* financial and political affairs of the country were conducted by Ṣalābat As the ruler had not wisdom, and did not give audiences, there arose a disturbance Owing to the power of insanity, that man of disturbed brain wrote to outsiders that they should confine Salābat in a certain fort That excellent servant heard of this and betook himself to that fort Though leading men represented that he should not imprison himself at the word of so insensate a person, it was of no avail He said he could not depart from his master's order Afterwards an unchaste woman obtained influence over the madman, and her brother Ism'āil laid hold of the administration By his help, M Khān Sabzwārī obtained influence and he brought the madman's son out of the fortress of Daulatabad and raised him to power He (the son) put the madman to death Soon, the dust of dissension arose between them, and each tried to injure the other At last, Mirza K got his opportunity and shut him (the son) up in Ahmadnagar, and raised Ism'ail S Burhānu l-Mulk to the supremacy Ism'ail K Deccani collected men and besieged the Ahmadnagar fort The wretch (Mirzā K) cut off the head of his prisoner (Mīrān Ḥusain the parricide) and flung it out thinking that thereupon the son's well wishers would withdraw But they became more eager, and broke into the fort Mirzā K came out secretly and fled, but was caught on the road and

unchaste woman referred to in the text is a dancing girl named Fatḥ Shah who Ferishta says was both beautiful and clever and could play chess well Murtaẓa Nizam was put to death by his own son Mīran Ḥusain but it must be said that the madman had deliberately tried to *burn his son* Murtaza was killed on 17 Rajab 996 2nd June 1588 his son only reigned 2 months 3 days A T [illegible] when he says that Akbar did not interfere so long as Murtaza Nizām was alive He sent the Khan A zim to conquer the country but he failed Burhān had two sons and when he fled the country Salabat kept them in custody Ibrāhīm *was the eldest* but as his mother was an Abyssinian he was black His younger brother Ism aīl was raised to the throne He was only twelve years old After

put to death Ism'ail was raised to power, and he,[1] out of revenge hunted for the lives of the Iranians and Turanians, and 3000 innocent persons were put to death When H M was going to Kashmir, Burhān came from Tirāh and H M sent him off to the Deccan An order was given to the Khān Ā'zim, the general of Mālwā, to Rajah Ali, the ruler of Khandesh, and the officers, that they should get together a choice army and exert themselves so that Burhān might soon be successful

When the temperature moderated, he resumed his progress (lit mounted his bay horse), and traversed the defile between the Serai Jogi and Naushahra, which is called Ghātī Badu[2] At one watch of the night he halted after travelling 13½ *kos* Some rulers of Kashmir used to fortify the first pass, when they had wars with the rulers of India, but most of them fortified this one Few were able to keep up with H M on this march, which was full of heights and hollows Next morning the ravine of Ghāzikot between Naushahra and Serai Cingiz was traversed with difficulty After passing Rajauri, H M halted at *the tents of Qāsim K who was proceeding with the* work of making the road clear and level The march was 8 *kos* 9 poles As several roads led from this place, and each was full of snow, experienced men were sent off to make enquiries, and a council was held It appeared that the best route for a large army was by the defile of the Hasti Watar As it was difficult of passage on account of the large amount of snow and rain, H M chose the Pir Panjal route 540
The eldest prince (Jahangir) was ordered to go back to the camp, and to bring on Sultān Khhusru and some of the ladies[3] As M Kaiqabād, the son of M Hakim had fallen ill, he was left at this stage and the Maliku l-Sh'āra S Faizi[4] was appointed to attend on him After two

---

[1] It was really Jamāl K who did this

[2] Badū is a name of King Zainu l abadī, and is apparently the Kashmīrī Bar Shah See Drew's Jummoo 17 It means The great King Text Jogī but the variant Cingīz is supported by I O MSS and by Tiefenthaler I 87 It is the Chingas Serai of Bates and is about half way between Naushahra and Rajaurī It is on r bank Tavi

[3] Apparently most of the ladies stayed at Bhimbhar and eventually went to Rohtās without entering Kashmīr and finally joined Akbar at Atak

[4] Faizī was a doctor as well as a poet

days H M went on from Rajaurī and marched 3½ *kos* 19 poles. The camp was near Lāhā a dependency of Rajaurī Next day he marched 1¾ *kos* and reposed near Thāna.[1] This village is at the foot of the defile of Ratan Panjāl At this place the Kas͟hmīrī language begins H M remarked, countries are divided from one another by hills, rivers, deserts, and language For the first (three) of these Bhimbhar is the boundary of Kas͟hmīr, and for the last, this station is Though the cavalier of fortune's plain was unattended, the Divine glory (*far īzdī*) was radiating from the august forehead, and wherever he went, crowds of men and women offered up thousands of supplications Every one of them brought vows of long standing before him, and reaped eternal bliss At this place the Nayiks who were the guardians of the passes on this route did homage under the leadership of Bahrām Nāyik Muhammad Bhat and a number of Kas͟hmīr leaders were exalted by obtaining an audience Next day he set his face to the defile First, he crossed the Ratan[2] Panjā pass, which is high as heaven, and arrived at Bahramgalla The march was 2¾ *kos* 5 poles It is a delightful place, and has few equals for climate and for variety of flowers The special bay horse[3] which was brought into the pass (*kotal*) slipped and no trace could be found of it Many climbed the pass on foot On this day there was a disturbance among the special cooks, and the writer was appointed,[4] in addition to his other duties, to look after them On the way M Yūsuf K came from Kas͟hmīr (Srinagar) and did homage A large number of the chief men of the country had the blessing of a reception Next day the august retinue advanced 2 *kos* 55 poles, and encamped at Pushiana There were wonderful hills clothed with forests, and numerous flowers and fountains gladdened the heart Many bridges are placed over the streams

[1] It is Thāna in the Iqbalnama and is the Thana Mandī of Bates It is 14 miles N Rajaurī

[2] The pass is five miles N E Thana and is the Ratan Pīr of Stein II 398 and the Ruttan Pīr of Bates It is 8 200 ft high Bahramgalla is the old Bhairavagali The text has Bairamkala

[3] *Gulfam k͟hāsagī* Perhaps *gul fam* was the name of the horse See B 134 There were six stables of K͟hāsgī horses Apparently this horse disappeared over the *khad*

[4] Apparently A F was made Mīr Bakawal See B 56

and are called *kadal*[1] in the Kashmiri tongue As the station (*manzil*) was filled with snow for more than two *kos*, H M's fellow travellers were much frightened, but the encouragements of H M soothed them somewhat As it is the custom for pedestrians when going over the snow, to use shoes woven out of ropes of rice straw, most provided themselves therewith, but this was a thing which H M did not approve of Next day the Pir Panjal pass was crossed, and the standards of victory were pitched in the village of Dund near the pass of Nati[2] Barari The march was 3½ *kos* 20 poles The walking was over snow Shall I describe the severity of the cold? Or shall I tell of the depth of the snow, and of the bewilderment of the natives of India? Or shall I describe the height of the pass, or 541
speak of the narrowness of the path, or of the heights and hollows of this stage? Or shall I write of the fountains, the trees, the flowers? While crossing, it snowed and hailed By the blessing of H M's personality, no harm ensued When the station was reached, it snowed heavily for an hour Every one of those who were coming behind, and who on that day showed foresight and turned back, arrived at a comfortable place Some inexperienced persons who went on rapidly lost their lives on account of the snow and rain

It is commonly reported by the inhabitants, high and low, of this country that ancient sages have thrown spells (*tilisma*) on these two roads[3] so that whenever a large army passes by there, or a horse or bullock be killed, or a drum beaten, black clouds soon gather and rain and snow pour down Whenever an army passed by this route, the statement was confirmed As the ladies had been sent for, and the difficulty of the road had been impressed on H M's mind, an order was issued that the officers who were in attendance on H M should station experienced men at each stage, and that every stage between Bhimbhar and Hirapur should be assigned to one of the officers, so that tents, fuel, forage and food should be in readiness,

---

[1] This is still the Kashmiri word for bridge

[2] Apparently Tari in I. O M S 236 Dund is not marked in the maps. It must be near Allabad Sarai

[3] Presumably the Pir Panjal and Hasti Watar routes Cf J II 348 and N 1 Perhaps the meaning is that the spell was laid where the two routes join near Allabad Seraia Jahangir Price 82 says he had never seen anything to confirm the story about the spell

and that the ladies should not suffer any inconvenience Next day H M traversed Nāri Barari,[1] which is the most difficult of all the ranges (*giriwaha*), and reposed in Hirapur [2] The distance was 4¼ *kos* Forty-four bridges were crossed M Yusuf K had arranged tents, etc here The difficulties of the hills between this place and Bhimbhar had now been overcome and were forgotten To speak briefly, from Bhimbhar to Hirapur there is a continuous range of hills which for narrowness and difficulty, and for ascents and descents is unrivalled The groves, the blossoming flowers, the glorious air, the melody of the waterfalls increased astonishment from time to time and removed from the heart the troubles of the journey But when we on this day passed from the hills to the plain, there was a splendid spectacle A new world appeared, and a new paradise withdrew the veil from her countenance Commonplace people who looked only to secondary causes forgot altogether the toils of the way, and the pious and profound entered upon new delight Crowds of men consisting of God seeking ascetics, learned persons skilled craftsmen and magical musicians, came from the capital and were gratified by princely favours On this day the Khān Khānān was sent off in order that he might attend the Prince, and assist him in bringing on the secluded ladies Also at this stage M Kaiqabād and the Maliku sh-sh'ara S Faizi arrived and performed the prostration
542 After one day 2 *kos* 79 poles were traversed and H M halted at Dewar [3] (?)

At the end of the day a cloud settled on the face of joy! While H M was looking for the arrival of the ladies, the Prince Royal arrived alone and reported that on account of the difficulties of the road it was not fitting that the ladies should be brought, and that he had left them at Naushahra [4] As there had been no order to this

---

[1] Variant Tarī Barari The name is not marked on the maps The Iqbalnama has only the word Barari The highest point on the route from Bhimbhar to Srinagar is the Pir Panjal which is 11 400 ft high Stein II 394 The proper spelling is Pir Pantsal

[2] Properly Hurapur the ancient

Probably this is the Degrama of Stein's map and J A B S paper p 186 The name seems to be Depur in I O MS 236 See Stein II 472 Degrama is about 1½ miles west of Supiyan

[4] That is, he had brought them from Bhimbhar as far as Naushahra and then left them

effect, the prince was not allowed to pay his respects, and an order of censure was sent to the Khān Khānān "If the prince, owing to his evil propensities, behaved in this way, why did you allow him to exhibit such audacity?"

In his wrath, H M ordered, in the midst of the rain, and of the slipperiness of the ridges, that his horse should be brought His whole thought was that he would go in person and bring the ladies He took with him Jagannāth, Rām Dās, Naqib K and some Aḥadis Zain K Koka, Hakim Abu l Fath and the writer were left in charge of the camp An order was given that no one except the persons above mentioned should accompany H M He travelled that day up to evening and reached Hirapur I was nearly losing my senses and the dress of society was falling from my shoulders[1] By God's help the ebullition of my disposition did not prevail over my reason and discretion The whole confusion was caused by thinking why at such a time should the Shahinshāh of the Universe become so angry And why did he take upon himself this task which could be accomplished by an inferior servant? Why did he not accept the truthful speaking of his loyal servants The Prince shut himself up in his tent, and abstained from food and sleep When the devoted servants petitioned, the wise sovereign yielded, and returned An order was given that the Khān-Khānān should bring on the ladies 3½ *kos* 31 bambus were traversed, and H M halted at the village of Kūsu Next day 3¾ *kos* 13 poles were traversed, and H M halted at Khānpūr[2] A remarkable thing there is that there is a tree called Hal Tal[3] on the roadside, which is a wonder to beholders It has

---

[1] Meaning that A F felt disgusted with the world

[2] There is a Khānpūr Serai marked on the map S S W Srinagar but it is further off than 1½ *kos* Apparently it is 12 miles from Srinagar Tiefenthaler puts it at 5 miles i e *kos* Stein I 482 n states that the real name is Khāmpūr See also Bates Gazetteer The Iqbālnāma says the quivering tree was 3 *kos* from Srinagar

[3] This tree is mentioned by Niẓāmu d dīn in his account of the kings of Kashmir He calls it a Khubāzī (mallow?) tree He says that when he went with Akbar on his second expedition to Kashmir he tested the quality of the tree Ferishta copies his account, but calls the tree a willow (*bed*) Perhaps it is the poplar (Populus alba) See T R., Ross and Elias App A, p 400 where for 22 read 200 I have seen a tree in the Bhagalpur public garden which shook all over when a branch

a strong trunk and many branches, and numerous leaves. If a twig of it be set in motion, the whole tree begins to shake. There are plenty of trees of this species, but they do not behave like this one

was touched It has been ascertained (by Dr Prain) that it is an Adansonia digitata The Khinpūr tree seems to be the same as that mentioned by Ḥaidar in the T R Ross and Elias, p 423, as being at Nagām, one short march from Srinagar Nāgām according to the map is about 3 miles W Khānpūr The Iqbālnāma seems to call the tree Hall-mal, which agrees with the variant in the A. N. Bib Ind In the Aīn J. II 336, the tree is mentioned, but Hal Tal or Hal Thal is given as the name of the village not of the tree Sir G King thought it might be the Populus tre mula or the P Euphratica. Stein II 475, and I Book VII, 159 note, adopts the Āīn statement that Halthal is a village and supposes it to be the Shalishthala of the Rājatarangini Jahangīr, Tūzuk 304, gives Hal Thal as the name of the tree, and says he saw another of the species in Cārdarah, the residence of Ḥaidar Malik See also Badayūnī, Lowe 398, where for "height more than a *gaz*" read "height more than an arrow flight' Perhaps, *haltal* means "quivering" Ḥaidar Malik, I O MS 510, also mentions the tree, p 232b, and calls the village Pal Thal

CHAPTER XCIX.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE STANDARDS OF FORTUNE AT THE CAPITAL OF KASHMĪR

On 25[1] Khurdād, 5th June, 1589, after 8 hours 24 minutes, H M having marched 1¼ *kos* 18 poles, planted his standards in the city of Srinagar Crowds of people arrived and had their desires gratified 543
There was the glory of largesse and presents H M alighted at the lofty palace of Yūsuf K, the ruler of Kashmīr The quarters of the soldiers (i e, of Yusuf's soldiers) were allotted to the various servants, and an order was given that the troops should not be quartered in the houses of the inhabitants

From Lahore, the capital, to this place (Srinagar) 97 *kos*[2] 7 poles were traversed in 24 marches Though the number of *kos* is not great, yet on account of the ups and downs, the distance is very long and difficult God be praised that a long cherished wish of H M was easily gratified! What former rulers had died wishing for, was attained with a small amount of application Mountains which pedestrians could not traverse were crossed by H M with a large army and numerous elephants! Srinagar is a great city and has been long peopled. The river Bihat flows through it Most of the houses are of wood, and some rise up to five[3] storeys On the roofs they

---

[1] Akbar took about forty days to reach Srīnagar Either there is a hiatus in the MSS or A F has not recorded the last stage or two The last stage he mentions is Khānpūr and then at the beginning of this chapter he tells us that Akbar entered Srinagar after a march of 1¼ *kos* But Khānpūr is 4 or 5 *kos* from the city The Iqbālnāma says that Akbar travelled from Hirapur to Srīnagar in two days and a night (*shab darmiyān*) and that he saw the great quivering tree when he was 3 *kos* from the city The date given in Elliot V 457 is 1 Shabān 997, 5th June 1589

[2] Though he here mentions 97 *kos* the distances given by A F only amount to about 89½ *kos*, and the number of stages mentioned is 23 and not 24 Lawrence p 266 states that the distance from Srīnagar to Bhimbhar is 148 miles

[3] The Iqbālnāma says from 2 to 3

plant tulips [1] and other flowers, and in the spring these rival flower-gardens When it is the rainy season in India, it also rains here,[2] and, like Turān and Irān, much snow falls in winter. In spring there are showers (*baran*) The crops seldom suffer from a deficiency of rain The praises of the country cannot be contained within the narrows of language Something has been said about this in the concluding volume My brother, my spiritual and physical elder, wrote a great ode in praise of the Shah and of Kashmir I quote some lines [3] from it

Verse

547 On this day Shahbāz K was transferred from the great camp (at Bhimbar) to Swad Mir Isfarāini was sent as sazawal to escort him thither and to bring Ṣādiq to court At this time Gohar [4] Ṣufi came and paid his respects He was an emancipated one (*azada*) belonging to the sect of *Rishis* [5] Thirty years before this, Ghazi K, the ruler of Kashmir, had put his teacher to death on suspicion that some rebels had been sheltered in his house The darvesh (Gohar) had thereupon become disgusted with life, and had struck a knife into his belly, but did not accomplish his purpose Next time he thrust his belly against the edge of a wall and a fissure was opened out, whereby his bowels burst forth But this did not cause loss of life The portion of the bowel which was inside dried up at its

---

to 5 storeys and that the latter are called *lola* in Kashmiri Jahangir, Tūzuk 299 describes the roof gardens

[1] Probably the Fritillaria Imperialis J II 349

[2] But the rains are much less in Kashmir, and there is no rainy season Stein 119 says What chiefly characterises the climate of Kashmir as against that of the Indian plains is the absence of a rainy season and the equally marked absence of excessive heat

[3] There are 136 lines and I have not thought it necessary to translate They are not of special merit praise of Akbar than of Kashmir In two of the lines he gives the date of the conquest, viz middle of Khurdād of the 34th year, or Rajab 997 May 1584

[4] The variant Kotar or Kota seems preferable

[5] Text *darceshe* but the variant *rishi* is right The Rishis were a Muhammadan sect See Bates Gazetteer Introd p 31 In J II 353 A F is made to speak of *brahmans* as the most respectable class in the country but this is a mistake caused by a bad reading in the text The true reading of Rishi is in Gladwin See also Lawrence 28

head, and there remained outside about a cubit in length His excrement passed out by this (aperture?) He cleansed the outer portion and put it into a wooden vessel (*āwand*) H M treated that broken-hearted one kindly, and a new rank was given to devotion

On the 28th (Khurdād) he went to visit Shihāb u d npur[1] This is a delightful spot on the bank of the Bihat The planes (*cinarha*) there raise their heads to the sky, and the verdure enchants the eyesight It was stated that whenever soilure was caused by men s visiting the place, or by any bones etc falling there, they disappeared next morning. People said a spiritual squadron came and swept and cleansed the place When H M appointed truthful and acute persons to inquire into this, the tale was found not to have the glory of truth It was an exaggeration on the part of former eulogists, and short-sighted people in their simplicity believed it On his return he passed by the polo (*caugān*) ground Travellers have seldom seen so verdant and charming a spot On the 31st the Prince Royal was sent off to bring the ladies He was ashamed of his former mistake, and was continually showing a desire to obtain this service The Shāhinshāh granted his request and gave him leave to go Āsaf K, Mādhu Singh, and some other servants were sent with him Also on this day he indulged in water fowling and enjoyed it greatly Several times he engaged in this sport The 548 chief huntsmen take hawks on their arm in little boats (*zoraqchaha*) and let them fly at the proper moment Those swift birds rush down from the air and hold the waterfowl down[2] on the surface of the water and sit upon them and convey them to the boat.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ladies Prince Sultān Murād, the Khan Khanan, Qasim K and other servants exerted themselves greatly in improving the road, and in assisting

---

[1] This place is mentioned in Ter ishta s account of Haidar M T R, Ross and Elias 490 It and the plane trees are referred to in the Aīn J II 364 It is now known as Shādīpur, but Dr Stein scouts the idea that this means the city of marriage It lies at the junction of the Bihat and the Sindh and is regarded in consequence as a ' Priyāg, or holy place like the meeting of the waters at Allahabad

[2] See J II 351 and B 295 where the method of hawking in Kashmir is described Lawrence 134 states that this sport is not practised nowadays

the bearers The Prince Royal joined them in Pushâna[1] Prince Sultân Murâd returned to take charge of the main camp When they had approached to within two *kos*, H M received *them* on 9 Tir, 20th June 1589, and by various kindnesses gave joy to the visitors The officers who had performed the service received fresh honours

One of the occurrences was a great flood in Ujjain in Mâlwa It began to rain on the 12th, and this continued for three days The river Siprâ[2] rose high and the outer and inner lakes (kûlâb) overflowed 1700 houses were carried away Though but few men were lost, yet many animals were carried away by the waves The flood had reached the gate of the city when the outer lake[3] burst, and the waters were dispersed

One of the occurrences was the assessment of Kashmir When the able accountants brought forward the subject of the revenue, the just sovereign proceeded to make inquiries He sent S Faizi, Mir Sharif[4] Âmuli, Khwâjagi[5] Muhammad Husain to scrutinize the Mararij[6] (Mariâj), while Khwâja Shamsu d din Khafi—who had come at that time from Kabul—and the Kuar (Mân Singh) were sent to examine the Kâmraj[7] Though the autumn crop was over, yet they were able by their skill to make an estimate of it In India the land is divided into plots, each *of which* is *called a bigha* In *the delightful* land of Kashmir every plot is called a *patti*[8] This should be one *bigha* one *biswa* according to the Ilahi *gaz*, but the Kashmiris reckon

1 For Pushlâna. So in text and the name is probably right but the I O MSS seem to have another reading Murad apparently went back to Bhimbar where the main camp remained The bulk of the army seems never to have entered Kashmir

2 J II 195 and 196 and the I G Ujjain is situated on the Sipra According to A F it sometimes flowed with milk Jahângir Price 118 speaks of a large lake near the city *of Ujjain and of its washing the* castle walls Perhaps the "inner and outer lakes means Kaliyâdaha mentioned in J II 196 and more particularly described by Faizi Sirhindi in his account of Akbar's march *to the Deccan in the 44th year* The reservoir was composed of a running stream

3 The old city of Ujjain is about a mile to the N of the modern one These lakes (kûlâb) are not mentioned in the I G

4 *B 452 etc*

5 He was the younger brother of Qâsim the conqueror of Kashmir

6 and 7 Upper and Lower Kashmir See J 368 370

8 This measure of land is not mentioned by Lawrence He says, p 243 Land measures are calculated, not by length and breadth but by the

2¼ *pattas* and a little more as one (Kashmīrī ?) *bīgha* By agreement[1] with the Government (*Dīwān*) one-third of the produce is paid as revenue In accordance therewith every village has been assessed at a certain number of *kharwars*[2] of rice The same amount of *kharwars* is demanded every year without any fresh investigation The *kharwār* is 3 *mans* 8 *sīrs*[3] Akbarshāhi Sometimes they reckon by the *trak*,[4] which is eight royal (i e Akbarshāhi) sirs Of the spring (rabi') crop they take for one patta of wheat, barley, pulses, and mustard, two *traks* as the share of the ruler In Lār[5] and its appurtenances the persons deputed to inquire found that 1 *man* 26 sirs of wheat, 1 *man* 26¾ sirs of barley, 1 *man* 30½ sirs of pulses and mustard were taken and that in the autumn-crop there was taken from that extent of *shali* 12 (rice) (land) one *kharwar* from *mung* (phaseolus mungo), *motah* (P aconitofolius) and *māsh*, two *traks*, from *gal* and millet four *traks* When the unofficial (*kāghzi khām* papers of every village—which showed the real facts—were obtained, the amount of the ruler's share came to 5 *mans* for rice, while for *mung*, *motah* and *mash* it was 548
1 *man* 30½ sirs, from *kangni*[6] and millet it was 2 *mans* 22½ *sirs*

---

amount of seed required by certain areas of rice cultivation A *khar war* of land, i e the area requiring *kharwar* weight of seed, is equal to four British acres

[1] Text, *az farās* but it appears from the I O MSS and the Cawnpore ed of the A N that the proper reading is *az qarār* The literal meaning of the passage seems to be "With the diwān the agreement is for three heaps of crop Blochmann, p 346 has given an abstract of the passage taken apparently from the account of M Yūsuf in the M'aasir U III 313 The translation, "three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmīr, is wrong, and the account in the A N shows that all grains were taxed The passage is explained by the Āyīn, J II 366 where it is said that one third has long been the nominal share of the State The words in the Persian text of Āīn I 570 are *sih loda* just as it is in the paragraph in the A N

[2] *Khharwār*, lit an ass s load According to Wilson s Glossary it is 700lb but the Kashmīrī *kharwār* is stated by Lawrence to be 177 lb Cf J II 366 and Stein s Rajatarangini Book V 71 p 145 note

[3] Seven in text but I O MS 236 has eight as in the variant and this agrees with the Āīn J II 366 A *trak* is = $11\frac{1}{1}$ lb

[4] See Lawrence 243 A F spells the word and he makes it *tark*, see B 84 n 3, but trak or trakh is the proper pronunciation

[5] 'It borders on the mountains of great Tibet ' J II 363

[6] Kangnī is described in Lawrence s Kashmīr, p 337 It is also called Shol, and its botanical name is

The Mararaj investigators brought back similar reports As there was abundance of futile talkers and concealers of the truth and the governor (*mirzban*)[1] of Kashmir was desirous that the truth should not appear, and the sovereign[2] had in his mind the enjoyment of sight seeing, and the cultivators were chiefly soldiers, *the assessment* was not fixed upon actual facts (*qarar i waqa*) The twenty lakhs of *kharwars* of rice were increased by two lakhs Apparently, the *far-seeing glance (of Akbar) perceived that an increase in the* assessment, even though it did not exceed a duly calculated amount, would bring destruction on the cultivators, especially in a newly conquered country

On the 22nd (Tir, about 2nd July 1589) H M gave leave to the writer to visit Wāhid Sufī *Inasmuch as he has a daily increasing* desire to seek out good and pious men, his blissful servants take pains to search for such At this time the Malku sh sh'ara S Faizi[3] wrote to this least of men (A F) "Here an enlightened anchorite has come into my view For thirty years he has in an unnoticed cor*ner been gathering happiness on an old mat Affectation and self* advertisement have not touched the hem of his garment By dint of inward purity he has come to know somewhat of the Shāhinshah

Setaria Italica Elphinstone II calls it Panicum *Italicum and says it is* termed Ghoosht by the Afghans and *congunnee* by the *Hindustanis Its* grain is husked into rice but it is not esteemed by the Kashmiris *as food* being considered by them to be heating

[1] Payments in coin and kind were estimated in kharwars of (*Shālī*) rice J II 366 The kharwār was reckoned at 16 *dams* B 346 In the Ayīn the kharwār in kind is stated to be 29 *dāms* and the kharwar in cash to be 29 *dāms* as formerly At this assessment says the Maasir the country was made over to M Yūsuf K The revenue was afterwards raised in the 36th year to 30 lakhs, 63 000 kharwārs Āsaf's settlement was a little higher being 30 lakhs 79 000 *kharwārs and it appears that* the money value of the kharwar was *also enhanced See J II 366 67 (the* Asaf K referred to is Āsaf No 3 see B 411) The increases led to a rebellion and to the murder of Qazī Ali

[2] The word is *shahriyār* and must mean Akbar He was bent on enjoying the spectacle (*tamāsha*) of Kashmir and did not scrutinize the assessment Perhaps the meaning is that he wanted to see the cultivators happy and so only made a trifling increase in the assessment

[3] The Sufī lived a long way up the Jhelam Faizī had gone in that direction in connection with the settlement as he had been deputed to the Marāj district

and though he has not seen him, he bears on his heart's shoulder the burden of his discipleship." When I brought this to the notice of H.M. he ordered this traveller for the search of truth to go and make a thorough inquiry into the matter If the account given of him turned out to be true, and he was willing to come, I was to bring him with me By great good fortune I met in with that bewildered [1] one, and the old sore of Divine longing opened afresh For a long time he had lived, like Aweis [2] and Karkhī, in a ruined habitation As he concerned himself but little with men's customs some called him mad, and some called him an atheist He lived apart from joy and sorrow, and took nothing from anybody except broken bread. After many years he assumed an old and tattered cloak I brought forward the old secret, and laid hold of his companionship. Though owing to the obscurity of my understanding, I did not know the Kashmīrī language, yet I gathered much edification through an interpreter, and there was a new market for my ear As his heart was much alienated from the sons of men, he could not come out (from his cell) The world's lord was delighted with this news and

---

[1] *Ān pai gam karda rā* He who has lost his feet or has gone astray But I am inclined to think that the text is corrupt It could hardly be a piece of great good fortune to meet with one who had gone astray Perhaps we should read *ān be kam karda rā* 'That one who had become perfect, or without defect

[2] Aweis Qarnī, a saint who had given up the world He was a contemporary of Muḥammad and was killed in battle in A D 657 See Beale's Dictionary Karkhī appears to be the M'arūf Karkhī of J III 355 who founded the Karkhī order He died in A D 815 There is an account of him in Beale ed 1894 p 245 I am however convinced that the text is corrupt, and think that the editors of the Bib Ind. ed have substituted what they considered an intelligible reading for one that to them was not so None of the MSS seems to have وكرخي u karkhī, and it does not appear from the account in the Ayīn or in Beale that M'arūf was distinguished for asceticism I O MS 236, which is generally correct has *basān Avīs dāda barkh* Dāda is Turkish and is a name given to darvishes and qalandars and here I think it is an appellation of Aweis *Barkh* means a small house, or den, and should, I think, be connected by 'izafat under the following word *khrābanishīn* The phrase then would run "living in a hovel, like Avīs the qalandar" But *uwais* means a wolf, and possibly the words *uwais dada barkh* mean a wild wolf's den

resolved[1] that he would go in person, and illuminate the darkness of his hermitage.

One of the occurrences was an exhibition of H M's knowledge of mysteries It had been reported to him that the ruler of Kas͟hmir had in a fit of intoxication thrown one of his ladies from the top of a terrace One day when he was inspecting the Kas͟hmir palaces, he, while many lofty windows and watch towers were around him, said with his pearl laden tongue "It seems that Yūsuf must have flung that innocent one from this terrace" On inquiring this was found to be the case

Also, on this day, Jagannāth, who was troubled for want of a house, and was wishing for the house of Qarā Beg, performed[2] the kornish from the top of a terrace H M quickly said to him, "You have come a long way down, the house of Qarā Beg is large and is near let that be your quarters" A cry of wonder arose from all Also about this time, one morning, the sound of singing reached his ear and he
50 said to Naqīb K "Can you from the voice make any guess as to the age of the singer?" After much reflection he replied "It seems to be more than forty and less than fifty" H M said "I think it is more than twenty and less than thirty" When inquiry was made, it was found that the age was twenty-five

At this time he felt a desire for the coming of Miriam Makani,[3] and ordered that a petition to that effect should be written to her With his pearl laden tongue he said "Let this verse which my soul has just now uttered be made the preamble to the application"

---

[1] Akbar fulfilled this intention See *infra* p 551

[2] So in text but the MSS have a different reading I O MS 236 has *kornis͟h dādand badūr farmūdand*— "Akbar permitted the kornis͟h and said to him I O MS 235 has *bāz kornish dādand* He (Akbar) re turned or acknowledged the *kornish* I think that on this account and also because of the words *az firāz bame* that the words from the top of the roof refer to Akbar and not to Jagannath The word *zūd* quickly seems wrong *Kornish dādand* means gave permission to perform the *kornis͟h* See *supra* p 542 line four where we are told that Jahangīr as being in disgrace was not allowed to perform the kornish *kornis͟h na dādand*

[3] She was not in time to join him in Kas͟hmir but she and apparently Gulbadan Begum and other ladies joined him near Kabul See *infra* p 568

Verse

The pilgrim may go to the K'aaba to perform the *hajj*
O God! May the K'aaba come towards us!

On the 23rd (Tir, about 3 July 1589) Hashim K the son of Qāsim K was sent off to put to right the Pakli road, as H M intended to return by that way Many stone breakers and diggers accompanied him Zain K [1] Koka was ordered to return and to conduct the great camp and other people to Rohtas He was (after that) to come back to H M by way of Pakli On this day news came that Khudāwand [2] K had died in Pātan Gujrat on 1 Khurdād, 11 May 1589 He was one of the brave men of the south country, and in company with the Berar officers he had had the blessing of an audience, and had been exalted by royal favours

One of the occurrences was that H M went to Mararāj by boat From the view that to go by water is to sit while travelling and that it brings many delights it occurred to him that he would in this manner go in that direction As in this country there were more than 30 000 boats but none fit for the world s lord, able artificers soon prepared river palaces and made flower gardens on the surface of the water Men of note, and near relatives, also prepared boats so that more than a thousand were made ready and there was a city upon the waters On 24 Tir, 4 July 1589, H M embarked with his ladies The anchor was raised at dawn and they proceeded up stream 5¾ *kos* 14 poles were traversed and he encamped opposite Minaur [3] (Pampur?)

---

[1] He was with the emperor See supra p 542 where he is mentioned as having with others been left in charge of the camp at Dewar or Digrāma near Supiyan He was now apparently to conduct back the main camp etc to Rohtās by way of Bhimbar and then to come back and meet the emperor by the Paklī route Or perhaps he was both to go and come by that route

[2] He had married A F s sister See Badayūnī Lowe 394 His mother was an Abyssinian and his father a Persian from Mashhad He was a man of imposing stature and strength

[3] There are the variants Pantūr and Pīnur I feel pretty certain that the place is Pampur the old Padmapūra mentioned in J II 357 *pa* and *yā* are often mistaken for one another there being only the difference of a dot between them Pīnūr when written in Persian is not unlike Pampur The identification is strengthened by Blochmann s having read Banpūr and correcting it in his Index to Pampūr

On each side of the river there were flower gardens and verdures to delight the eye Guards were stationed on each bank They looked after the husbandmen and the weak Things which give pleasure, and successes which make the lords of destinies to stumble, only make H M more wary The farsighted in this way improve their lives, while those who do not extend their view beyond secondary causes become infatuated Next day he travelled 4½ *kos* 60 poles and halted near Panj[1] Birāra (Bij Bihara) Starting at dawn next day he travelled 5½ *kos* 8 poles and arrived opposite the plain of Nandi
51 Marg[2] Though at every station there were choice spots, yet this *Alang* (pasturage) was a fresh vision to eye and heart It is 3000 bighas in extent, very level, luxuriant and verdant Farsighted travellers find few places equal to it The lord of the diadem gathered pleasure by looking at it, and offered praises to God Nandi was a woman and a servant of Mahādeo, and *marg* means a plain Romancers tell that she was in love with a young man, and when he came to this pleasant spot to play polo, she would come and soothe her soul by a sight of him The governor of Kashmir proposed to bring the plain under cultivation Fearing that this would put a stop to the polo she bought the plain for a large sum and imprecated a curse on any one who altered the ground Cycles have elapsed since then but it is still preserved in its old state

One of the occurrences was the death of M Sulaimān From the time that he did homage for the second time at the sacred threshold, *he spent his days in repose and enjoyment. At the time* of the expedition to Kashmir he had been left in Lahore in order that nothing might occur to molest the tranquillity of this old man

---

[1] The Vej Brāra of J II 356 and the Vijayeśvara and Vijabror of Stein 173 174 and n Bror means God

[2] The word is jallya a plain Cf the description of Nandi Marg in J II 357 where it is spoken of as being near Punj Barara I think there must be some mistake for in addition to the fact of Nand marg s being described in the Ayīn as near Vej Brara I do not see how Aybar could travel up stream 5½ *kos* to Nandimarg then 3 *kos* to Kanabal when the whole distance between Vej Brara and Kanabal appears to be under 5 miles Possibly Nandīmarg is the Nanmarg of Vigne and of Bate s *Gazetter* It is some 12 m east Saupiyn and is apparently the Nan Miraj of Stein s map but if so Akbar must have left the Bilat to visit it

the water always shoots up (from the earth) Occasionally, a beautiful, yellow, spotted fish appears, and whenever this occurs, the year is reckoned a fortunate one It appeared about this time, and caused joy From there he went to hunt, and his idea was that he would proceed on to the fountain-head[1] of the Bihat, but rain and the slipperiness of the defiles restrained him from this plan

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to Tibet When the sound of the world conquering armies reached that country, the rulers thereof had not the courage to come personally to the sublime court They remained in bewilderment As they showed obedience by continually sending presents, M Beg was sent to 'Ali Rai the ruler of Little[2] Tibet, and Mulla Talib[3] Isfahani and Mihtar Yari to the ruler of great Tibet Soothing and encouraging words were written to them

On 29 Tir, Divine month, 9 July 1589, H M fell ill, and that day passed in severe pain Next day there were signs of improvement After two days he took two spoonfuls of soup, and in a short time he became well He used to say that he had often been ill, but that the pains of those days had not come up to the pain of that first day May God the Giver of life long preserve him in sound health and in the administration of justice !

Verse

May dominion not be far from his pillow.
May there be no light to the crown without his head.
May his life be sempiternal
May his threshold be life's sanctuary !

---

1 Vernāg Stein 182 but see Lawrence p 18 See also Jahangīr's account Elliot VI 304

2 Little Tibet is Baltistan and Great Tibet is Ladakh Haider M conquered these countries and gave Little Tibet to Mullā Qasim and Great Tibet to Mulla Hasan T R Ross and Elias 489 Qasim was afterwards killed id 490

3 B 607 and n He is there called Bābā Talib He was a poet See J III 393 where a quatrain by him is quoted See also Badāyunī III 265

CHAPTER C

Return of H M the Shāhinshāh from Kashmir the Paradisaical

As the spectacle of that ever vernal flower garden— which leads every one else to self indulgence—made H M more zealous in devotion to the Creator and as he had gathered some delight from travelling in it, and had made the peasantry and the soldiery joyful he decided to return Though the attractions of the climate, and the abundance of flowers and fruit shut off the road of escape, yet wisdom prevailed and prevented him from staying longer On 1 Amardad, 11 July, 1589, the anchor was raised and he set[1] sail The Pakli route was kept before his eyes He travelled 3 *kos* 25 poles, and halted opposite Nandimarg On this day Abiya[2] paid his respects, and was received with favour As Y'aqub Kashmiri—who had in some measure awaked from his slumbers, perceived the majesty of the Shahinshah, and wished to pay his respects, H M made the arrivals happy, and sent them back satisfied But as Y'aqub was impressed by the greatness of his crimes he had not the courage to come in but sent his brother, in order that the good news of pardon might reach him, and might ease his fears The brother returned after succeeding in his wishes Next day he spent in the same delightful spot On the morning following he departed and 553
after travelling 4 *kos* 59 poles he encamped near Joias (?)[3] On this day some ladies arrived from the great camp, and paid their respects Asaf K Khwāja Daulat and others, did homage Here a privy

[1] *Badban Kashiband* In Bates Gazetteer Introd p 10 it is stated that Kashmīr boats have no sails Perhaps A F is only speaking rhetorically

[2] Perhaps the name is Abhaya

[3] Text حورس variant حواس The I O MSS have Joras If the variant be correct the village may be the Khur or Khūr Nakavīr of Stein 183 But I incline to think it is Sursu or Tsurus the Soorvo of the map a large village on bank of Jhelam between Bij Bihara and Avantipūr It may however, be the Jarura of the T Rashīdī p 439

council was held, and the expedition to Kabul was decided upon After one (day's) halt, he travelled 5 *kos* and halted near Pampūr One day afterwards he travelled 4 *kos*, 36 poles, and stopped near the Koh i Sulaimān

On this day he paid a visit of consolation to Muhibb Ālī K [1] and gave some pleasure to him who was prepared for the last journey. Then he got into a small boat and proceeded towards the city His only object was to exalt by consolation Amīr Fath Ullah Shīrāzī who had been ill from his first coming to the city and had been unable to accompany H M on the excursion H M came to the bedside of that chosen member of wisdom's family and spoke graciously Next day he halted The days of Muhibb 'Alī were ended One said to to him, ' Say there is no God except God " He, who had long refrained from speech, now said, " 'Tis not a time to say Lā Ullah (without God) 'Tis a time to fix all one's heart on God (ba ullah) " H M, who appreciated merit, grieved for him and showed kindness to his family

On 9 Amardād (about 19th July, 1589) H M travelled three *kos* and encamped after passing through Srinagar On the way, his boat collided with a bridge, but by God's protection no damage resulted After two days more he travelled 4 *kos* 60 poles, and encamped at Shihābu d dinpur [2] Here Sultan Qoresh of Kāshghar arrived and was received with royal favours His lineage goes back to the great Qāān (Cingez) He was s 'Abdu r-Rashīd s Sultan Sāid s Sultan Ahmad, known as Ālanja K s Yunas s Avis s Sher 'Alī Oghlan s Khizr Khwāja s Tughluq Timur s Īsā Bugā s Dava s Buraq s Bisum Tavā s Mawatkān s Caghtai s Cingez Some account of Caghtāi has been given in volume one Mawātkan was the second son of Caghtai, whom Cingez loved more than all his other children Mawātkān was killed by an arrow in 618 (1221 A D) under fort Bamiān Bisun Tava his second son, served Cingez till his death

---

[1] This is Muhibb Alī Rohtasī and not the son of Babur's prime minister See B 422

[2] About 12 m N N W Srinagar and near the junction of the Sindh river It is now known as Shadipur but Dr Stein ridicules the idea that the name is derived from Shadī (marriage) and considers it to be an abridgment of the name derived from Sultan Shihabu d dīn of the 14th century Jahāngīr has an account of the place Elliot VI 305

Burāq was first with [1] Qubla Qaan who sent him to Transoxiana He was tyrannical, and fought in Persia with [2] Ayāq s Hulāgū, and was defeated. In Bokhara he adopted the Ahmadi (Muhammadan) religion and took the name of S Ghiāṣu-d-din On his death Davā succeeded, and reigned with great splendour He conquered Transoxiana, Turkistan, Badakhshān and Kabul He attacked Persia several times, and led armies into India, but was unsuccessful Īsā 554
Būqā reigned, after his father, in Turkistan, Kashghar and Moghulistān Tughluq Timur (his son) succeeded him It is said [3] that Īsā Buqā had two wives, the elder being Sātilmish Khātim, and the younger Manliq It being the rule that the elder wife, in a Moghul tribe, takes charge of the others, Satilmish learnt, when the Khan was away on an expedition, that Manliq was pregnant She gave her to Sharawal [4] Dukhtui who was one of the great officers When the Khān returned from his expedition, he was vexed at this, but there was no remedy After the Khān's death there was confusion in the tribe Amir Būlājī Dughlat, the grandfather of M Haidar, proceeded to search, and sent Tāshu Taimūr to enquire, in order that he might get information about Manlik and her progeny After much search he found that she was dead, and he brought away her son Tughluq Taimūr K, after a thousand troubles, from the country of the Qalmāqs At the age of 16 [5] he ascended the throne, and in his 24th year he adopted the Ahmadi religion There being a commotion in Transoxiana, he marched to that country and by his justice gave it tranquillity He perceived the marks of eternal greatness on the forehead of Sāhibqirāni (Timur) and made [6] over the country of Kash to him, and gave Transoxiāna to his own men [7] After him Ilyās Khwāja K.

[1] Coleridge's Kubla Khan The text omits the word Qubla but it is in the I O MSS

[2] Should be Abāq or Abaqa He succeeded his father in 1264 See Abaka K in D Herbelot

[3] Taken, apparently, from T Rashīdī See translation p 6 Text prints the passage as if it were a statement by Tughluq Timur'

[4] The Schive Oghoul of Desmaison's translation of Abūl Ghāzī, p 165 There Būlājī is called Poulādtchi, and his messenger Tāsh Timūr Though A F uses the word jadd, ' grandfather, he must mean ancestor

[5] T R 23

[6] T R. 20

[7] Apparently he made it over to his son Ilyās See T R 22

became ruler When he died, the Moghal tribe fell into confusion Amir Qamaru d din Dughlat put to death 18 persons from among the sons and sons in law of Tughluq Timur, and sat upon the throne No descendant of Tughluq Timur survived except Khiẓr Khwāja Amir Khudadad, the brother s son of Qamaru d din, hid the child with the help of the mother (of Khudādād) Sāhib Qirānī (Timur, i e, Tamerlane) waged great wars with Qamaru d din, and when the latter died, Khiẓr Khwaja was raised to the throne He preserved peace with Timur, and by his prudence Moghalistān was civilised He took an army several times to Cathay, and got possession of Turfān [1] and Qarā Khwaja His daughter Takal [2] Khānim was exalted by entering Timur's harem Timur was called Gurgan because that [3] is the title of a son in law

Sher Ali [4] Oghlan lived with his brothers after his father's (Muhammad K) death and died in early youth [5] Avīs K (Sher Ali's son) served his uncle Sher Muhammad K who was ruler of Moghalistān He took to brigandage (qazzaqi) and fought battles When Sher Muhammad K died, he ascended the Khāni throne They say he waged 61 wars with the Qalmaqs, and was once victorious Twice he was captured Tashi, [6] the ruler of the Qalmaqs, respected his high lineage and let him go When Sātuq K came against him, he
555 hastened to fight and in the confusion he was killed by an arrow shot unwittingly [7] by one of his own men Confusion arose in the Moghal tribe After his father s catastrophe Yunas K was taken by some to Samarqand to M Ulugh Beg, and Isa Buqa was made ruler of the Moghals The Mirza (Ulugh Beg) [8] killed many of them and took all that they had

He sent Yunas to Shāhrukh and the latter kindly made him over to Maulānā Sharfu d din 'Ali Yezdi From him he got some enlightenment, and when the Maulana died, he passed into Arabia, Persia, Azarbaijān and Fārs He made Shiraz his home, bought land and acquired knowledge, and supported himself by his own

[1] T Rashidī 52 and n 6 Karakhoja is mentioned there as an important town on the borders of Cathay

[2] Tavakkul of T Rashidī

[3] T R 278 and note

[4] T R 60

[5] The Vais K of T R 60 *et seq*

[6] Tashī in text See T R 65 and 79 n 1

[7] T R 72

[8] Bābur refers to this incident Erskine 11 See also T R 84

industry. In his 41st year Sultan Abu S'aīd sent for him and provided him with an army He sent him off against his brother who had come as an invader. After much fighting he was defeated, but by craft and stratagem he established himself near Farghāna, and men gathered round him At this time Mīr Saiyid 'Alī, a grandson of Amīr Khudadād, died, and Yūnas' affairs became flourishing

In a short time Īsā Būqā also died, and then his son Dost Muḥammad K ascended the throne In a short time, the government of Moghalistān became established in Yunas K, out of gratitude he gave his three daughters to M Abu's sons, viz Mihrnigār Khānim to Sulṭan Ahmad, ruler of Samarqand, Sultan Nigār Khānim to Sulṭān Maḥmūd K M M Sulaiman's father was born of this marriage Qutliq Nigār Khānim he gave to 'Umr S M H M Getī Sitānī (Bābur) was the offspring of this marriage He lived for 74 years At the end of his days he went into retirement [1] on account of the bad behaviour of his servants

Sultan Ahmad K, the second son of Yunas, governed well, and fought with the Qalmāqs and won great victories. He prevailed over the Uzbegs and Qazzāqs When Shāh Beg defeated Ahmad's elder brother S Maḥmūd, Aḥmad came to help him, but by the jugglery of the heavens both brothers were defeated Shah Beg respected old obligations and let them go Ahmad fell ill of grief, and died Sultan S'aīd was the third of Ahmad's 16 sons [2] He was for a while Shāh Beg's prisoner He escaped and came to his uncle S Maḥmūd. Then he left him and joined his brother Khalil in Moghalistan Between those two and the older brother Manṣūr K there was war Sulṭan S'aīd K had to traverse plains and deserts, but by the Divine aid he joined Getī Sitānī (Bābur) in Kabul, and was kindly received He enjoyed himself for three years in the service of that ap- 556
preciative one Then he took an army with him and came to Farghāna, and conquered most of the country M Abu Bikr, the ruler of Kāshghar, came to fight and was defeated After this Sūnj [3] K, ruler of Turkistān, came with a large force The Khān went to Qāsim K, the ruler of Dasht Qibcāq, and from there brought an army against Kāsh

[1] Ḥaidar says, T R trans 114 that Yūnas was seized with paralysis and was bedridden for the last two years of his life. He does not say anything about the bad conduct of his servants

[2] T Rashīdī, 160 has 18 sons

[3] Suzunj Khwāja K, T R 133

ghar He fought with M Abu Bikr and was victorious He made peace with his elder brother Manṣur K, and the *Khuṭba* was read in his (Manṣūr's) name and coin struck. They say that for some time after Manṣur, the name of Khān was given to his son Shāh K. When he died, the government returned to S'aid He several times led an army against Moghulistān and was successful He also fought with the people of Tibet, and gained victories He sent his son Iskandar with M Haidar to Kashmir by the way of Tibet, and that delightful country was conquered On account of double faced men, Ḥaidar made a sort of peace and returned S'aid died of asthma (*damgīri*) and the insalubrity of Tibet His son 'Abdu r-Rashid received his name from Firdus Makāni (Babur) at his father's request When he succeeded, he governed justly and prevailed over the Uzbegs and Qazāqs He always kept on friendly terms with Humayun M Haidar has called his history by his name When he died, 'Abdu l-Karim[1] succeeded him He reigned worthily for 30 years His six brothers were Sufi Sultan,[2] Mahmud, Qoresh, Abu S'aid, 'Abdu r Rahim and Abdullah[3] In accordance with their father's will, and from their goodness, they served 'Abdu-l Karim A dispute arose between Qoresh's son Khudabanda and his uncle Muhammad[4] He went off to the Kirghiz (Text, Dagavi) and by their help he conquered Tarfan The Khān was apprehensive on this account and sent off Qoresh to the Hijāz He, with his belongings and his seven sons, Shah Muhammad, 'Ādil, Mozaffar, Ābdullah, Sanjar, Ahmad and Ghazanfar, came to Badakhshan, and from there went to Balkh By 'Ābdul lah's permission he went to Fortune's threshold (Akbar's court) and was exalted by the service[5] of the world's lord His eighth son, Khudābanda, remained where he was Goodness and discretion shone from his forehead When Ābdu l Karim died, and the government came to his brother Muhammad, 'Abdullah sent a large army against the latter from Transoxiana It was defeated, and returned What

---

[1] See T Rashidī Introduction p 121 According to the Haft Iqlīm Abdu r Rashīd had 13 sons See also Ney Elias's Khojas of E Turkistan J A S B for 1897

[2] See A N III 150 151 His brother Abu S'aīd was married to Ḥaram Begam's daughter

[3] Killed in Berar, A N III 490

[4] Evidently this is the Maḥmūd mentioned above A variant gives Muhammad as the name

[5] Qoresh became a commander of 700 B 459

has been the end of this irrigation of the garden of words? Though a little diffusive the rose garden of annals has been refreshed [1]

On 13 Amaidad, Divine month, 23 July 1589, H M travelled 3¼ *kos*, 12 poles and arrived near Sopur [2] On the way he visited the garden of the Bagh Safā which M Haidar had made He also climbed to the top of a little hill [3] from which much of Kashmir could be seen, 557 and enjoyed exquisite pleasure Next day, he travelled 4½ *kos*, 72 poles, and halted near Patan [4] He [5] disembarked here and went

---

[1] The last part of this digression adds to the information in the T Rashīdī

[2] Text Satpūr but probably the place is Sopur at the S W corner of the Wular lake The I O MS 236 seems to have Sopur It is also called Suyyapura and may be the Sur yapūr (recte Suyyapura) mentioned in the T A quoted by Ross and Elias p 490 It is stated there that there was a palace of Zainu l 'Abi d n in Suryapur A Satpur is men tioned in J II 364 Perhaps this is Sopūr Haidar M s Bagh Safā was as we learn from the T A in An darkot which is the old Jayapura Stein p 197 Akbar would pass this place on his way to Sopur The T A and Ferishta tell us that Haidar M 's building in the Bāgh Safa was burnt by the rebellious Kashmīrīs Apparently what Haidar said when it was burnt was I did not bring this building from Kashghar, and so by God s help I shall be able to rebuild it Andarkot seems also to be called Andarkul the one word meaning the Inner Fort and the other 'Within the lake and this is the position of Andarkot. See Mr Growse s Architecture of Kash mir *C Review* January 1872 p 29 He spells the name Antar kot from *abhyantara kotta*

[3] This must be the isolated hill Aha Tung of Bates s Gazetteer S W Manasbal lake and close to Sambal It rises about 1 000 ft above the plain (actual height 6 290) and is visible from many distant parts of the valley See Stein II 422

[4] This is on the Barahmula-Srī nagar road and is two days journey from the latter It is not on the Jhelam (Veth) and I do not understand how Akbar got near it by boat unless he went by a canal He was travelling in the rainy season Mr Growse says that Patan or the Pass stands at the head of a small canal and that this passage is only navi gable in the height of the rains Patan is now only a large village but is remarkable for two temples See Stein s papers 199 200 Growse and Lawrence 175 I presume that by the word *shahr* A F means Srī nagar but possibly Patan is meant for it seems strange that they should have been sent back with presents to Srīnagar when Akbar might have made his donations when he was passing through the city Perhaps however they were sent to look after Azdu-d-daulah

[5] There is a variant here and per-

on by land On this day he sent the Mulīku sh sh'ara S Faizi, and Mir Sharīf Amuli to the city with a large sum of money in order that they might distribute it to the emancipated ones who had chosen retirement and those who were silently needy, and to others who wished for help

One of the occurrences was the coming of Y'aqūb K Kashmiri to the sublime court He had suffered the retribution of his presumption and rebelliousness, and was spending his time in consternation among the defiles of Kishtwāra [1] He had been greatly alarmed by the arrival of the great army, thinking that the landholders (of Kishtwāra) might seize him and deliver him up Some of his bewilderment was removed when his brother came and announced to him the good news of pardon, and he betook himself to submissiveness He saw no salvation for himself except by coming to pay his respects But as he was greatly disturbed on account of his previous conduct, he presented a petition through M Yūsuf K "On account of the intoxication of youth, and intimacy with wicked men, what had occurred, had occurred Now the whirlpool of repentance had taken possession of him His prayer now was that H M would send him his special slipper so that he might place it on the crown of his head and prostrate himself at the holy threshold" The gracious sovereign accepted his apology, and granted him his desire The distressed one hastily came on receipt of this kindness On 18 Amardād, the desire of his soul was gratified

After three (days) halts, H M resumed his march He travelled 3¼ *kos*, 60 poles, and encamped near Naupāra [2] In that country there are porters who carry immense burdens, and traverse hills, as if they were plains These men transported much baggage It was

---

haps the meaning of it is that Akbar disembarked and made arrangements for journeying by land without actually doing so

It was on the *wudur* or table land near Patan that Abu l Māali was defeated by Ghāzī Cak in the fifth year of Akbar s reign A N II 102

[1] Kishtwār town is called Kastawār by the Kashmīrīs (Bates)

[2] I have not found the place There is a village called Nagpathar w Patan but it is too near the latter place Perhaps it is the Nūrpūr between Barahmula and Patan mentioned in A N II 102 Or it may be the Tapor of the maps for in Persian writing n and t only differ by a dot

a wonderful sight H M set out next day at dawn, and having travelled 2 *kos*, 20 poles he encamped at Bārahmula This is the gate of Kashmir On one side there is a sky touching hill, and on the other the Bihat tumultously rushes towards India Between the two there is a narrow path Since a long time, the rulers have made a gate[1] there, and the guards admit no one without a passport On this day Zain K. Koka arrived from Pakli and did homage H M sent him forward in order that he might make strong a bridge over the Indus The army was divided into eight portions Some special troops were told off to follow the royal stirrup The other seven[2] were arranged according to the watch of each day, and all the zealous men were put in charge of them so that each division might have its round of service On the 23rd H M left the Bihat, and encamped after travelling ¾ of a *kos*, plus 20 poles On this day Mir 'Ārif[3] Ardabili did homage He had a large share of intelligence, and was also distinguished for his austerities Some years ago, he had, on account of the chatter of the envious, hurried off from Lahore to Kashmir 'Ali K the ruler had treated him with respect, and made him his son in law Envious people represented that he was aiming at sovereignty, and was plotting to cut off the ruler when the latter 558
should come to visit him The Mir on account of men's improper behavour, and his ill luck fled at night to the wilds He was caught on the road, brought in and abused Thence he went to Tibet 'Ali Rai[4] the ruler there gave him his sister in marriage When the ambassadors went off to Tibet, an order was given that they should bring the Mir As he had secretly a desire for discipleship, he eagerly set off, although the ruler did not grant him leave, and his friends and allies terrified him He was received with princely favours After one day H M travelled 3 *kos* 20 bambus and halted near Khānpur[5] Here news was received that on the 24th Khwāja

[1] Dr Stein saw the remains of the Drāng or watch tower in 1892 Here apparently was the stone gate through which Hiuen Tsiang passed

[2] See B 257

[3] Badayūnī III 59 has a long notice of him He was a grandson of Ismaīl Safavī and so was styled Ardabilī It was Makhdumu l Mulk who drove him from Lahore

[4] Zād in text but the variant Rai seems preferable

[5] This can hardly be the Kanisapura or Kanpur of Growse p 28 for that is above Bārāhmūla There

Sandal[1] had died As this famous pigeon-fancier had fallen ill, he had been sent on before On the way he took the final journey

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Aẓdu-d-daulah He had been left behind in the city on account of illness Hakim[2] 'Ali did not treat him properly, and H M sent Hakim Hasan to cure him The latter reached the august camp, and it was made known that 'Azdu-d-daula had turned away his heart from this inn of 3-5 days' duration H M grieved at the departure of this memorial of former sages He often said that the Mir was his vakil, philosopher, physician, and astronomer, and that no one could understand the amount of his grief for him "Had he fallen into the hands of the Franks, and they had demanded all my treasures in exchange for him, I should gladly have entered upon such profitable traffic, and have bought that precious jewel cheap"[3] This bewildered one of the assembly of existence (A F) knows that he had completely plundered the caravan of learning's schools The meeting with this spiritually great man worked a revolution in my ideas Together with all this stock of knowledge, he was a rare jewel of truth and uprightness and practical skill An order was given that his body should be removed from the *khanqā*[4] of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadāni and conveyed to the top of the Koh i Sulaimān, which is a delightful spot

Next day he marched 4 *kos*, 60 poles, and alighted at the villag of Kānpalā[5] (?) It snowed for most of the way up to this place

is a Kānpūr marked on Stein's map a little below Barahmūla

[1] See B 302 where he is called Khwājah Çandal Cheleh See also A. N *infra*, p 559, from which it appears that his tomb was west of Barahmūla and near Māhipara

[2] Hakim 'Ali was a young man and according to Badayuni III 167 he prescribed *harīsa*, a thick pottage with fatal effects But in his history he says that Fath Ullah insisted on eating the pottage in spite of Hakim 'Ali's remonstrances See B 33 n.

[3] Is this a reminiscence of conversations with Acquaviva and an allusion to St Matthew xiii 46?

[4] Cf Badayūnī, Lowe 34 A picture of his shrine and its surroundings forms the frontispiece to Lawrence's work See also p 292 id, and Bates Gazetteer 361 Saiyid Ali is the great saint of the valley and is said to have been the chief agent in converting the inhabitants See J II 355 and n 4 and ed 392 and n 6 He belonged to the last quarter of the 14th century

[5] Probably the Kanelwār of Bates as there is the variant Kanela Kānelwar is the *tahsil* station of Dacinpāra

On each side there is a lofty mountain The one on the right, in returning, was bare of trees, the other was full of cypresses and pines, though the distance between these two peaks was very small At dawn he started again and marched 3¼ *kos*, 60 poles and halted near Pahūnār[1] a dependency of Dajan Khārū[2] In going from Bārahmūla up to the river Kishan Gang the country on the right hand is called Dajanpāra, and that on the left is called Khārū Next day he traversed Kūarmast[3] which is the most difficult pass on this route, and halted at the village of Māhīpara[4] He traversed 3½ *kos*, 89 poles 559
Sometimes he ascended from the depths up to the sky In going through the pass H M drew rein for a while at the grave (*turbat*) of Khwāja Sandal and mourned by throwing down[5] food as is the rule of pigeon-fanciers On this day people could not keep up with him, and so he was obliged to halt Meanwhile Mīr Abū-l qāsim Tamkīn[6]

---

[1] I think this must be Bhaniyār on right bank of Harpatkai river at its junction with the Jhelam It is east of Urī and is famous for its temple But it is on the left bank of the Jhelam

[2] Dajan دجن is a clerical error for Dacan and the compound word Dajankhārū appears to be a mistake for Dacan khāwar, i e right and left See J II 359, n 2, who says "On the Bihat river, below Barahmūla, the subdivision of Dachir lies to the north and that of Kāwar to the south of the stream Upon the meaning of Dacan or Daksina see Stein, J A S B for 1899 p 170, n

[3] The Kokararmast of Elphinstone s map I O MS 236 has Mast-Kūār Jahāngīr entered Kashmīr by the Pakhlī route in the 15th year of his reign and gives an itinerary He mentions Kuārmast or Kūārmat كورمت Tūzuk 294 and describes it as the hardest of all the passes on the road and also as the last on the way to Kashmīr After crossing it he came to the village of Waca* The next stage was the village of Baltār Stein, J A S B for 1899, Extra No 2, pp 82-87 should be consulted about the Pakhlī or Jhelam route

[4] It is Paipara in I O MS 236

[5] Such seems to be the meaning of the text which has بالقای آش *ba ilqāi āsh* But the reading is doubtful I O MS 236 has *ba adāī āsh-i-palk* and No 23 has *ashk* "tears", *palk* means the eyelids, and possibly the meaning is that Akbar shed tears But *pulk* means kidneys and perhaps *āsh pulk* may mean kidney soup All the MSS seem to have ad i and not *ilqāi*, and *adar* would agree better with weeping than *ilqāi* *Ashkī* "the weeper" was the name of one of Akbar s famous pigeons B 299

[6] So in text but Namakīn is the true reading It was a nickname given him because he presented

* Perhaps the final letter is a D and the place is the Datchī of the maps

came from Swād and did homage He brought with him Kālu Afghan, who had fled and had been at the bottom of the disturbance of the Yusufzai When the victorious troops surrounded that hill country, and the position of the recalcitrants became difficult, every section of them took refuge with one of the officers This evil-doer made the Mīr the means of his deliverance H M sent this man who was worthy of death to the school of the prison At dawn he resumed his march, and after travelling 4¼ *kos*, 26 poles through defiles he halted near Bulias [1] This is the end of the country of Kashmīr and the beginning of the territory of Mastang [2] This name is applied to the country from Buliās to the Kishen Gang S Ism'ail, in whose sanctity the Yusufzai tribe believe, and to whom they impute miracles, came and did homage Perhaps the sins of the tribe might be forgiven by his intercession! On this day a large sum was made over to Mīr 'Ārif Ardabīli in order that he might send it to the indigent in Tibet Hakīm Abu l fath suffered from diarrhoea and was in great pain H M cast the shadow of his graciousness over him, and comforted him Next morning he again marched and travelled four *kos*, passing through the Buliās pass and encamping near Naupara [3] The road was almost unparalleled for difficulty, narrowness, and heights and hollows On this day he went to the Hakīm's quarters and encouraged him Next day he travelled 4 *kos* 10 poles and encamped near Barka [4] (?) Sultān Husain [5] Pakliwal came forward with presents, and was received with favour On 1 Shahriywar, Divine month, 11 August 1589, he crossed the Kishen Gang by a bridge and after travelling 3¼ *kos*, 82 poles encamped near Sikri [6]

Akbar with a plate and cup made of of rock salt B 470

[1] The Pelissa of the maps Stein 86 calls it Bīliāsa and identifies it with the ancient Bolyāsaka It is six marches from Abbottabad See also Tūzuk 292

[2] Variant Pushang There are both a Pushang and a Mastang east of Qandahar J II 396 but neither can be the country here spoken of I O MS 236 appears to have Hainak here and Shahbang lower down B M Add MS 27 247 has سهسک Sahasak?

[3] Perhaps the Naoshera of Stein's map west of Bāliāsa and near Dojatta

[4] I O MS 236 Parka

[5] B 454 and 501 He was descended from Timur's Qārlaqs He is mentioned in the Tuzuk, p 290 When Jahangīr saw him (in 1619) he was 70 years old

[6] I O MS 236 Sankri Add 27,247 B M MS has Sikrī

It is a fine river with clear and wholesome and very cold water It rushes down from the foot of Tibet The country from this stream to the Pakli river (the Siran) is called Mastang[1] Up to this point H M had followed the river Bihat Next day a formidable pass, 3½ *kos* long, was traversed, and the encampment was made near the Nain Sukh[2] river This was not inferior to the previous river in the sweetness and wholesomeness of its waters Some thought it to be superior Qāsim K was sent on to look after the bridging of the Indus After one day H M passed the defiles of Batras[3] He travelled 5 *kos*, 30 poles and encamped near Gahi, a dependency of Pakli Here a plain became visible, and provisions after being very dear were now cheap Sultān Husain prayed that his house might be illuminated by the advent of H M and his request was graciously granted Next day 4½ *kos* 80 poles were traversed, and a halt was made near Dadhāl[4] Next day 3 *kos*, 90 poles were traversed, and the encampment was at Garhasa Shahrukh, the landowner of Damtur,[5] 560
came and did homage As the Ḥakim was in much pain, a halt was ordered On the night of 7th Shahriyar, Divine month, 18th August, 1589, that adorner of the garden of acuteness, farsighted, awakened-hearted, and wise brained one, expired He stepped aside from this place of trouble He retained his senses to the last, and the commotion of death did not terrify him How shall I describe the grief which the holy heart felt at this calamity! Though the grief of great and small may be comprehended, how can the state of that appreciative one of the banquet of enlightenment be understood! There were combined in the deceased loyalty, tact, benevolence, eloquence, good looks, dignity, God given gravity, innate kindness, and profound wisdom In accordance with orders, Khwaja

---

[1] Shahbang in I O MS 236

[2] Jahāngir Tuzuk 291, says it was Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who called this river Nain Sukh The delight of the eyes It is also known as the Kunhār See Panjab Gazetteer Hazāra district and Elliot VI 372 and I S VIII 365

[3] Sirās or Tirās in B M Add 26 247 Name omitted in I O MS 236 Perhaps it is the Batrassīgalī west of Garhi Habībullah of the Hazara Gazetteer, p 138

[4] Perhaps Dodyal 25 miles from Abbottabad

[5] B 524 and Tūzuk 290 Dautūr or Dhantūr the Dhamtaur of the map lies on the right bank of the Dor near Naushahrah It is some five miles east of Abbottabad

Shamsu d-dīn and a number of others conveyed his body to Hasan[1] Abdāl and committed it to earth under a dome which the Khwāja had made. I, Abul Fazl, the writer of the book of fortune, had thought that I had emerged from the thornbrake of restlessness and had chosen the pleasant abode of contentment and tranquillity. On that[2] day the veil was withdrawn, and I nearly fell into the turmoil of agitation. He (Abu-l-Fath) acquired eternal bliss and yielded up a borrowed life at the feet of his master I hope that all his servants, whether far or near, may surrender their brief lives in his presence The king of poets, S. Faizī, wrote an elegy about Azdu-d-daulah and the Hakīm I give some verses from it and so empty my heart.

(Here follow Faizī's verses, 200 lines. The five lines quoted by Badayūni, Lowe 382, are not among them Apparently Faizī wrote two poems, one about Fathullah only, and one about him and Abū l-Fath)

564 Next day he travelled 4¾ *kos*,[3] 8 poles—the road being very

[1] See Elliot VI 311 and note, which states that the tomb still exists

[2] The passage is obscure, but I think A F. means that the loss of his friend nearly deprived him of the power of self-restraint It withdrew the veil over action or conduct, i e laid bare his inmost feelings Cf the translation at p 660 of the Darbār Akbarī It has helped me to understand the passage Faizī's verses were evidently inserted at a subsequent recension of the Akbarnama for they do not occur in B M Add 27,247 There we have instead a few lines from Nizāmī In that MS, the date of Abdul Fath's death is given as 19 Shawāl, after two watches of the day had passed The corresponding A D date would be 21st August, 1589. In MS B M. 27,247 the wording of A F's reflections is somewhat different The words there are "*Ān rūz parda i-kār az rūī i ao tarkhāsta nazdīk būd ke ba khāristān-sūrat jasā khud kashān rafta*" "On that day the veil was removed, and I was nearly falling out with external things" A F.'s remark about Abul Fath's not being really a subject of regret is paralleled by the concluding lines of Faizī's ode This poem is finer than that on Kashmīr and shows real feeling In the first book of A F's letters, p 43 of the Newal Kishore edition, there is a letter of Akbar to Hakīm Hamām, telling him of his brother's death It is dated from the bank of the Indus, 28th Shawwal 997 (30th August, 1589) It gives the date of the death as the day of Murdād 7th Shahrīyūr 34th year (night of Thursday 19th Shawwal 997)

[3] The variant 88 poles is supported by I O MS 236 This omits the quarter *kos* and makes the stage 4½ *kos*, 88 poles

narrow and full of streams—and encamped at Dahakāri[1] Next day he started at dawn and travelled 3¾ *kos*, 80 poles and halted between Khorā[2] and Mānikzhāla, [3] which is a seat of the Dilazāks Next day he travelled 4¼ *kos* and halted near Sherkhān. Next morning he travelled 4 *kos* and halted near the Serai of Saiyid Pīr Sabz[4] Here M Yusuf K took leave and returned to Kashmīr Next day he passed Babā Hasan Abdāl and halted near the serai of Zainu d din 'Ali On that day he travelled 4¼ *kos* 50 poles Next morning he crossed the river Tarābardi,[5] and passed the serai of Bahādur and halted The march was 3¾ *kos* On 14th Shahryur, 24th August 1589, he travelled 4½ *kos* and encamped by the river Indus near Atak Benares From Srinagar to this place is 96 *kos*, 77 poles Here Zain K Koka, Qāsim K and Shahbāz K had the felicity of doing homage Next day Prince Sultān Murād came with the ladies[6] and did homage Rai Rai Singh and many others paid their respects On the 16th Sādiq K did homage He had according to orders hastened to the Presence He was sent off to chastise the Afghans and he came to Swāt by the pass of Malkand Shah Beg K, Shāhim K, Jānish Bahādur, Ahmad Beg, Takhta Beg, and other heroes joined him By the power of planning and courage, the Afghans were reduced to obedience, and Swād became somewhat populated At this time Mir Murād, in the exercise of his duties as sazāwal, 565

[1] Apparently it is Dastkarī in B M Add. MSS 27 247 Perhaps it is the Dhamuk of Elliot VI 308 n 3

[2] B.M MS 27 247 has Kahwār But khar seems the proper word

[3] Perhaps this is Mānikyāla famous for its Buddhist tope See I G IX It seems that it was first described by Mountstuart Elphinistone in his book on Kabul The text has *ke aur ang nishīn ast* Which is a capital But Mānikyāla apparently never was a capital and the reading of the two I O MSS agrees with the B M MS viz *Dilzāk nishīn* The Cawnpore ed has which is a remain of antiquity —*ke wa guzasht peshīn ast* If the place be really Manikyāla, Akbar must have gone a good deal out of his way for Manikyāla lies considerably to the east

[4] The text omits the words Pīr Sabz but the variant gives these and they occur in the I O MSS Perhaps it is the Sawajpeer of the map N of Hasan Abdāl

[5] Apparently the I O MSS have Ahmadī Perhaps however the Haroh is meant B M. MS 27 247 seems to have Hardo For the Haroh see I G

[6] They had been at Rohtās, and B M MS Add 27 247 states that they came from there

brought Shahbāz K to Atak Benares Sādiq K being apprehensive[1] that he would meet him, went off very quickly

[1] Sādiq K. and Shahbāz were on bad terms and so would avoid one another But there is some confusion in the account and there are variations in the MSS We are told here that Shahbāz was being brought by Mīr Murād to Attock But a little above it is mentioned that Shahbāz had the happiness of doing homage at Attock two days before Sadiq At p 547 we see that Shahbāz had been escorted to Swād by Mīr Murad I O. MS 235 and the Cawnpore ed. make Shahbāz go off quickly in order to avoid Sādiq The text and I O MS 236 make Sadiq go off quickly in order to avoid Shahbāz Perhaps the Shahbāz first mentioned was not Shahbāz Kambhū There was a Shahbāz K who was Collector of Rewārī, III 557 who apparently was not the Kambhū

Note

Paklī or Pakhlī is not mentioned in the I G It is called a Sarkar in the Āīn and is described at J II 390 This account is copied by Jahangīr Tūzuk 290, who entered Kashmīr by this route in the 14th year of his reign, 1619 20 See Elliot VI 367 73 According to Haidar Malik, it was he who suggested this route to the emperor, but it must have been well known to the Moghuls as Akbar used it twice Baron Hugel s statement that the Pakhlī route was not properly opened out till the 18th century Stein 83 n does not seem to be correct Paklī now forms part of the Hazara district and is frequently mentioned in the Hazāra Gazetteer It is watered by the Siran river It is also shown in the curious map of Kashmīr prepared by Captain Gentil and published in Vol III of Langles translation of Forster s Travels Paris 1802 Forster travelled by Baramulah when leaving Kashmīr in June July 1783 He must have followed Akbar s route for most of the way for he too came out at Attock but he did not go through Paklī on account of the evil reputation of the inhabitants He went by Jiddun which appears to be the Gudoon of the map and is to the south of Bunu Elphinstone I' 8 speaks of the Judoon tribe as holding Dhantour a narrow valley along the Door

CHAPTER CI.

Expedition to Afghanistan (Zābulistān)

As H M.'s holy design was to pacify that country and to cherish the old[1] proprietors, he on 19th Shahrīyār, 31st August 1589, crossed over by the bridge which had been constructed below Attock. He marched 28[2] bambus and halted near the Sarai of Khairābād. The elephant establishment, the park of Artillery, and the great camp were left in Attock Those who were wearied with the journey, and those who loved the shade, and their homes, expected that after such troublesome journies H M. would not go to Kabul, and that his only design was to hunt and recreate himself on the bank of the Indus. On this day Shahbāz K. obtained leave to go to Swād After three (days) halts he marched 3 kos, 25 bambus and halted near Elias-garha News came that Husain Paklīwal had fled When the imperial officers made some representations about the large revenues of that territory (*Pakli*) the clown fell into evil thoughts and went off to his home on the same day that the royal standards crossed the Indus. On this account H M. on the 23rd made over Pakli and its neighbourhood to Husain Beg S Ūmarī as his fief and sent him off there. By the might of fortune he prevailed over it, and that land-owner received his chastisement On the 27th when the camp was near Gorkhatra, Shāh Beg came from Swād, and on the way had the bliss of having an audience. At his request H M. visited Begrām which

[1] *Nau ākht ia bahārī būmīān* Bahari is properly bairī, and means old It has nothing to do with Babur or with the Baubur tribe of Elphinstone II 69 In B M MS Add 27,247 the motive given for visiting Kabul was to see the ancestral home

[2] B M. MS Add. 27,247 has 1¼ kos, 28 poles, and this is probably correct This MS has the advantage of always giving the Hijrī date as well as the Persian month and day Here it says that Akbar crossed over on the last day of Shawwal (997) (31st August, 1589) It also says that the bridge was placed above Attock The same MS, which is evidently from an earlier recension, gives the stages of the journey through the Khaibar

was in his fief An order was given to the writer that he should go there, and give presents to the hermits Thousands of needy persons
566 received their portions, and the treasure house of prayers was filled On 1st Mihr, 11th September, he traversed the Khaibar and halted at Daka Qasim had so improved the road, which camels and horses used to traverse with difficulty, that carts passed through easily On the 4th Karam Ullah came from Mâlwa and did homage near Khwāja Yaqut Sarai At the stage of Safed Sang the idea of travelling rapidly presented itself As the time of the autumnal[1] colouring of Kabul was approaching, he left the great camp under *the charge of Prince Murâd, to come on slowly,* and at the close[2] of the 8th, he urged on his steed At midday he rested near Bārik Āb On the way Hakim Hamām came from Turān, and prostrated himself In compassion for him H M said with his pearl dropping tongue "One brother has gone from the world for you, and for us, ten"

[3] *Verse*

From the point of eyesight one person is less
From the point of wisdom, more than thousands

When his heart had been consoled by the Shāhinshāh's help, the Hakim conveyed the praise and supplications of the ruler of Turan He (Abdullah)[4] represented that the taking of Herat and the conquest of Khurasan were due to the blessed influence of his devotion to

---

[1] This sentence appears in a simpler form in B M MS Add 27,247 There it is said that 'As the autumn of Kabul—which is equal to the spring of other countries—was at hand H M resolved to hasten on Cf J II 408 where A F speaks of the matchless beauty of the autumn in the Daman i Koh

[2] The B M MS above mentioned says Akbar started at the close of the day and travelled all night and up to the middle of next day The date given is 8th Mihr = Saturday 19th Zi l qada = 19th September On this occasion he travelled 13½ *kos* 40 bambus and reached Barik Āb Before he reached Jajdalak Hakīm Hamam met him having come on in advance of his companions on hearing of the death of his brother They remained in Kabul

[3] These lines are also quoted by Badayunī Lowe 383

[4] Abdullah conquered Khurāsān in 1589 His message is somewhat differently worded in Add 27 247 After meeting Hakim Hamam Akbar started again at midnight and travelled 10½ kos 46 bambus and reached Kabul on the day of Aban 10th Mihr = Monday 21st Zī l qāada

the world's lord He was sending *Ahmad 'Alī Atāliq*, who was one of his confidants, with gifts and compliments He and Mir Ṣadr Jahān were following On this day the villagers came in crowds to perform the *kornish* and gained their wish When half the night had passed, he renewed his journey, and on the 10th [1] he illuminated Kabul by his advent On the whole way, Turks and Tājiks came forward on both sides with presents and offerings On this day too Mir Sadr Jahan paid his respects From Attock Benares to Kabul is 92¾ *kos*, 41 poles, and they were traversed in 21 days and 18 marches He took up his quarters in the citadel and enjoyed the gardens and the plain He proclaimed benevolence to great and small, and every day, while he was in the city, a crowd partook of his bounty On the 15th Prince Murād arrived with the family and household At the end of the day he came down from the citadel and halted at the hall which had been erected near the Safed Sang At dawn, as it was a feast day, he indulged in some splendour, and there was a daily market of giving Ahmad 'Ali Ataliq had an audience, and presented the letter and the choice products of his country Hakim Hamām represented that on 16th Āzar of the previous year a wonderful thing had happened in Turan Up to the end of the evening there were such death cries of birds that even the loveless hearts of hunters were pained At dawn there were seen in every field near Bukhara, ducks, swans, geese, 567 storks etc, lying dead or wounded or with broken breasts and scattered feathers Likewise on the banks of Lake Kurāk many thousand animals were lying dead, and persons who came from the Oxus and its neighbourhood made similar reports Crowds of men with carts, camels and horses, carried off loads of them to their houses, and for six months ate their flesh, and supplied lamps with their fat The Turanian ambassador represented that 'Abdullah K had assembled able men and made enquiries As there was no ice or snow, they were unable to give any explanation Some said it appeared that an army of owls must have passed by Others suggested that it was a hunting animal called a Sadāiq [2] It was not improbable that such destruction of life had been caused by it It had no equal

[1] The T Akbarī has 22 Zī l-q aada (3rd October) A F has 10th Mihr (corresponding to 21st September)

[2] صداق Not in dictionary I O MSS have *badaiq* or padaiq Apparently a fabulous bird

among birds for strength They also mentioned that one of the birds was wearied out with flying and was panting A chief huntsman went up to it and bound it with a cuirass (*bandızarah*) When the bird had rested, it removed the bands and flew off, and disappeared from sight After a while the cuirass fell to the ground on the plain

On the 17th H M went to the Jahān Ārā garden, and he also had some sport in hunting Next day, at dawn, he went to see the houses of the Aimaqs Every one of them was gratified with money and goods

On the 21st he marched from the Safed Sang plain, and halted at Khwāja Hasan s garden, which was distinguished for space and *delightsomeness* M Sanjar, M Bāshi Shadmān, and other Hazara leaders, who seldom came to the city visited the court and by the favours conferred on them emerged from their shyness

One of the occurrences was the giving leave to Rajah Todar Mal to betake himself to the fields of freedom, and then his being recalled On this day a petition came from him to the effect that old age and sickness had prevailed over him, and that apparently he was near his end He prayed for permission to resign in order that he might go to the bank of the Ganges and spend his last breaths in remembering God H M in accordance with his request sent an order and expressed the hope that his spirit might obtain relief by this means Afterwards admonitions were sent to the effect that no worship of God was equal to the soothing of the oppressed and that it would be better for him to give up his idea (of retirement) and to spend his last breath in serving man, and to make that the provision for his final journey On the 25th Qāzi 'Abdu s Samıni came from Lahore and paid his respects On 2nd Ābān H M was weighed against twelve articles, and small and great obtained their desires Next day he went to the Shahr ārā garden and from there he went to the cemetery (*guzargah*) and visited the tomb of Firdus Makāni He also grieved over the tombs of M Hindal and M Halim who sleep near at hand He
568 ordered Qāsim K to make a beautiful garden there He rejoiced the inhabitants of that place by many gifts On the 9th he enjoyed the variegated hues of autumn at Mama Khātun and spent some time in enjoyment at the garden of Khwajagi Muhammad Husain

At night he reposed in the quarters of Khwaja Hasan Next day he enjoyed hare[1] hunting, and then returned

One occurrence was the arrival of Miriām Makānī As her desire to behold H M made her uneasy, she set off for Kashmir, and Gulbadan Begam and many other ladies accompanied her Hearing that H M had gone to Kabul, they followed him there In accordance with his excellent rule, he first sent Prince Daniel and some officers (to meet her) and afterwards Prince Murad, and finally the Prince Royal Sultan Salim

On the 13th he himself received her near Begram (the Kabul Begram) and on the same day conveyed them to special quarters There was a choice feast

One of the occurrences was the expedition of Burhan ul Mulk to the Deccan and his returning unsuccessful When the Shāhinshah's order reached Khān Ā'zim M Koka, he prepared to accompany Burhan with a chosen army As the latter had evil thoughts in his head he declined this He said that the Deccanis would not join him on account of his having a large force, and that the presence of an army would make an easy matter difficult Accordingly, he only took with him Caghatu K, Canda K, and a few others with 1000 horse and 300 musketeers He came to Birār by the route of Kāli Bhit He left Elichpūr on right and hastened on to Dānāpur Jahangir K thanadar and some others came to him with fawning words, but their companions did not do so, and gave battle There was a slight engagement Suddenly, a bullet reached Caghatai K and he was killed Canda was wounded and made prisoner Burhan received the retribution of his evil thoughts and returned unsuccessful to Mālwa

One occurrence was the birth[2] of Sultan Parviz On 19th Ābān after 9½ hours he was born in the apartment of Prince Selim by the daughter of Khwāja Hasan the paternal uncle of Zain Kokaltash There was great rejoicing

1 *Shikar i tushqān ramā* But the I O MSS show that the true reading is tūshqawal for which see Vol I 496 n 3 of translation of A N Rama is Zama in I O MS 236 and probably this is right, for Zama was a village N Kabul See A N I 597 n 2 (translation)

2 The birth took place in Kabul Cf Tārīk J 8 The mother's title was Sāḥib Jamāl (Mistress of Beauty)

(*Verse*)

569 The world's lord gave the above name to this bright sta
It is hoped that he will live and be exalted by being cherished by the Shahinshah

On the 25th Mulla Talib Mihtar Yari and M Beg came back from Tibet and had an audience They brought an envoy (*wakhshur*) from there together with presents

CHAPTER CII

Return of the August Standards of the Shāhinshah from Kabul

H M enjoyed h mself in Kabul and gave pleasure to small and great His idea was that the active young men should behold the spectacle of the falling of snow, and should tread the ice, and that the natives of India might enjoy this But as his might had confused the people of Turan, and had awakened them from the sleep of repose, he had compassion on them and resolved to go to India He marched on 4th [1] Āzar (November), and camped at Safed Sang On the way it appeared that a base fellow had dishonoured a peasant's daughter and so he was capitally punished Sharif K, [2] the son of M 'Abdu ṣ-Samad the calligrapher (*Shīrīnqalm*), had been in the plot with him, and was also punished This was a lesson to those who are apt to go astray On this day Qasim was appointed governor of Kabul On the 10th he encamped near Begrām It was reported to him that Raja Todar Mal had died on 28th Ābān (8th November, 1589) His life had passed in loyalty and pru

[1] The T A Elliot V 458 states that Akbar arrived in the city of Kabul on 22 Zīl q aada 997 (3rd October 1589) and that he stayed there two months It adds that he left on 8 Muḥarram but as this would make his stay only 1½ months 8 is probably a mistake for 20 which appears in the Newal Kishore ed 20th Muḥarram 998 corresponds to 19th November 1598 A F says Akbar left the city on 4th Āzar which corresponds to 14th or 15th November but on that day he only went to Safed Sang in the environs On the 10th Āzar or 21st November he went to Begrām

[2] Sharīf was a great friend of Jahāngīr s See B 517 and Price s Jahāngīr s Memoirs, 18 also the Tūzuk Rogers translation p 14 etc The story is more fully told in the Iqbālnāma which says that on the march a man came and complained that a camp follower had dishonoured his daughter An inquiry was held and the man was executed Sharīf who was the cause of the crime was beaten with the hand (?) and put in prison He became Amīr ul Umarā under Jahāngīr

(*Verse*)

569 The world's lord gave the above name to this bright sta
It is hoped that he will live and be exalted by being cherished by the Shahīnshah

On the 25th Mulla Talib-Mihtar Yārī and M Beg came back from Tibet and had an audience They brought an envoy (*wakhshūr*) from there together with presents

CHAPTER CII

Return of the August Standards of the Shāhīnshāh from Kabul

H M enjoyed himself in Kabul and gave pleasure to small and great His idea was that the active young men should behold the spectacle of the falling of snow, and should tread the ice, and that the natives of India might enjoy this But as his might had confused the people of Turan, and had awakened them from the sleep of repose, he had compassion on them and resolved to go to India He marched on 4th [1] Āzār (November), and camped at Safed Sang On the way it appeared that a base fellow had dishonoured a peasant's daughter and so he was capitally punished Sharif K, [2] the son of M 'Abdu ṣ Samad the calligrapher (*Shīrīnqalm*), had been in the plot with him and was also punished This was a lesson to those who are apt to go astray On this day Qāsim was appointed governor of Kabul On the 10th he encamped near Begrām It was reported to him that Raja Todar Mal had died on 28th Ābān (8th November, 1589) His life had passed in loyalty and pru

[1] The T A Elliot V 458 states that Akbar arrived in the city of Kabul on 22 Zīl q aada 997 (3rd October 1589) and that he stayed there two months It adds that he left on 8 Muḥarram but as this would make his stay only 1½ months, 8 is probably a mistake for 20 which appears in the Newal Kishore ed 20th Muḥarram 998 corresponds to 19th November 1598 A F says Akbar left the city on 4th Āzar which corresponds to 14th or 15th November but on that day he only went to Safed Sang in the environs On the 10th Āzar or 21st November he went to Begrām.

[2] Sharīf was a great friend of Jahāngīr's See B 517 and Price's Jahāngīr's Memoirs, 18 also the Tūzuk Rogers translation p 14 etc The story is more fully told in the Iqbālnāma which says that on the march a man came and complained that a camp follower had dishonoured his daughter An inquiry was held and the man was executed Sharīf who was the cause of the crime was beaten with the hand (?) and put in prison He became Amīr ul Umarā under Jahāngīr

dence When the order giving him leave arrived, he went towards Hardwar with a sound mind and a distressed body The order of recall reached him at the pond he had made near Lahore As he considered disobedience to H M displeasing to God, he returned, and died on the eleventh day (of Muharram) afterwards He was the unique of the Age for uprightness, straightforwardness, courage, knowledge of affairs, and the administration of India If he had not had bigotry, conventionalism, and spite (*kīnatozī*), and had not stuck [1] to his own opinions, he would have been one of the spiritually great A wound was given to disinterested work (by his death), and the market of business lost its briskness I grant that an honest man (*dī inatvar*) might be found, though he would be a fellow nestling with the phœnix (*'anqa*) but by what charm or talisman could he acquire the influence (*i timād*) which is so seldom given to mortals ? [2]

On the 13th the great tent was erected on the camp On the way there was ice on the ground, and H M trod upon it Many
570 active young men followed him As it appeared that there was little wood in front H M ordered that high and low should gather sticks All obeyed the order, and with excellent results [3]

On this day [4] the Khan Khānan (Bairām's son 'Abdu r Rahim) produced before the august Presence the Memoirs of Firdus Makani (Babur) which he had rendered into Persian out of the Turki, and received great praise

---

[1] *Bar guft i khud natanida* —Literally had not twisted things to his own speech

[2] A F s character of Todar Mal should be compared with B 32 note and 351 with the Maas ru l Umarā II 123 and the Darbar Akbari 519 The Maaṣir p 127 l c says Aurangzīb stated that he had heard from his father that Akbar admired Todar Mal s abilities but objected to his self confidence Shah Jahan also stated that A F disliked Todar Mal and tried to injure him Badayūnī s amusing verses about Todar Mal s death have been well translated by Mr Lowe, p 383

[3] It appears from Mrs Rijnhart s book on Tibet that it is a practice with the Tibetans to pick up fire wood on the march and put it into their gowns

[4] 13th Āẕar would be about 24th November 1589 or 25th Muharram 998. For a discussion of the question of who translated Bābur s Memoirs see Asiatic Quarterly July and October 1900 The Darbār Akbarī 642 ridicules the idea that Abdu r-Raḥīm personally translated the Memoirs

On the 15th, at Bārīk Āb, news came that Rajah Bhagwant Dās had died H M, from his being the sovereign of the social world, was somewhat grieved at this The Rajah had been at the cremation of Rajah Todar Mal, and when he returned to his house, he vomited and had an attack of strangury After five days he departed from this world on 3rd Āzar (13th or 14th November, 1589) He was endowed with uprightness, weight of counsel, and courage His son[1] Kuar Mān Singh received the title of Rajah and the rank of 5 000 It appears that H M had an intimation of the approaching ends of those two officers When he went on expeditions he (as a rule) did not leave more than two high officers in the capital, and he had arranged that Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Rajah Todar Mal should be in the capital of Lahore On the very day of the march, Qulij K was also sent off On this day the mystery[2] was made plain

One of the occurrences was the holding of a *qamargha* hunt in the plain of Arzana[3] (?) When the victorious standards reached Gandamak, the thought of the chase occurred to H M An order was given that the officers should arrange the stations Next day he passed from the Bagh Wafa and came to Kushkul (?) By the route of Pātāq he passed by the desert dwelling Arabs,[4] and to every one of them were money and goods distributed From there he came to the village of Bihār which was inhabited in the time of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni, and he ordered that it should be revived, and that a fort should be made there He gave it the name of Shahbāz (variant Sahā) On this day Shāh Beg K arrived from Swād and was graciously received On the 19th, N'iamat K died He had the title of Mullā Mir[5] and led a good life On account of

---

[1] That is the adopted son It appears from the Iqbālnāma that he was really Bhagwān s brother s son

[2] This refers to p 537 where we are told that Qulij K was put in charge of Lahore along with the two Rajahs This was contrary to the usual practice of only leaving two officers in charge and the change is attributed by A F to Akbar s premonition that they would die

[3] There are several names of places in this paragraph which I cannot identify Gandamak of course is well known

[4] The 'Arab (عرب) is mentioned as a wild tribe in Afghanistan J II 403

[5] B 542 He was a physician and belonged to Herat

his intelligence he held the high office of Bakawal Begi (superintendent of kitchen)

Also during this year Madhu Singh was sent off in order that he might assist Quliį K in administrative and financial matters Next day H M encamped near Walid (?) On the way he enjoyed himself in the Bāgh Safā garden Next day he halted Khwāja Shamsu d din was raised to the office of *Dīwan*, and so had new honour conferred on him All the officers were sent off in order that they might go to their stations and properly guard them On one side was Nimla,[1] and on the other side Daka,[2] which is
571 a distance of twelve *kos* And the beasts were driven from the mountains to the plain of Arzana When the enclosures (*jirgaha*) had been completed, H M, along with the princes and some intimates, enjoyed the pleasure of hunting on the 27th (Āzar = 6th or 7th December) The sport was excellently carried out On 1st Dai he reached Jalālābād On the way he visited the Lamghānāt He passed from the tūmān of Saudaur to Mas audābad

One of the occurrences was a supplication from Muḥammad Zamān When 'Abdullah K seized Kulab, Shahrukh's son, who was so called, was made prisoner, and died in confinement At this time a pretender (*dastanfaroshi*) gave himself out in Qaratagin as Muḥammad Zamān[3] He represented that Khwaja Kilān Khwaja, the son of Khwaja Juibāri,[4] out of kindness to the exalted family, saved him from those who hunted after his life Another youth had died

---

[1] Marked on the maps as Neemla east of Gandamak There is or was a garden here From Kuju we passed through the garden of Neemla to Gundamuk This royal garden was in good order, and we halted to admire it Cypress trees alternate with the chinar or plane all of them reaching to the height of 100 feet and, as the Persian verse has it holding each other by the hand and rivalling each other in beauty Burnes Cabool 1842 p 135 A Nimlah is mentioned B 57 as a place from which rice was obtained

[2] Apparently the hunting ground was north of the Kabul river That river would form one side of the enclosure and perhaps the Surkh Ab would be another

[3] See Badayuni Lowe 366 and B 313 390 The man was an impostor and ended by murdering Qāsim K See Maaṣiru l Umara III 65 and A N III 576 and 652

[4] The Juibārī Khwājas according to M Schefer form one of the two branches of the Khwājas See Ney Elias Khojas J A S B for 1897, Supplement

in his place In that hill-country a commotion arose, and Kūlāb and many other places became involved in it Mahmūd Sultan got ready an army and came to do battle, but was wounded and put to flight Allah Dād Beg and Nuram Beg were killed On the 2nd his petition arrived, accompanied by the heads (of the abovenamed two persons) After humble and supplicating expressions it stated that when he had been delivered from the place of danger by the goodness of the Khwāja Kilān Khwāja he had come to India, and had, after the manner of the liberated, brightened his forehead by prostration at the holy threshold As he had sworn to the Khwāja that he would not reveal his identity during the latter's lifetime, he had not told his adventures to H M, but had gone to the Hijāz Now he had come home and was making war on the Uzbegs, and was wielding the sword of the world's lord If H M. would help him, he could easily sit on his throne Though the story did not appear to the Shahinshāh to be true, he made the envoys hopeful and said, 'I have made a treaty of concord with the ruler of Turan, and my greatness does not allow of my fighting him, it will be better for you to come to court" He then dismissed the envoys with favours, and sent some money and goods along with them, and was the means of his (M Zaman) prosperity

On the 9th he encamped near Allah Baqā Qāzi 'Ali, who had been put in prison at the instigation of Rajah Todar Mal, was released Though he was unique[1] for honesty, yet he had failed on account of the high fortune of his enemies When his helplessness was made clear, H M showed him favour On the 12th he encamped at Bārik Āb at the Khwaja Yāqut Serai

An occurrence was the bestowal of the Vakilship on the Khān-khanan As ability and disinterestedness shone on his forehead, he was, on the 13th, raised to this post and Jaunpur was made his fief Gujarat was taken from him and given to the Khān A'zim,[2] from whom Malwa was taken and given to Shihābu-d dīn Ahmad On 57
the 15th a daughter was born in Lahore to Prince Salīm by the

[1] Put see Badayūnī Lowe 364 The Iqbālnama speaks of him under the 30th year and says he hailed from Mashhad B M M S Add 27,247 calls him Mullā Qutbū d dīn Jalgū

[2] Badayūnī says he spitefully laid Mālwa waste when it was taken from him

daughter of Darıya Malbhās[1] H M gave her the name of Daulat Nısa

One of the occurrences was that H M met with an accident and was hurt On the 18th the camp was at Daka, and while hunting, a hyena came in sight In that stony place H M rode after it His horse stumbled[2] (?) and he fell from his saddle, and his face struck the stones High and low received heart breaking wounds The lion-hearted one, by God's aid, summoned up strength, and bound up the wounds The spectators were nearly dying, but H M comforted them by encouraging words Ḥakım 'Alı of Gilan plastered the wounds with oil which he had got from Indian physicians, and on the same day there was an improvement The grandees were of opinion that he should stay where he was for some days but he wisely went on He was carried in a litter My elder brother S Abu Faizı made the following verse on the calamity —

(Here follow 22 lines of verse)

It was remarked that nine days before this, Naraın Mıṣr[3] had died in Attock, and Bhım Nāth in Jalālābad These two physicians were celebrated throughout India Casters of omens at court were delighted, regarding the fact as an evidence that H M would have
3 no more need of doctors On the 25th he recovered, and sat in the hall of audience He said that this accident produced a wonderful awakening, and that it occurred to him that if he was about to take the last journey, he was empty handed Every one's slumber is proportioned to his awakenedness A great nature—which is the substance of spiritual and temporal supremacy—is not content save with comprehending the Creator, and thinks itself empty handed, though in possession of the treasures of Verity In this way the pain

[1] There are various readings See *B* 477 n 2 *In* Price s Jahangır, 20 the lady s father is called Darya Komm and described as a powerful Rajah at the foot of the Lahore mountains The child only lived seven months

[2] *Basır shud* Perhaps became exhausted There is the variant *tand shud* i e galloped off *Bısır shud* means came to an end died Here it probably means ' fell on his head i e stumbled This is shown by the expression in the Iqbalnāma *Iskandarı khurda* i e tripped

[3] B 544 Text has Mıṣr but the word should be Mıshar and represents a Brahman family Bhīm is Pīm in text

of seeking after God receives its consummation, and the affliction is succeeded by eternal health On this day Qasim K received leave to go to Kabul, after receiving admirable counsels Takhta Beg received the fief of Ghaznin and was allowed leave

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Bunir The victorious soldiers went off to punish the Yusafzais, but on account of the strength of the country they could not get there At this time a petition of Shahbaz came from Swad On 1st Bahman (11th January, 1590) when there was no intention of fighting, H M appeared at dawn in a dream and directed an engagement Shahbaz obeyed and obtained a victory The country came into possession, and many of the illfated were slain 'Ali Muh Alif delivered up his short life in good service

On the 10th H M crossed the Indus by a bridge, and ordered the bakhshis to cross over the soldiers division by division (*cauki ba cauki*) Husain Beg S 'Umari came with presents from Pakli, and received favours On this day the writer of the book of fortune became somewhat deranged and fell into great grief News came that in Lahore on the 5th (Bahman = 15th January, 1590) the mistress of the auspicious lineage and the lady of the family of chastity, to wit, his loving mother, had departed from the unstable world to the heavenly realm

Verse

When my mother has gone beneath the earth,
If I throw dust (*khak*) on *my* head, what harm (*bak*) is there ?
I know that by this increase of tumult
Thou wilt not come whence thou hast gone
But what shall I do, for I am impatient
I deceive myself by a subterfuge
You ought to have packed up the goods of life and accompanied her on that journey Apparently owing to my imperfection such was not heaven's decree, and I had to remain bewildered in the stony tract of impatience

Verse

Hundreds of thousands of eyes were needed for my heart's anguish
That in solitude I might weep with each one of them

Where was the auspicious sentiment of styling as the "restoration of a deposit" the claim for the restitution of a present, and so not becoming mad at the act of God? yet I possessed, by the power of wisdom a magazine of advices, and I used to practise the distribution of consolation! The sympathetic sovereign cast the shadow of his favour over me, and these words issued from his pearl laden tongue "If (other) inhabitants of the world possessed the grace of permanency, and only one took the path of annihilation, there
74 would be no cure for intelligent friends in patience and resignation But since no one remains long in this inn why should one suffer the reproach of impatience' My heart was comforted by these cordial words,[1] and I undertook what was proper for the time

On the 22nd he encamped at the Sarai of Zainu d-din 'Ali, and spent two days in the pleasure of hunting Next day he halted at Hasan Abdāl He visited the grave of Abu l fath and gave vent to his grief On the 24th Khwājagi Muhammed Husain left from this station to go to Kabul On 2nd Isfandārmuz, near Kahuriya news came of the death of Rajah Gopal Jadun He had been appointed

---

[1] A F s father and presumably his mother also came to Lahore in May 1586 She belonged to a Qураysh family and apparently was a daughter or other near relative of Mīr Rafīu ud dīn Safavī of Ij Cf B XVI and J III 446 A F does not give her name Blochmann quotes Akbar s remark to A F and puts the original in a note probably because he did not feel quite certain of the meaning It is certainly an obscure sentence, the difficulty lying in the expression *jiz eke* B renders this 'only once which seems to give no meaning His translation which is evidently intended to be a free rendering is 'If the people of the world lived for ever and did not only once die kind friends would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and re... but no one lives long in the caravan serai of the world and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation I conceive the meaning to be If permanence were the general lot and your mother's death an exception then there would be no means of consoling you but since all must die why subject yourself to the reproach of impatience? The M aasir merely quotes the words II 610 and gives no explanation but I am glad to see that the author of the Darbar Akbarī p 470 takes the same view as I do of the *jiz eke* rendering it '*ek ke sawā* though he renders the next clause differently making it to mean 'even then the friends would have no remedy but resignation ' Possibly *jiz eke* should be *jiza ji* and the meaning be if a portion did not

to the charge of Ajmīr, and suddenly died in the city of Bīānā On the 9th H M came to Rohtās,[1] and it was reported to him that Masnad-i-'Āli Fath K had died in Oudh He was a very honest man As it was the rainy season, Miriam-Makani expressed the wish that H M would rest for some time in this fort He replied that honour did not allow that he should be in comfort, and the world in trouble On the 12th he enjoyed a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood On the 16th he crossed the Jhelam after making bridges in two places near Rasulpur On the 20th, while he was encamped near Hilan, he met with an accident, and the world was plunged into grief It was the turn of the elephant Malul[3] Rai On account of his bad disposition and of his being mast, H M mounted on a female elephant, and advanced[4] thereon Before he had put his foot into the kalāwa (the rope which forms the mahout's stirrup) the furious animal ran at the female The royal rider fell to the ground (threw himself off ?) Though the Divine Protector made the turbulent brute blind, and took him to the other side, yet the fall produced some insensibility in His Majesty

Verse

I went to the elephant to slay him with my sword
He said, "Hear first my excellent excuse
"I'm not the Earth-Ox that I can carry the world,
Nor the fourth heaven that I can draw the sun"

At the time none of the devoted followers was able to be present There was a wonderful exhibition of destiny. How could harm accrue to one who believed justly and walked wisely? There had been no impropriety that the thing could be considered as a retribution Nor had he trod the path of negligence so that this might be taken as an awakening message If the might of God be

[1] Text Rahnās

[2] The making of two bridges is referred to again at p 575 line 5 Hīlān is a ferry on the Jhelam See B 127 and note, and also 860

[3] Perhaps Malūl Rāi i e 'Sulky, is not the elephant's name, but refers to his disposition.

[4] *Bar farāz-i-ān barāmid* Perhaps this means, Came on to the neck of the female elephant It is supposed that no elephant however *mast*, will attack a f...

considered and the instances of former saints, this apparently difficult circumstance becomes easy It will become still easier if we consider with farseeing eyes the ups and downs of affairs In a short time, H M came to himself, and by the power of God he brought the steed of his fortune into the arena Though he had received wounds in the previous fall (that at Daka), this was more serious
15 Sedition-mongers spread improper reports, and many remote parganas were plundered [1] When he came to his camp, he was in great pain Physicians assembled, and held a consultation He did not approve of any of their remedies, and said, "Apparently, it will be good to let blood" Skilful men opened the vein of his arm, and, immediately, he obtained relief Out of wisdom he did not halt, but crossed the Cinab by the two bridges at the passage of Bani Kābin Next morning he recovered, and went on by elephant Next day he was attacked on the road by a pain in his abdomen, and for a time his servants were distressed He soon got well On the 25th near Amnabād, Qulij K and Mādhū Singh did homage From the day that he crossed the Cināb, every day crowds of servants came and paid their respects At this stage many had this bliss On the 29th at two *kos* from Lahore he held an elephant review To every one of them he gave something to eat When the turn of one of them came, he said that it appeared that the driver was a slave [2] He (the driver) did not admit the fact The elephant refrained from eating When an inquiry was made, and the driver admitted the fact, the beast resumed its eating

[1] The Rājputs made a disturbance See Maaşir II 607, second last line, and A. N III 577

[2] *Ghulam* Possibly the meaning is that his name was *Ghulām* The elephant was ashamed at his driver's telling a lie!

CHAPTER CIII

Beginning of the 35th year from the Accession, to wit, the year Bahman of the Third Cycle

In that delightful plain, where he had the design of entering the city and was looking for the chosen hour, the drums of the New Year beat high, and a new joy filled the brain of the Age Spring came with exultant face, and brought news of the happiness of the State Though the officers were sent off to adorn the reception-hall in the city, yet that pleasant plain was also decked out

(*Verse*)

On the night of Wednesday, 14th Jamāda-al awwal 998 (10th or 11th March 1590), after 10 hours and 57 minutes, the Lord of Lights cast his rays on the Sign Aries, and the eleventh year of the third cycle began The world's lord gave a higher rank to justice and liberality, and the face of joy assumed new splendour On 2nd Farwardin he entered the city From Kabul to Lahore he traversed 196 *kos*, 28 poles, in four months less by two days, and in 53
marches The whole expedition lasted 10 months, 14 days He 5'
sat on his throne, and prosperity unveiled her countenance A new day was added to the New Year's day, and a new Spring to the Spring Every day, a grandee presided at a feast, and there was various joy On the 10th M Yusuf came from Kashmir, and paid his respects

One of the occurrences was that Muhammad Zaman gained a victory over 'Abdu l Mumin Sultan, the son of the ruler of Turān As he claimed to be the son of M Shahrukh, and regarded himself as one of the loyal servants of the court, he soon gathered together a number of men He defeated[1] many of the Uzbegs 'Abdu l-Mu

[1] It seems to me that the text is wrongly pointed According to it the meaning is that many Uzbegs joined M Zamān to defeat Abdu l Mumin

min marched out to fight with him, and sent on ahead 'Abbās Sultan, Dastam Be, and Hamid Qarāwal and others They crossed the Amu and made a stockade at Jargan Kulāb They thought that the strength of the defiles would be their protection M Zamān engaged this advance force and defeated it In the pursuit, he got near 'Abdu l Mumin, and he was nearly being caught He escaped by the help of well-wishers

At this time the peshkash (presents) of Rajah Mān Singh arrived When he was sent from the court to the province of Bihar, he united ability with courage, and genius with strenuous action By H M's fortune he administered the province excellently The refractory became obedient Pūran Mal of Gidhaui embarked upon presumption and self will The Rajah hastened to his dwelling, and obtained much plunder Puran Mal could not preserve the fort which he had regarded as his protection in the day of calamity The turbulence of his intoxication ended in the lassitude of crop sickness He had resort to entreaties, and asked for protection He produced[1] noted elephants and choice goods and uttered thanks givings He gave his daughter in marriage to the Rajah's brother Candra Bhān From there he proceeded to attack Rajah Singrām He submitted and came forward in a proper manner, and presented elephants and rarities The Rajah returned to Patna, and from there made an expedition against Anant[2] Ceruh (?) He obtained much plunder At this time his son Jagat Singh did good service He was keeping watch and ward in the town of Bihar Suddenly Sulṭān Qulī Qalmaq and Kackena the wicked, who were among the ingrates of Bengal, stretched out the arm of strife They went by Ghorāghāt and plundered Tājpur and Purnea From there they came to Darbhangā Farrukh[3] K failed in courage, and came to Patna Jagat Singh s happy star made him offer battle, and Farrukh and the other fief holders took courage and accompanied him When they came within seven *kos* of Hājipūr the enemy did not see
577 in themselves the strength to fight, and fled Jagat Singh pursued

[1] As pointed out by B Mān Singh s exploits are recorded by Stewart See his Hist of Bengal ed. 1813 pp 180 91 Stewart speaks of Jagat Singh s going to Jessore, I know not on what authority Apparently it is a mistake for Tājpūr

[2] The *Maasir* II 162 has Ranpat Cerūh

[3] B 480 He was a Khān Kilan

them, and their collections fell into his hands The Rajah sent the valuable parts of the plunder and 54 elephants to court They were produced before H.M. on the 23rd (Farwardin)

On the 26th[1] Padre Firmiliūn came to court from the port of Goa Owing to H M's appreciativeness, he received high honour.

1 26th Farwardīn 998 corresponds to about 6th April, 1590 I believe the Padre in question to be Leon Grimon who was a sub-deacon of the Greek Church Perhaps A F wrote قرمليون Qarmiliyūn and the Q has been changed into an F The mention of the Padre s being employed to translate Greek books seems to point to his being a Greek, and we know from Du Jarric III 147 that Grimon was of that nation Du Jarric adds that he was skilled in Persian and Turkish The passage has been translated in Elliot VI. 85 See also General Maclagan s paper on Jesuit Missions to Akbar, A S B J for 1896 p 42 The mention of China goods may also point to Leo Grimon, for he seems to have come from China He was long at Akbar s court and married in Agra or Lahore He accompanied Benedict Goes in February, 1603 as far as Kabul, if not to Yārkand. Maclagan quotes Yule as saying that Grimon returned from Kabul but Du Jarric says he went as far as Yārkand The question however of who Padre Firmiliūn was is not free from doubt A.F speaks in text of his coming from Goa, but it would appear from the Father Provincial s letter that Grimon did not come from Goa in the first instance It speaks of Grimon s turning aside to the Mogul s court while returning to Goa from the court. Moreover one would not expect a sub deacon to be called a Padre, and Farmiliūn is not a very likely corruption of Leo Grimon The name really resembles more that of Edward Leioton, Maclagan, p 6 But then Leioton did not come to Lahore till 1591 and Padre Firmiliūn s visit was in April 1950 Moreover, Leioton was accompanied by another father, and we should expect him to be also named by A F Possibly, A F has mixed up the two men Leioton and Grimon I am inclined to think that the visit in question was Grimon s second visit He was Akbar s envoy to Goa and may have returned from there early in 1590, and alone, or at least before Fathers Leioton and Du Vega arrived Unfortunately neither Akbar s *parwāna*, or safe-conduct to Grimon, nor his letter to the Fathers contains the year of writing The letter only says, " At the commencement of the moon of June The safe-conduct speaks of the Khan Khānān s having been directed to look after the safety of the Fathers This must refer to the time when the Khān-Khhanān was in charge of Gujarat, but we know that he, i e 'Abdu r Rahīm, the son of Bairām was with Akbar near Kabul about the end of November, 1589, and that on the 12th D

He possessed abundance of sense and knowledge. H.M. made over some quick-witted and intellectual persons to be instructed by him in order that the translation of Greek books might be carried out. Varieties of knowledge were acquired. Also a large number of Firinghis and Armenians arrived and brought with them China cloths and other goods of that country. Some time was spent in admiring them.

One of the occurrences was the disturbance of Paklī. A pretor named Hindāl crudely assumed the title of Sulṭān Naṣir, and was joined by some wicked men. Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī's men did not behave courageously, and so Hindāl took possession of Paklī. H.M. on the 28th ordered Ḥusain to march with many Aimāqs of Badakhshān. In a short time he inflicted punishment (on Hindāl). On 1 Ardibihisht Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram was sent to Mewāt. When H.M. fell from the elephant, some Shaikawatī Rājpūts indulged in evil thoughts, and though their leaders were gathering bliss in H.M.'s service, they plundered Birāth,[1] while a party of them oppressed Rewārī. Shahbāz[2] K. the collector of that territory behaved in a cowardly manner, and went off to Kūl (Allyghar). Dīala[3] (?) rose up to plunder, near Mirthi. On hearing this, Shāh Qulī was sent

On that day the charge of Gujarat was transferred to 'Aziz Koka though the latter does not appear to have gone to Gujarat (see A. N. III 593) till June 1590, and Rai Rai Singh, if he be the Captain Raizza, did not go to Bikanir till 1590. The Provincial's letter is loosely written. Writing in November, 1590, he says it is now nearly nine years since Akbar summoned to his court some Fathers, including Father Acquaviva. But Akbar's embassy reached Goa in 1579, and his letter must have been written earlier, so that in November 1590 more than eleven years had elapsed. Then too the Provincial apparently speaks of enclosing a copy of the letter to the Viceroy, whereas what we have, Maclagan 61, is a letter to the Fathers. I note here that n. 3, of Maclagan, p. 63, stating that Akbar returned to Lahore in October 1590, is incorrect. He returned from Kashmir and Kabul early in 1590 and entered Lahore city on the day after New Year, viz. 2nd Farwardin 998 = 12th March, 1590. See Noer's Akbar, translation II. 220.

[1] In Alwār, the Birāt or Parāt of J. II, 191. The Iqbālnāma calls it Birāt and says it has a copper mine.

[2] Presumably not Shahbāz K. Kambhū.

[3] The Iqbālnāma, apparently, calls him Dīpaya, and says he was related to Nāẓir Daulat.

there to chastise the evil doers In a short time the thorn of sedition was uprooted, and the world pacified On the 9th Ghaznīn K received favour, and was given Jālaur From the time that he showed recalcitrancy, the Khan-Khānan gave his home to another fiefholder After some time he came to court, and always waited upon H M As repentance was read on his forehead, H.M restored his old home to him [1]

On the 20th the lunar weighment took place H M was weighed against eight articles, and the needy were gratified On 2nd Khurdād Zain K Koka was exalted by being made the guardian of Prince Parvīz That new fruit of the garden of dominion was sent to his house [2]

On the 4th a great boon was granted by H M, and numbers of men were comforted On account of the extent of cultivation, and the goodness of the administration, prices fell very low, and many cultivators were unable to pay the government revenue In the provinces of Allahābād, Agra, Oudh, Delhi, and the Sarkars of Saha 57
ranpur and Budāon, one eighth was remitted, and in Sarkars Sirhind and Ḥiṣār one-tenth In the Khalsa (exchequer or crown lands) this came to 7 krors, 97 lakhs, 81,800 *dāms* On the 5th a girl [3] was born to Prince Daniel by the daughter of Sultān Khwaja It is to be hoped that she will become a great lady of the age, and that her advent may increase auspiciousness On the 10th, Pakli was given to the old proprietor [4] A long time ago, he had come with his family to court, and had felt ashamed of his former misconduct At this time news came that Husain [5] Beg had on account of ignorance entered the mountain defiles, and that the wicked Hindāl had prevailed against him H M meditated sending another force under the

[1] See B 493 and 622 and A N III 472 He had behaved badly when the Khān Khānān was marching to Gujarāt His son Pahār was executed by Jahangir for matricide *Tuzuk* translation I 353, and also Errata do p 453

[2] The Iqbalnāma says the prince was made over to Zain K s mother who had been Akbar s nurse Parvīz s mother was Zain K s cousin

[3] The name of this daughter is not given A sister was born in the 37th year and called Saīda Banū Begam Altogether Daniel had four daughters, A N III 837

[4] This is Sultan Husain

[5] This is Husain Beg S Umarī He was afterwards cruelly put to death by Jahāngīr

charge of a qualified person. At this time Prince Selīm begged for Husain's[1] forgiveness and H.M. granted his request. He having gained his object, went home. On the 14th, Dhārū s. Rajah Todar Mal came from Jaunpūr and had an audience, and presented his father's servants. They were suitably rewarded.

On the 28th the envoy of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin Sultan was drowned. In crossing the Jehlam his boat sank in a whirlpool. Though the letter was not read, some persons represented that in the intoxication of youth he had demanded the Badakhshan Aimāqs who had gone to court. Apparently[2] the celestial managers were guiding that infatuated one. Also on this day Khwājagi Muh. Husain and Khwāja 'Abdu-s-Samad Kāshī came from Kabul, and had the joy of performing kornish.

One of the occurrences was the fall of rain at the wish of H. M For some days there had been no rain, and the feeble-hearted were distressed One of his intimates represented that if a request were made of the Almighty, it would be very proper. H. M replied that the Creator well knew what was good for his servants, and added some

[1] The Sultan Husain of Pāklī

[2] Akbar refers to this in his letter to 'Abdullah, *infra*, p 706 A note to the Newal Kishore ed of A F s letters says that Akbar had the messenger drowned because the letter asked for Akbar s daughter in marriage Neither A F nor the Iqbal nāma says this, but the latter while stating that 'Abdu l Mūmin demanded the surrender of the Aimāqs who had fled, with their families, to Akbar on account of 'Abdu l Mūmin's tyranny (Akbar had sent them to Pakli with Husain S. Umar), adds that the letter contained other improper things, and that perhaps the drowning was in accordance with an intimation from Akbar and was just I am not sure if the author means to suggest that Akbar had the messenger drowned, or that it was a miraculous intervention in accordance with the secret desire of Akbar Probably it was an act of insolence for 'Abdu l-Mūmin to write direct to Akbar, instead of through his father See also *infra* 583 last paragraph Yet Akbar received an embassy from Khuda banda the Governor of Khurāsān during Tahmāsp's lifetime B M MS 27 257 gives an abstract of a letter of Akbar's to 'Abdullah in which he says that his court was the asylum of the world, and that he could not surrender any one who took shelter there As for the proposal of marriage story, it is not likely that 'Abdu-l Mūmin would make it in a letter in which he was asking for the return of fugitives Probably the other improper things referred to in the Iqbālnama were complaints of Akbar's supporting M Zaman

words which bore[1] the character of knowledge The other repeated his entreaties, and increased his wishes H M accepted his prayer and on 3 Tir engaged in prayer In a short time there was a downpour, and the world was refreshed

On the 8th (June 1590) the Khān A'ẓim M Koka came to Ahmadabād At the end of last year Gujarāt had been taken from the Khān-Khānān and given to him He, thinking that Mālwa might be better delayed to go there and petitioned the court When he came to his senses he went off there, and made proper arrangements

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the crooked Kashmīrīs On the 16th, Husain, Muhammad, Abuzaid Ghāzī, Lohan Cak, Husain Dev fled from the court with evil intentions They went by Jammu to the hill country and took refuge with 'Alī Rina Before they had taken any other steps, the Kashmīr officers seized them, and executed[2] them in the city (Srinagar) It was a source of instruction to foolish thinkers At this time Qāẓī[3] 'Alī was made Naẓir Biyutāt Though Ṣadiq was a skilful major dorno (Mīr Saman), and Khwāja Ghiaṣu d dīn[4] Beg was dīwān, yet as in every department there was much income and expenditure, the more help there was, the better for the work On this account that skilful and honest man was appointed to this duty As there was incompatibility between Qulij and Sādiq K, an order was given that Qulij K should not *interfere in the work of the Biyutat*

One of the occurrences was the fall of rain at the request of the Shahinshāh Astronomers had represented that on the 23rd[5] there

---

[1] The text has a negative *bar natabīd* but this is surely wrong

[2] Add 27,247 says 16 Tīr = Sunday 4 Ramaẓān This would be 27th June 1590 It adds that the execution took place in Srīnagar and by Akbar's orders and that the heads were sent to court There were four men executed

[3] This is Qāẓī Alī Bagdādī the settlement officer of Kashmīr

[4] B 508 He was father of Nur Jahān and is better known as Itimādu d daula

[5] 23 Amardad = 1st or 2nd August 1590 The date however is doubtful There is the variant 28th and I O MS has *hashtam*, 8th This looks more likely to be correct as shortly below we have the 13th mentioned But *hashtam* is written very like *bistam*, and perhaps this is the true date as L Art de verifier les dates says there was an annular eclipse of the sun on 31st July, 1590 The account of the affair is differently worded in Add 27 247 It is there said that some days previously Akbar

would be a total eclipse of the sun The skilled scientists of India said that if there were rain seven days before or after, no harm would occur from the eclipse Though they tried, they were unsuccessful (in producing rain) They were ashamed and retired When the time arrived, H M applied himself to supplications to the Incomparable Deity In a moment (?) clouds gathered and there was rain until that hour passed away A world was amazed H M said "The Almighty has accepted the petition of this suppliant, and has cast a veil over the boastful astronomers If their statement had been true, the darkness would have increased "

On the 13th Sharif came from Mālwa, and did homage

One occurrence was the marriage of 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Inasmuch as H M exalts the writer by varied favours, he wished that his son—who showed quickness and reverence—should be married to one of the good court families On the 28th he was united to the niece (brother's daughter) of S'aadat Yārkoka who was distinguished for her chastity There was a joyous time I hope that God will open the springs of bounty, and that there will be increase of seed [1] together with auspiciousness and prosperity On the 30th Qāsim 'Ali came from Khairābad, and had an audience

One[2] of the occurrences was the return of the victorious soldiers from Orissa after making a peace there When the province of Bihār had been settled by the ability of Rajah Mān Singh, and the refactory had been reduced to obedience, he at the close of the previous year set before himself the conquest of Orissa by the route of Jhārkhand He halted near Bhāgalpūr, and made proposals to S'aīd K, the Governor of Bengal, and asked him to accompany him
580 He, on account of the near approach of the rains, referred the matter to another time The Rajah, who understood his business, set out

---

said it would be good if rain came at the time of the eclipse, and hid it So A F was ordered to assemble the Brahmans and see if they could bring about the rain They could do nothing Half an hour before the eclipse, clouds gathered Akbar remarked that perhaps this occurred in order to save the astronomers credit as in spite of the clouds the sun was still bright Apparently this alludes to the fact that the eclipse was not total, and the darkness not complete This MS does not give any date for the eclipse

[1] Abdu r Rahman was then 20 He had a son, Bishotan, by S'aādat Yār s niece

[2] This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI 8)

in the beginning of this year by the route of Bardwan Pal ar K, Bābū i Mankali, Rai Patr Dās joined him from Bengal with the artillery They encamped in Jahānābād [1] The idea was that when the rains ceased, S'aīd, Makhṣuṣ and the landholders would join Qutlu, who was raising the head of presumption in Orissa, came to Dharpūr 25 kos from the army, and prepared for battle He sent Bahādur Kūruh with a large force to Raipur [2] The Rajah sent an army under Jagat Singh, and the worthless Bahādur Kurūh took refuge in a fort, and had recourse to cajolery By devilish tricks he lulled the inexperienced youth into carelessness, and then asked for help from Qutlu On 10th Khurdād, while Jagat was slumbering from the effects of wine the wicked Qutlu suddenly fell upon him with a large force and prevailed over him Qutlu sent Jalāl and many brave men under the command of 'Umar, the brother's son of Mīru, and son of Kāsu, and Khwāja 'Isā Vakil Though the landholder Hamīr warned Jagat of Bahādur's craft and of the dispatch of an army to his assistance, he did not accept the news After thousands of efforts he sent (was induced to send) some scouts The enemy entered a forest, and having left their tents and baggage there they hastened on by hidden ways The short sighted men who had gone ahead represented that the enemy had encamped, and so increased Jagat's carelessness At the end of the day the enemy arrived Owing to the breaking of the thread of deliberation and arrangement, most of the men fled without fighting A few stood their ground and fought Bika Rāhtor, Mohesh Das, Naru Caran bravely sacrificed their lives Though the imperial army was defeated, yet 'Umar K, Mīrū, and the sons of Humayūn Quli with some of their relations were killed Hamir brought away that infatuated young man and took him to his quarters at Bishanpur [3] A report arose that he was killed The Rajah held a council, and considered how to remedy matters Most gave it as their opinion that it was proper to return to Selimābad, where the families of the soldiers were, and there to prepare for battle Mān Singh replied that to retreat was to encourage the enemy and to give up the undertaking He called

[1] In Hūgli district on the Dhāl kislor

[2] Perhaps the Raipūr of J II 112 in the Sarkār of Jalesar It is described as having a strong fort

[3] In the Baukura district

for equipments and resolved upon fighting At this time the fortune of the Shāhinshāh declared itself After ten days Qutlu died He was ill, and the cup of his life soon ran over Khwāja Īsā made his young son Naṣir the chief, and the success of the Afghans somewhat declined They had recourse to flatteries and cajolery, and sought for peace The army accepted their overtures on account of distress of mind and the heavy rains An agreement was made that the khutba and coinage should be in the name of the Shāhinshāh,
81 and that the Afghans would be obedient and serviceable Also that Jagannāth, which is a famous temple, and its environs should be made crown land, and that no harm would happen to the loyal zamindārs Out of opportunism and fraud they subscribed to all this (khaṭ sipardand) On 4 Shahriyār Khwāja Īsā brought Qutlu's son to the Rajah and presented 150 elephants and other choice articles Mān Singh encouraged him and returned to Behar

On the 23rd M Yusuf K got leave to return to Kashmir H M went as far as the first stage and imparted various counsels to him

On the 3rd Zain Koka was sent to the northern mountains As the landholders there, on account of the strength of their country, and their littleness of understanding, were becoming recalcitrant that good officer was sent off with a large force On 20 Mihi Tardi K came from his fief, and had an audience On the 23rd Mir after 3 hours, 13 minutes, a daughter was born to Prince Selim by the daughter of Kishu[1] Rāhtor H M called her Bihār Bānu On the same night a daughter was born to the Prince by the Mota Rajah's daughter H M gave her the name of Begam[2] Sultan

One of the occurrences was the departure of Miriam Makāni (Akbar's mother) for Fathpūr[3] (Sikri) She had travelled rapidly and unencumbered (jarida) from a desire to behold the Shāhinshāh, and had thought that he would soon be returning (to Agra) When

---

[1] See Price's Jahangir 20 The child only lived two months Her mother is there called Bibi Karnutty

[2] Died in twelve months Her mother was Jagat Gosain i e Jodh Bāi

[3] Akbar was then at Lahore. His mother had left Fathpūr some months previously to see her son and also in hopes of seeing Kashmir Gulbadan Begum was with her But hearing that her son was marching to Kabul she went there and they met at Begrām (in Afghanistan) Akbarnāma III 568 No doubt she accompanied him to Lahore

this idea was frustrated, she took leave on the 24th (Mihr = about 10 October, 1589) to look after her household affairs On the 28th H M travelled the first stage out of respects to her, and having spent the night there he took leave next day The prince-royal was directed to accompany her for several stages On 2 Ābān 'Ārif the son of Sharif K was killed in Agra His women were angry with him on account of his bad behaviour, and killed him while he was intoxicated they received the retribution of their conduct On the third the solar weighment took place and H M was weighed against twelve articles There was a proclamation of liberality, and small and great obtained their desires On the 7th, Rai Rai Singh was sent off to Bikānir, and Masihu-l-Mulk[1] came from Gujarat On the 11th a son was born to Prince Murād by the daughter of the Khān A'zim, and received from H M the name of Ālam Sultan On 7th Āzar Medni Rai arrived from Gujarat Among his presents were a deer and a leopard (*Yuz*) The deer had been left in a snare The leopard made a spring and was caught by the feet, while the deer was bewildered and caught

In the feast of this month, sense increasing wine was drunk, and 582
Mir Sadr Jahan Mufti and Mir 'Abdu l Hai the Mir 'Adl also quaffed their cups This verse was quoted by H M

Verse[2]

In the era of the fault forgiving king
The Qāzi drained flagons the Mufti quaffed cups

On the 15th Ahmad 'Ali Ataliq the Turanian ambassador died Untimely eating made him ill and want of abstinence added to his sickness He had a large share of knowledge and sense On the 13th the Khān Khanan had a third son He had always wished for a son, and had been impatient in his seeking for one When he was in Gujarat, H M said one night to the writer "When you write the firman styling[3] him Khan Khanan, say in it that the life-

[1] B 543 He was Murād s physician

[2] B 468 The verse is from Hāfiz

[3] I am not sure if the meaning is that the letter was written when he was made Khan Khānān or simply that when A F wrote to him he was to tell him so and so Iraj must have been born long before 998 for

giving Deity will soon give him three sons and that he is to call them Īraj, Dārāb, and Qaran" In a short time the saying was fulfilled, and great and small had a new proof of H M s knowledge of hidden things The Khan Khanan gave a feast, and begged for the presence of H M, who granted his request

On this day news came that Sher Fulādi an increaser of commotion in Gujarat, had died, and that the sedition mongers had retired to the straits of failure

On the 14th, the daughter of Mirza Sanjar entered the service of the Prince Royal Her father was the son of Khiẓr Hazāra By H M's order she (or he?) was brought from her home, and her (or his) desire was accomplished

One of the occurrences was the seizure of Y'aqūb and the death of Abiyā These two brothers were plotting to escape, but they did not get an opportunity The gracious sovereign did not approve of punishing those to whom quarter had been given He sent them with Hasan Beg Gurd to Rajah Mān Singh, in order that they might be far from their home, and also that they might be reduced to some measure of quiescence (?) On the 18th [2] they were passing

---

in the 40th year he was made a commander Qaran is not mentioned by B or in the Maāṣir The Khan Khānān had four sons but he survived them all

[1] B 477 note.

[2] The date given on B M MS 27 247 is 18 Ābān and Sunday 3 Muḥarram 999 This is equal to 22nd October, 1590 The same MS calls Y aqūb s brother Ibrāhīm and says the attempt at escape took place near Māhimpūr (or perhaps it is Yāhirpur and in the pargana of Niẓāmābād) This is a pargana in Jaunpūr J II 164 and is mentioned in Badayūnī Lowe 85 as a place where Akbar was once weighed The Iqbālnāma says that Hasan Beg he conveyed Y aqub in chains to Rajah Man Singh According to the author of a history of Kashmir B M MS Add 24 029 Yaqūb was eventu ally po soned by Akbar who sent him a poisoned robe See Rieu Catalogue I 300 The story told in MS 24 029 and referred to by Rieu is that Akbar was prejudiced against Y aqūb by his courtiers so he sent him to Allahabad to assis in putting down a rebellious zamin dar At the same time he instructed his generals to cut off Y aqub head as soon as he had finished th business of the zamindar Y'aqul behaved with great valour crossed a river which Akbar s generals had been unable to cross from want o

through a town (in Etawa ?) near Bāburpur Hasan Beg had divided his men into three bands One band was with the women and children, one was guarding Y'aqub who represented himself as ill and so was travelling in a litter, and a third was with himself Some evil-minded tricksters raised an alarm, saying that robbers had attacked the baggage Ḥasan Beg sent off his men in that direction At this time Abiya, who was in the plot, killed the torch bearer with a sword, and wounded Hasan Beg The latter struggled with him and threw him down, and despatched him In the fight, Muhammad, Y'aqub's foster brother wounded Hasan with a sword, and Ḥasan seized him also, and flung him down Men now came up, and Y'aqub and the other conspirators were seized.

At this time Rāwat[1] Dat (?) paikai, who was the headman (dih kiyaī) of Mau which belongs to the country of Baksar (?) was wounded by his deadly enemies on his back, and on the lobe of his ear About this time his son-in law (khwesh) Ram Dās had a child which bore two similar marks People said that the deceased had taken form again, and pointed to several indications of this An order was given to have the child brought On the 26th that four-year old child was brought By the brilliant acuteness of H M the foolishness of the story was demonstrated He said that in metempsychosis the body must be changed In this case the body had been wounded, not the soul Apparently this wonder was the result of imagination It was not improbable that the child's mother had thought that the deceased would come out of her womb 58

a duel took him off h s elephant and brought l im in a prisoner The general reported Yaqub s bravery and as he felt unwilling to kill so brave a man he referred to Akbar for further orders thereupon Akbar sent a po soned robe of honour wh ch killed Y aqub as soon as he put it on But Rafi u d dīn the author admits that there is another version according to which Y aqūb died a natural death and he concludes with a God knows which is the truth See MS 126b etc

[1] It is Dat دت in text but there is the variant Rāwat Paikāra I O MS 235 has Bangala and the Iqbāl nama seems to have Bega It also says that the village was in Bakar but does not name it It adds that the child said he was Rawat I O MS has Mau a village belonging to Baksar B M MS Add 27 247 seems to have Bhakkar and to call the village Mūarkana It says Qāsim Alī brought the child The Kh ilāṣat tawarīkh has Baksar

During pregnancy she had been thinking of the wounds She had taken a style and made the same marks (on herself) and then stories had been made about it He said that one day before his own birth Miriam-Makānī was making marks with a needle (qn. tattooing?) on her foot Jahānbānī (Humāyūn) asked what she was doing She said that she wished that some memento might appear on the foot of her child When he was born, similar marks appeared, and he uncovered his lower leg, and showed them to those who had the privilege of being present

One of the occurrences was the arrival at Court of Qāīn Kokaltāsh It has been mentioned[1] that this approved servant had been sent to the Northern Hills He came out near Pathan[2] and proceeded towards Kahlur,[3] on the bank of the Satlej All the inhabitants submitted and tendered presents, Raja Badhi Cand from Nagarkot, Paras Rām from Koh-i Jammu, Raja Basu from Man,[4] Raja Anrūda from Jeswāl Raja Tila[5] from Kahlur, Raja Jagdes Cand from Gwālyār,[7] Raja Sispāl from Dahpal,[8] Rai Sānsar Cand from Sibah,[9] Rai Partab from Mānkot, Rai Bhūnar from Jasrota,[10] Rai Balbhadra from Lakanpūr,[11] Rai Daulat from Sharkot[12] Bharta, Rai Krishn from Fort Bhila, Rai Narayan the proprietor of Sukat[13] Mandi Rai Krishn Īlādiya,[14] Rai Udiya Dhamrī-

---

[1] See above, p 581

[2] Text Nepāl, but the variant Bathān seems nearly right The place meant seems to be Pathankot. It is Pathān on I O MS 236 and in the M'aasir II 367

[3] A Simla hill state J II 325

[4] In the Bārī Doāb Sarkār, J II 319

[5] Apparently the text is corrupt Jeswāl appears from the MSS to be a Raja's title and not the name of a country The Iqbālnāma has Rajah Sirinjānwal

[6] Apparently this should be Bhīka

[7] A Gwālyār in the Bārī Doāb J II 319

[8] Dahwāl in the M'aasir Umarā

[9] Sīha in text J II 317

[10] Jasrota is an extinct principality in Kashmīr I G VII 147. It lies on the south of the province of Jammū, and on r bank tributary of Rāvī

[11] B 345 has Lakhinpūr, but perhaps Lakhnūr, J II 321, is meant

[12] Sharkat in Bijnaur, I G XII 380?

[13] Haskanat in text It is the Sakhat Mandsewī of J II 317 See I G under Sukat and Mandī They are hill states

[14] Mulawarīya (?) in I G 236 No 235 has Talwārīah from Talwārah in the Bārī Doab The M'aasir II

wāl.[1] Though their cavalry was (only) 10,000, their infantry was more than 100,000. On 7 Dai he did homage, attended by all the landowners, and each of them received various favours. They presented 18 elephants, 115 horses, 205 hunting animals, consisting of hawks, falcons, etc. and also Yāks (*qatās*) and other varieties of that country.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the Turanian ambassador. From the time that the ruler of that country recognized the glorious and eternal dominion, he tendered friendship and supplication, and on every occasion displayed new flattery, and spoke of concord. He was anxious on account of Aḥamad 'Ali Atālīq's not having returned, and at this time he was still more troubled on account of the improper conduct of his son in demanding the Aimāqs of Badakh-shān. He had censured that hot-headed one and shown his disgusts with him. He made apology the forefront of his application and brought forward his former proposals. He sent Maulāvī Ḥusain, who was one of his old servants, to court with valuable presents. On the 15th he obtained an audience, and uttered **584** sweets words.

Also in this year Shihābu-d-dīn[2] Aḥmad died in Ujjain. He had done much good service in the empire, and was one of the most distinguished men of the Age in the matter of developing the cultivation of the country. In order to sympathise with his relicts the lord of the world made Khwāja[3] Muḥibb 'Alī K. *dīwān* of Mālwa, and left Shihāb's fiefs to his servants.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to the school of the prison. Oh the 17th Dai (27th December 1590) he came without orders from Swād and fell into the toils of censure. It also came out that he had out of avarice given up Kālpī which

---

367 has Balāwrih. See Balāwarah. J. II. 320.

[1] Bhannī in text. It is Dhamrī in I.O. MSS.

The Iqbālnama also gives a list of the Rajahs. Some of the names are very doubtful.

[2] He repaired and reopened Fīrūz Shāh's Canal. See B. 332 and S. Aḥmad's Asār Sanādīd, p. 8 of Part III, and I. G. S. V. Jumma Canal, XIV. 234. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 386. His wife Bāba Agha or Māmā Aghā was related to Mirīām Mahani and died in 1005 A.H., 1597. See A. N. III. 716.

[3] B. 516. He was a Khawāfī.

was in his fief The displeasure of the holy heart increased, and spiteful and tyrannical people (*qabucian*) brought to notice other crooked proceedings of his and did so as if they were speaking the truth and were acting in a disinterested manner The sovereign put him into prison[1] and sent an acute person to ascertain the truth On this day Hakim Ain ul mulk came to do homage His fiefs were in India and Malwa As he came without order, he was not admitted to an audience As it became known that the Khān A'azim M Koka had taken away his *Jagir*, and that he had come to complain about it, he was summoned to the presence On the 20th a special pigeon took a flight A hawk made an attack on it and was nearly capturing it When H M saw this, he said, "Strike and seize" Suddenly a troop of crows gathered from the plain and surrounded the hawk and he withdrew his claws from the pigeon and fell into consternation A cry arose from the spectators Glory to the prince that seeks nothing but the will of God The heavens revolve at his wish What wonder then that a few birds acknowledge him!

One occurrence was the sending a force to take Qandahar Jinnat Āshiyani (Humayūn) had made it over to Shāh Tahmāsp, the ruler of Persia and hence H M had not thought of taking it Now that the star of the Persians' fortune was not as brilliant as formerly, and that Mozaffar Husain M and Rustum Husain M, the sons of Sultan Mozaffar, had, from the intoxication of youth, revolted against the ruler of Persia, and that their deeds did not conform to their words about obedience to the Shahinshāh, it occurred to H M that he should send an army to that quarter Help would

[1] He was kept in prison for three years not being released till the end of 1001 August 1593 Elliot V 467 The Iqbalnama says his fault was partly his unruly tongue Jahangir describes him as foulmouthed The sentence about his having *given up* Kalpī seems obscure The Persian is *baz guzasht* Perhaps it means he went to Kalpī But probably it means that he had given up or transferred Kālpī to somebody else for at p 585 we find that Kalpī was *in the fief of Qāsīm Alī* There is a somewhat different reading in I O MS 236 and perhaps the meaning is that Kālpī was taken from him on account of his avarice But I do not think this is the meaning B M MS Add 27 247 has also a different reading Apparently what it says is that Shahbaz gave away Kālpī

thus be given to the ruler of Persia If the Mirzās should proceed to the court they would be caressed, and another country would be given to them, and that cultivated territory would be put under the guardianship (*pasbini*) of a discreet and just officer, and the Usbegs would be restrained from thinking of seizing it This assistance[1] (to Persia) would have a kindly appearance

On the 24th (Dai 4th January, 1590) the Khan khānan took leave Shah Beg K,[2] Saiyid Bahau d din, Bakhtiyar Beg, Gūrdhan, Rāwal, Bhim, Dalpat, Janish Bahadur, Bahadur K Qurdar, Muhammad K Niyazi 'Ali Mardan Bahadur, Balbhadhar Rāthor, Sher K, Qarā 585 Beg, Faridun Barlas Sarmadi, Mir M asum Bhakkari, Hasan 'Ali Arab, Khwāja Hisamu d din, Saiyid Darvesh, Qasim Koka, Khaki Gallaban, Nur Muhammad, Khwaja Khizri, 'Abdu l ghani, Ulugh Beg, Sal Alangi, Khaki Beg Saiyid Mir 'Ali, Mirza Beg, Sālar Quli, M Muhammad, Saiyid Banda 'Ali Ibrahim Beg, Murshid Quli, Jolak Shamsher 'Arab, Muhammad Zaman, Baqi Cardāngi, 'Abdul-l latif, Bahadur Malik, 'Izzat 'Ali Kabuli, Allah Bardi Tulakci, Ilyās Tupci, Muhammad Quli, Tingri Bardi, Farrakh Beg, Qul Muhammad and many other brave and capable men accompanied him Khwāja Muqim was made bakhshi, and an order was given that they should march via Baluchistan If they[3] submitted, that fertile country was to be restored to them, and they were to be brought along with the army, otherwise they were to be punished and were to be made over to just administrators Also, the ruler of Tatta (Scinde) had not paid his respects An able army should be sent to him, to advise him If he came in person, or should send an army, it would

---

[1] A variant contains the clause that the assistance would benefit the Persians

[2] The list is a very long one and Nizamu d din Elliot V 459 judiciously remarks that the names of the officers are too numerous to record The Bakhshi was his father It seems from the T A and Badayūni and from Faizi s chronogram that Tatta was the main object of the expedition M asum Bhakkarī is the well known author B M M S 27 247 gives the Muhammadan date of the expedition as 17 Rabi al awwal 999, corresponding to 3rd or 4th January 1590

[3] Apparently the Biluchīs are meant The Khan khānān never got to Qandahar See *infra* p 601 According to B M Add 27 247 it was the Biluchis who were to join the army

be better, otherwise he was to be temporised with and should be punished on the return.

On 1st Bahman, H.M. got into a boat and visited the Khan-khānan at the first stage, which was a league off. He gave him valuable advice

On this day also Sultan Parvīz had a sister born

On the 6th, Ism'aīl Qulī came from Gujarat. On the 9th, Qāsim Alī was allowed to go to Kālpī, which was his fief. On the 22nd, H. M. had toothache, and was relieved by the application of leeches. On the 3rd, Isfardarmaz H.M. crossed the Râvī, and enjoyed hunting for eight days and wandered about in the pleasant plains.

CHAPTER CIV

Beginning of the Thirty sixth Divine Year, to wit, the year Isfandārmaz of the Third Cycle

On Thursday, 24th Jumada al awwal 999, 10th or 11th March 1591, after the lapse of 4 hours, 16 minutes the Light increaser of heights and depths filled Aries with Light The court artificers decked out the halls, and gave spiritual beauty to externals The material, as well as the intellectual, world became fresh and verdant

Verse[1]

O joyous bride, blame not fortune
Make ready the bower of beauty, for the bridegroom hath come
I scent the fragrance of joy in the world s state
Joy has flowered, and the morning breeze rejoiceth

Every day there was a fresh feast, and a new market day of 586
thanksgiving to God On the 6th (Farwardin) the rank of Zain K Koka was increased, and he attained the lofty position of 4 000 and the right to drums On the 9th H M entered a boat along with many veiled ladies and proceeded to Mirza Kāmrān s garden and enjoyed the spectacle of the variegated spring On the 17th the presents of the Khān A'zim were produced He had sent some choice elephants and other rarities from Gujarat, and in this way he brought himself to remembrance On the day of culmination (*sharf* i e the 19th) when there was a great feast the Tatta ambassadors obtained an audience They presented a petition and presents The purport of the representation was that it was from somnolence of intellect that there had happened what had happened, and that if the tidings of forgiveness could reach (the ruler of Tatta), former

[1] These lines are from Ḥafiẓ but the quotation is not exact They are the 4th and 5th stanzas of ode 104 in Bicknell

stumblings would be rectified. The excuse-accepting sovereign made the envoys hopeful, and a comforting rescript was issued. On 9[1] Ardibihisht the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a season of liberality and largesse.

One[2] of the occurrences was the recovery of the writer of the book of fortune (A. F.). On 4 Bahman of the preceding year (14 January 1591) his illness had increased, and the physicians conjectured that there was a stone in the bladder. They applied remedies, but the pain increased from time to time, consequently skilful persons lost hope. This news produced some joy in me, for, from the days of discretion I had no love for life. The currency of hypocrisy and the worship of the creature made me heart-sore. But as I was inclined[3] to perform military service my disposition deviated from the commands of wisdom and became sad. This mixture of joy and sorrow always held possession of my heart, and I cherished the hope that I might tell some tales by the tongue of the sword, and convince high and low of the appreciativeness of the world's lord, and by the words of action reduce to silence the narrow-minded ones who strutted about in the insolence of courage and cocked the little turban of boasting. Whenever H.M. cast the shadow of his kindness over the invalid (i.e. whenever he visited him), he conveyed to him the tidings of recovery. The others only nominally encouraged me. Two days before the new year the wise Hakim[4] Misri arrived from the Deccan, and was exalted by performing the

---

[1] This corresponds to 19 April 1591 and 5 Rajab 999 which was the anniversary of Akbar's birthday. The B.M. MS. adds that Akbar was now fifty years of age and that the writer hopes he will live for 120 years.

[2] This passage does not occur in the Cawnpore edition and only occurs in a mutilated form in I.O. MS. 235. It occurs in full in MS. No. 236. The B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 ascribes A. F.'s cure to the benign influence of Akbar. The illness began on 4 Bahman, the day of Shahriyar of the preceding year.

[3] The reading is a little doubtful. The text has *ba ... sipāh* while I.O. 236 has *b sipāh*.

[4] B. 431 and Badayuni III. 16?. Even he has a good word for this physician. His death is described *infra* p. 783. See also Darbar Akbari 713. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 adds line 13 from bottom of page 39?, the statement that the Hakim had been imprisoned on his way from the Deccan by Amin K. Ghori.

prostration At that very moment the kind sovereign sent him to see this one (A F) who was prepared for the last journey His cheerful countenance caused new delight His skill perceived the inefficiency of the former doctors He diagnosed the malady and set himself to cure it In a short time there were signs of improvement and my health continually mended On the 15th I recovered and performed the *kornish* and high and low were once more impressed by H M's knowledge of mysteries The Divine strength helped me greatly in this sickness For many years I had been perplexed to comprehend the rational soul and every proof that former (writers) had brought forward had been criticised by me It was natural to expect that wisdom would come with equability of the tem 58 perament, but this is not what happened to me The thing be came clear to me while I was ill and I reposed in the illuminated spot of intelligence

One[1] of the occurrences was the success of Burhan al Mulk When on the first occasion he returned unsuccessful, as has already been partially described, he spent his days on his fiefs in Malwa At this time, when the Khān 'Āzim went to Gujarat and Shihab K died he went to Rajah Ali K the ruler of Khāndes He in accord ance with the holy commands of the Shāhinshāh strenuously as sisted him and agreed with 'Ādil K of Bijapur that when the latter should march to Ahmadnagar, he would also send an army from his side (Khāndes) With this idea he sent off some soldiers to remain

---

of Jūnagarh At p 393*a* the same MS gives a statement of Hakīm Miṣrī and others of the revenues of the various rulers of the Deccan It is stated there that the Deccani *dam* is equal to eight *tankas* of Hindustan The revenue of Khāndesh is given as $2\frac{1}{7}$ krors = 40 krors of *dāms* that of Aḥmadnagar as 9 krors of tankas equal to one *arb* 44 krors of *dams* Bijāpur's revenue is 12 krors of tankas = one *arb* 92 krors of *dams* that of Golconda is $3\frac{1}{2}$ krors of tan kas = 56 krors of *dams*

[1] This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI 87

[2] B M MS Add. 27 247 states that a report came from Mālwa from Jamālu d din Husain Anju on 26 Rabī ul awwal that Shihabu d dīn had died in Ujjain on the day of Dai ba Mihr of the 11th Divine month equal to 8 Rabī ul awwal (January 1590) It says Muḥibb 'Alī Khwāfi was appointed in his room The same place records that an ele phant called Behil Nigār had killed another elephant

in waiting on his borders Jamāl K.—who was the Ahmadnagar general—in apprehension that the two forces would join—displayed activity He took[1] with him his (i e Burhân's) son Ismāīl and hastened to fight the Bijāpūriāns before Burhân-al-Mulk should join them After a short conflict he was successful When Burhān-al-Mulk came to Barār, Amjad al-Mulk, 'Aẓmat-al-Mulk, Saif-al-Mulk, Shuj'aat K , Jahāngir K , Ṣadr K , 'Aziz-al-Mulk and other leaders joined him Without a battle he became secure about that country (Barār) On the very day that Jamal K was exulting in confidence he (Jamal) got this news, and hastily marched without proper plan or preparation He passed through the defile of Fardāpur,[2] and on the 17th a battle was fought near there Out of farsightedness Rajah 'Ali K kept Burhan-al-Mulk and the Barār officers apart from one another, and himself engaged in the fight There was a hot contest, and in it a bullet reached Jamāl K and killed him The army of the Deccan dispersed, and a great victory was gained In a short time Ism'ail was brought in as a prisoner and was put into confinement Then the ruler of Khandes returned after leav-

[1] *bardāshta* This sometimes means ' to defeat as at III 98 line 11, and it has been so translated by Dowson Elliot VI 87 But the context shows that the meaning is that Jamāl took Ismāīl with him B M MS Add 27,247 also shows that this is the meaning here for it says that Jamal made Ism'ail an instrument of strife mongering The account of Burhān s expedition is in this MS different from Bib Ind text and is more detailed It says that Jamāl defeated 'Ādil K at Dhārasur in Bijapūr

[2] Fardāpūr is a village near the Ajanta caves and is used as a starting point by visitors to them Ferishta does not mention Fardapūr in his account of Burhān al Mulk He says Jamāl tried to march through the Ghāt Rohangir Pass and that when he found it closed he went by a more difficult route He dates the battle 13 Rajab 999 (27 April 1591) which corresponds to A F s 17 Ardibihisht B M MS Add 27,247 calls the place Faridābād, and gives the date of Jamal s defeat as the day of Sarosh 17 Ardibihisht (Tuesday, 13 Rajab) The expression of Rajah Ali keeping Burhan and the Berar officers apart from one another, is explained by this MS which says that Rajah 'Alī got hold of a letter of the Berar officers which said that they would desert Burhan on the day of battle It also says that after the battle Suhail the eunuch conveyed Ismāīl to a fort, and that Burhan entered Aḥmadnagar on 20 Shaban or 3 Khurdad (3rd June 1591)

ing some men (with Burhān) and Burhan al Mulk quickly went to Ahmadnagar and became victorious over the whole country

One[1] of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of Shāh Abbās the ruler of Persia From right thinking and enlightenment H M opens his court to all conditions of men The entangled thereby obtain deliverance Difference of faith does not play tricks and no dust of difference is raised by their being either strangers or friends High and low seek for his friendship, and every one attains his desires At the time when the sovereignty of Persia came to his father Sultan Muhammad Khudābanda, selfish strife mongers stirred up dissension in Herat and incited him to assume the supremacy They made his inexperienced youth the means of obtaining their own ends The sovereign of Persia came to Khurasān, but owing to his blindness, the presumption of the ministers (*dastūr*), and the duplicity of the soldiers, he was obliged to 588
return without effecting anything He (Abbās) sent Murshid Tabrizi to court and asked for assistance The just Shāhinshah did not regard him as worthy of an answer. He remarked how could he assist one who contended with his visible god (his father) At this time he represented anew his own purity and the activity of the wicked and selfish, and begged for encouragement On 6 Khurdad, 16th May 1591, Yādgār Sultan[2] Shāmlu, who was old in years but of fresh wisdom[3] and was one of the ancient servants (*bābarian*) of the family, was exalted by doing homage He presented a supplication (*niyazishnama*) and choice presents The excuse accepting

---

[1] This is made a new chapter in I O MS 236 and is so also in a variant noted in the Bib Ind ed

[2] Text Rūmlū but at pp 656 and 705 he is called Shāmlū and that this is correct is shown by B M MS Add 27 247 and by the Iqbālnama Perhaps this is the ambassador to whom Akbar refers as about to arrive, in his letter to 'Abdullah, p 499

[3] Text *kahn sāl-i nau khirad* The word *nau* is curious but I think it means that the ambassador though old had a fresh and vigorous understanding B M MS Add 27,247 has *mard kahn, khirad dost* an old man who loved wisdom The same MS gives the Hijra date of the ambassador's reception 3 Sh aban 17 May 1591 The long digression about the Safwī dynasty is not given in this MS Here it may be remarked with reference to the note to Mr Oliver's paper J A S B for 1887, p 37, that though the dynasty took its name from Safī u dīn, yet their followers are often called Sūfis in MSS

sovereign was gracious to the envoy, and held a council about furthering his designs Some were of opinion that he should send one of his sons with an army and take Khurasan from the Uzbegs, and in an excellent way obtain the renown of a helper As the ruler of Turan had sent select men one after another and made strong the agreements of unity, this proposition was not accepted H M said it was proper in the first instance to try advice Perhaps there would be no contest

I shall here give some[1] account of the Safavi dynasty and so refresh the garden of my words He (Abbās) is eight removes from S Safī Ardabīlī and the latter is twenty removes from Imām Musā[2] Kaẓim Shāh 'Abbas is son of Sulṭān Muhammad Khudabanda, s Shah Tahmāsp, s Shah Ismaīl s Sultān Haidar, s Sulṭān Junaid, s S Sadru d dīn Musā, s S Ṣafī u dīn Abu Isahāq, s S Sadru d dīn Ibrahīm, s S Khwaja 'Alī, s S Amīnu d dīn Jabrail, s S Ṣālih, s S Qutbu d dīn, s Ṣalihu d dīn Rashīd s Muhammad Hāfiẓ, s 'Īwaz, s Fīruz Shāh Zarrīn Kalāh, s Sharf Shah, s Muhammad, s Ḥasan, s Muhammad, s Ibrāhīm, s Jafī, s Ismāīl, s Muhammad, s Ahmad Ghazzālī Abu Muhammad, s Abu l qasim Hamza s Imām Musā Kazīm Fīruz Shah lived in Zangān[3] near Sultaniya Ardabīl He spent his days in comfort and with a good name 'Īwaz made his home in Isfaranjan Ardabīl Qutbu d-dīn established himself in Ardabīl Piety had a fresh glory from the brow of S Safī He strove with himself and became victorious In order to learn sciences he went to Shīrāz and made the acquaintance of S S aadī and other good men Some pure minded ones indicated that he might attain the end of his seeking by getting the help of S Zāhid in Gīlan He had lighted the lamp of knowledge from S Jamalu d dīn Gīlānī The fountain head of the latter was S Junaid Bagdādī Of necessity he went thither He made his acquaintance in the village of Halkgīrān[4]

[1] There is a full account of the early history of the Safavī family in the Habību s Siyar 4th part of 3rd vol See also the Alam Arai

[2] See D Herbelot s v Moussa Bin Giafar Sādik He died at Bagdad on 183 A H or 799 A D and is the father of the Imām Rezā whose shrine is at Mashhad

[3] The Habību s-Siyar has Zangīn

[4] The word appears to be Hilīya gīran in the MSS It is perhaps the Kelheran of Olearius s Travels (Davies s translation) p 244 which is

The Shaikh made over his daughter[1] to this spiritual son, and increased the glory of his own family When Şāhibqurānī (Timūr) returned after conquering Rum (Turkey) he interviewed S Şadru-d 588 din Musa in Ardabil and begged inspiration from him He asked him what he desired, and the Shaikh requested the liberation of the Turkish prisoners He obtained this, and many persons belonging to the Ustajlu, 'aklu,[2] Rustaq Rumlu Zu al qadr, Afshār, Qajār, Ughlu and other tribes were released Many of them out of gratitude took the burden of devotion on the shoulder of their heads and chose Sufism[3] (*sufiyari*) The desire of splendour brought out S Junaid from the corner of freedom, and the concourse of followers gave him courage Jahān Shah of the Black Sheep the ruler of the two 'Iraqs and Āzarbaijan became apprehensive on hearing of this, and drove out the Shaikh from his kingdom He went to Aleppo and from thence to Diarbekr (Mesopotamia) Uzan Hasan of the White Sheep the ruler of that country treated him with respect and married him to his sister Khadija Begi Āgha Sultān Haidar was the offspring of this union When he (Junaid) was killed in battle with the Shah of Shirvan, his son was brought up on Ardibil under the protection of dervishes and sought after supremacy He placed the red cap of twelve pleats on the head of his followers When Uzan Hasan got the victory over Jahan Shah he gave his daughter Halima[4] Begi Āgha, also called 'Alam Shah Khātun, in marriage to Sultan Haidar Three sons were born of this union, viz Sultan 'Ali Mirzā, Ibrahim M and Ism'ail M The last proceeded to revenge himself on the Shirwan Shah Farakh Afshar who had become the Shāh of Shirwan fought with him and was defeated There was another battle and in it Sultan Haidar was killed Y'aqub

described as a league and a half from Ardabīl and as the site of the tomb of S Safī's father Olearius 374 calls Zāhid S Sahadī

[1] The Habību s Siyar says her name was Fatima

[2] The proper spelling seems to be Nikalū The Rustaq are not mentioned in Malcolm The text has Qarācar but Qajār is right

[3] S Sufī s name has nothing to do with Sufism but apparently A F connects the two words Perhaps the Safavī dynasty sought to do this

[4] Olearius calls her Martha and says she was the daughter of Despina the daughter of John King of Trebizond

Beg imprisoned his three sons in Istakhar (Persepolis) Amir Qarā 'Uṣmān governed Diarbekr in the time of Sahibqirani and Shāh rukh M When he died, he was succeeded by his son Uzan Hasan He fought with Jahan Shah the son of Qarā Yusuf and killed him. He had two sons Sultān Khalil and M Y'aqub The first succeeded But as he did not recognise who were his friends his soldiers left him and joined his brother In fighting with him (Y'aqub) he was killed When Y'aqub Beg died, the government went to Rustam Beg the son of Maqṣud Beg son of Uzan Hasan He released Haidar's three sons Many days had not passed when he got frightened at the number and devotion of their followers He formed other ideas The brothers went in distress to Ardabil An army followed them and Sultān 'Ali M was killed in battle The two other brothers fled to Gilān, and obtained the help of Kārgiyā 'Ali the ruler of that country In Muharram 905, August 1499, Ism'ail came to Īrān, and the Sufian gathered round him He proceeded to take vengeance on Farrakh Afshar The latter was killed in battle He took possession of that country and proceeded towards
590 Āzarbaijān There he was successful In 907, 1502, at the age of 15, he had the *khutba* read in Tabriz in his own name Instead of the cap of Haidar he introduced the taj (tiara?) of twelve *tarks* (gores) He had five sons—Tahmasp M, Altāsh M, Sam M, Rustam M, Behrām M He fought with Sultān Murād the son of Y'aqub Beg near Hamadin, and was victorious He took possession of Irāq, Fars and Kirmān He prevailed over 'Alau d daula Zu al qadr, and increased his territories by Bagdad and part of Irāq Arab He also got possession of Khozistan He killed Shah Beg K near Merv, and Khurāsān up to the Oxus became his He reigned 24 years, and left the world at the age of 38 On Monday 19 Rajab, 930, 24 May 1524 he died, and his son Shah Tahmāsp succeeded at the age of twelve[1] The word *Zill* denotes that year (930) He fought a battle with 'Abdullah K in Zorābad-i Jam[2] and was victorious

[1] Should be 10 Tahmasp was born on 22 February 1514 and succeeded his father on 24 May 1524 but according to the lunar calendar he was eleven viz from 919 30

[2] Text has Rozabad but I O MS 236 has Zorabad The battle was fought on 10 Moharram 935 = 27 August 1528 See Mr Oliver's paper J.A S B for 1887 p 41

Sultan Sulaimān the ruler of Turkey made an expedition against Īrān The Shāh did not consider it proper to fight a pitched battle, but he attacked Sultān Sulimān's country and protected his own from injury by the Turkish soldiery Garjistān (Georgia) and Gīlān fell into his hands. He imprisoned Khān[1] Ahmad in the fort of Qahaqa As his second son Ism'aīl M was perverse and shameless, he summoned him from Herat and imprisoned him For many years he ruled in Qazwin with skill and moderation Many good deeds adorned his reign (lit adorned the face of his fortune) except that he in 966, 1559, sheltered Sultān Bayāzid the son of Sultān Sulaimān with his four sons and 12,000 followers and (then) owing to the instigation of flatterers, who were house-destroyers, stained his hand with the sacred (*garamī*) blood of his guests If the might of the Sultān of Turkey had constrained[2] him to this, he should not have taken silver and gold for it He reigned for fifty four years On 4 Khurdād[3] of the 21st Divine year 15 May 1576, at the end of the night, he died of fistula (*nasur*) Some say that he was poisoned by the intrigues (*koshish*) of Sultan Haidār The putting to death of Sufi Hakim Abu Naṣr the son of the Sadru[4] *sharīya* in the palace

---

[1] He was the ruler of Gīlān See above p 144

[2] Ṭahmāsp s conduct in this matter is described in Malcolm s History of Persia ed 1829 I p 332 It is there stated that Bayāzīd was at first kindly received but that he and his servants behaved badly and so Ṭahmasp gave him up to his father Sulaimān It seems certain that Ṭahmāsp behaved badly and his own Memoirs and the account in the Alam Arāī do not clear him The story that Bāyazīd tried to poison Ṭahmasp is ridiculous

[3] 15 Safr 984 Ālam Arāī p 94

[4] The text seems corrupt The variant Ṣūfiyān is supported by the I O MSS Instead of *dar mahfil i shahī* these MSS have *dar mātam shahī* during the royal mourning Apparently the meaning is that the story about Haidar s having brought about his father s death is corroborated by the fact that the Ṣūfīs i e the followers or devotees of the dynasty, put to death the physician during the public mourning—presumably because they thought he had, at Haidar s suggestion poisoned his master The title of the physician s father Sadr i sharīya signifies chancellor or chief ecclesiastical judge Olearius p 367, says the ecclesiastical judges are called Shahru The text of the next clause is corrupt As there given it seems to say that Sultān Ibrāhīm poisoned Ṭahmāsp The real meaning is that some people said that Sultan Ibrāhim (a son of Ṭamāsp s brother Bahram) got up the story about the physician on

supports this view, but some say that Ibrāhim M out of enmity with the physician brought this about When the illness (of Tahmāsp) increased, Sulṭān Haidar, at the instigation of flatterers,[1] took into his head thoughts of greatness As he was his honoured father's sole *vakīl* (minister) the thought of supremacy ruined his understanding At this time the Shāh got better Though he did not call Ḥaidar to account, yet the latter did not remain in the rank of Vakīl When Tahmāsp died, Parī Khān Khānim his daughter sent for the second son Ism'aīl M and by stratagem had Sulṭan Haidar brought inside the female apartments The leaders of the Rumlu
1 (Khalfa-i Rūmlu) Shamkhāl Circassian, Shīb K Wāli Sultān, the Taklu officers and other well-wishers of Ism'aīl M were on guard They closed the entrance and exit of the *daulatkhana* (palace) and resolved[2] upon an attack on Sultan Haidar Meanwhile Parī Khān Khānim from within set about contriving his death Meanwhile Sulṭān Maṣṭafa M., Zāl Beg, Husain Beg, Pīr K and other officers of the Istajlu clan to the number of about 10,000 assembled in order to bring out Sulṭan Haidar Shamkhāl[3] took the initiative and went inside and put him to death, and flung his head outside The tumult ceased Ism'aīl M became king and had the *khuṭba* recited near Qum The intoxication of the world led that madman to disregard of propriety and to bloodshed He indulged his disposition for 1¼ years, 14 days and died on 3 Āẕar of the 23rd Divine year, 18 November 1577 During his short reign he stretched out his hands to slay his brothers, and other relatives, and the grandees Out of six[4] brothers he put to death Sulaimān M., Sulṭān Mahmud

account of a private quarrel he had with him The variant to the text clears the matter a little but the *az dushmanī-i ān bar tang amida* there should apparently be *az dushmanī-i-ān pizishk* 'out of enmity with that physician *This is the* reading of I O, MS 235

[1] Cf Olearius who says Ḥaidar who was only 17, put the *crown* on his head, and presented himself before his father who was then *near* his death

[2] This seems the meaning of the phrase *yāsish namīrdand*

[3] His maternal uncle He was a Circassian or Georgian *See Price's* Jahangir p 72 The Mastafa M who tried to release Ḥaidar was his brother Sham Khāl was put to death 'Ālam Arāī 162

[4] So in text but the preposition *az* does not occur in the I O MSS and is probably wrong Tahmāsp apparently left more than six sons According to Olearius he had eleven

M, Imâm Qulı M, and Sultan Ahmad He also blinded Sultan ʻAlı M, and killed Sulṭan Ibrahım M and Badı'u z Zamān the sons of Bahrām, and[1] Sulṭan Hasan M, the eldest son of Sulṭan Muhammad Khudābanda He exerted himself to promote the tenets of the Sunnıs, but did not succeed Sultan Muhammad Khudā banda his elder brother sate on the throne in the 23rd Divine year, and the world blossomed out The bloody Shah (Ism aıl) had sent persons to kill him, and this was near being effected, when the report came that he (Ism'aıl) was dead Unexpectedly he (Khudā banda) came to power The administration of justice devolved upon Fakhru n nısa[2] Begam daughter of Mır ʻAbdallah the ruler of Māzh ındarān, who was his (Khudābanda's) wife She exerted herself to reunite the disputants (lit to knit together the broken hearted), and when the Turkish soldiers proceeded towards Shırwān, and the Persians were defeated and returned, she left the Shāh in Qazwīn and went off to that quarter After brilliant contests she obtained possession of her own (ancestral) territories When she returned the Qızılbāshıs became irritated and put that great lady to death The beginning of their prosperity rested upon loyalty (ikhlāṣ) Now when they have gone so much astray, I do not know what will be the end of such somnolent ones The Turkish commotion again rose high, but the Shāh (Khudaband) put an excellent ending to it by the good service of M Sulaımān the Vizıer

At this time the officers of Khurāsān made ʻAbbās M an instrument of strife and had the boldness to attack Mashhad Though

The ʻĀlam Ārāī p 95 says Tahmāsp left nine sons and eight daughters p 102 What A F means, I think is that Ism'aīl killed six of his brothers The text only mentions four or almost five, but then it omits one—Sulṭān Maṣṭafa who was killed by Ism'aīl and who is mentioned in both the I O MSS and in Price's Jahāngīr 72 I O MSS 235 mentions six.

[1] ʻĀlam Ārāī, p 90 He was 18 when his grandfather died

[2] She is mentioned in the ʻĀlam Ārāī p 160 She was a capable woman and probably the real contest was between her and her sister in-law Parī Khānım The ʻĀlam Ārāī notices her death, p 179 etc She apparently instigated her husband to put Parı Khanım to death In the ʻĀlam Ārāī 180, she is called Khaıru n nisā Both she and her mother were put to death by the discontented officers do 182.

Murtaẓa Qulī was defeated in battle, yet he displayed activity in defending the city. The Shāh (Khudābanda) led an army in that direction and invested Turbat, which is on the way to Herat and was held by Murshid Qulī K.[1] On account of the duplicity of the
92 disloyal he made a peace after six months and returned to 'Irāq. At this time news came that 'Abbās M. was meditating the giving of battle, but that he was indulging in the slumber of security on account of the withdrawal of the Shāh. The latter left his baggage and, owl-like, made a night attack on his ('Abbās') camp. Many leaders were killed, and some were made prisoners. Much booty was obtained. The Mīrza shut himself up with some men in Herat, and was besieged there. Owing to the folly of intriguers within and without (Herat), men proceeded to the height of shamelessness, and forcibly took M. Sulaimān[2] out of the palace and killed him. The Shāh was obliged to make an insincere peace (a wolf's truce) and to return. He led his army into Azarbaijān in order to dispose of the Turkish commotion. Hamza M. (his son) became the general. The disloyal Turks[3] (i.e. the Turks in the Persian service) behaved badly also to the Mīrzā (Hamza) and prevented the success of the campaign. They separated from him and came to Qazwin, and raised up Tahmāsp[4] the young son of the Shah. Hamza left his quarters and showed activity in attacking them. He was victorious and then returned to his former enterprise. Meanwhile Murshid Qulī succeeded by stratagem in taking Mashhad. 'Abbās M. under the guidance of 'Alī Qulī proceeded to give battle, but was defeated and went to Herat. Murshid Qulī became the Ataliq of the Mīrza ('Abbās). At this time Ḥamza M. was killed by the son of a barber.[5] The officers made Abu Ṭālib M. the young son of the Shah their leader (peshwa). The report of the coming of 'Abdullah K. to take Herat became general. Murshid Qulī K. took 'Abbās M. to

---

[1] His biography is given in Maaṣir ul Umra III 4.3.

[2] Khudābanda's Vizier. For account of his death see Alam Ārāī 210.

[3] Perhaps Turkan is a mistake for Turkoman.

[4] Ālam Ārāī .41.

[5] Text *dalal* a broker but the variant dallāk a barber seems right. Olearius 347 mentions the barber story but assigns it to Ism aīl. He says Hamza was killed by some men who were disguised as women and he represents this as occurring after Khudabanda's death.

'Iraq, and the Qızılbāsh deserted daily and joined him At last Shāh Sultān[1] Mahmud and Abu Tālib also joined Both were placed in retirement In the 32nd Divine year, 1587, the khutba was recited in his ('Abbas's) name He out of suspicion put many to death Though he could not succeed in taking Āzarbaijān and gave up Khurasān for a while, yet when the ruler of Turan[2] died he got hold of Khurasān On account of the tumult of youth he shed blood without consideration, and disgraced some persons, but he subsided somewhat at the remonstrance of the world's lord It is to be hoped that a good day will come

Also, in this year Mihtar Ibrāhim brought from Qandahar the petition of Mozaffar Husain M He conveyed presents and supplications The excuse accepting Shāhinshah showed kindness to the envoy

On the 18th the elephants[3] which Rajah Man Singh had obtained at the time of the Orissa Peace arrived at Court and H M took pleasure in beholding them

An occurrence was the arrival of Miriam Makāni from Agrā When news of her approach reached H M, he sent his sons, one after the other, to greet her

On 21 Khūrdad (31 May 1591) H M embarked in a boat, and went to the tent of that great lady and did her reverence Next morning they enjoyed themselves in river palaces (boats) and came to the city

---

[1] So in text but Muhammad seems the correct spelling and occurs in the MSS The person meant is Abbas's father Khhudabanda

[2] 'Abdullah did not die till 1597, 6 February = 2 Rajab 1006

[3] *Pilānī* is I think used elsewhere in the A N to mean elephants It may however mean a single large elephant It appears from a report by Sarmadi Bakhshi p 414a of B M Add 27,247 that 106 elephants were obtained in Orissa It is also said that the Afghans were to send 300

CHAPTER CV

Victory of the K Āzim M Koka and the disgrace of Mozaffar Gujrati

When Gujarat was taken from the Khān Khanān and assigned to the Kokaltash, and when there was delay in his going there, and the august standards were spread out in the Panjab the evil minded of that country rent the scarf of respect and withdrew their heads from obedience The Jām,[1] who was the head of the set, gathered together wicked men, and brought out his treasures and made Mozaffar Gujrati the general He also summoned to his aid Daulat K, the son of Amin K Ghori, the ruler of Junagarh and Sorath, and Khengār[2] the ruler of Kach (Cutch) The Koka arrived there before the rebels could effect much For a time he did not pay much attention to the matter, and he thought that the affair would be easily disposed of At last the intoxication of the wicked increased, and the K A'zim withdrew his hand from all other things and proceeded to remedy matters The brothers of Qulij K and the sons of Ism'ail Qulī K, who were holders of large fiefs made unfitting excuses and did not accompany him Apparently their non arrival was a Divine aid, for the fewer presumptuous ones there are in an expedition the better is the work done The cowardice of one man will upset a whole troop, and unsuitable words will confuse a world He made war, backed by the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, against numerous enemies and the folly of well-wishers who did not understand the position, and proceeded to chastise the short sighted opportunists Near Bairamgāon,[3] Fath K, son of Amin K Ghori, Candar Sen, the Zamindar of Halud, Karn Purmal, the Kalāntar (chief) of Morbi, and many presumptuous ones joined the

[1] (Satr Sāl)

[2] See Bayley's Gujarat 55 and note He is called there the ruler of Girnan. The Iqbālnama calls him Rajah Khengar See J II 249 n 2

[3] The Veirumgaon of Bayley's map W Ahmadabad

victorious army Naurang K., Saiyid Qasim, Khwaja Sulaiman, and other brave men were sent forward by the K. A'zam They[1] halted in Morbi, 25 *kos* from the enemies' country, and indulged in foolish talk I comprehend that they did not think of service, but why did the nobleness of eternal fortune remain behind a veil? From distorted vision they brought forward proposals of peace They did not succeed, and turned their faces to abjectness (perhaps, to a truce) The wicked and presumptuous (rebels) did not accept the proposals and conceived the idea of fighting The Kokaltash from his awakened fortune and bright star set himself to remedy matters, and though the soldiers were less than 10,000, and there were more than 30 000 of the enemy, he prepared for battle He arranged his forces in seven bodies[2] In the centre were Khānam,[3] Khwāja[4] Abu l qāsim Diwan, Hakīm Mozaffar Ardistāni, Qizil[5] Abdāl and other heroes with 2000 men. On the right wing was Naurang K 594 with 1500 men, on the left wing were Khwāja Rafī', Muhammad Husain, S Qāṣi Ḥusain, Saiyid Abu Isahaq Candar Sen with 1800 men The vanguard consisted of Saiyid Qasim,[6] Saiyid Bayāzid, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid 'Abdu r rahmān, Saiyid Salīm, Mir Sharfu-d din Saiyid Muṣṭafa with 1400 men The *altamsh consisted of* 1600 men[7] The Kokaltāsh, Kāmrān Beg, Muhammad Toqbāi, Khwāja Bābā and Qādir Quli Koka formed the reserve with 400 experienced men who loved their honour, Gūjar K with 600 men formed the reserve of the right wing, and Khwājam Bardī with an

---

[1] This obscure passage becomes clearer in the Iqbālnāma It was this advance force which indulged in *foolish* negotiations.

[2] Text *karohī kos* but the true reading is *gurohī* See the T A. which has seven bodies (*fauj*)

[3] This is M Koka s son B 328

[4] B 485 He was brother of Akbar s teacher

[5] Text *qaral* The MSS have Qizil and this seems right as Qizil occurs at p 787

[6] MS No 23 MS *Saiyid Qāsim* Bārha

[7] So in text but the MSS have the name Anwar instead of the word *hazār* (1000), and the account in the Iqbālnāma shows that Anwar is right Anwar is for M Anwar the son of the Kokaltāsh see Blochmann 328 and 475 1600 *seems too* large a figure for the *altamsh* and is reduced in MSS to 600 or 300 Anwar is no doubt the M Nour of Price s Jahāngir 42 who was put to death for a murder In B M MS Add 27,247 the name is written Nūr

[M. and there was Divine praise The Kokaltash had written hat he had become hopeless on account of the dismay of great and mall, but the world's lord had appeared to him in a dream and had ncouraged him so that *the water that had dispersed had returned to ts channel* If such glorious apparitions were recited, one by one, he ears of the superficial could not contain them

At this time Qāẓi Nūr Ullah and Qāẓi 'Ali were sent to Kashmir Enemies trumped up stories against Ṭoṭa [1] who was one of M Yusuf

rect to say that it had no results for it was followed by the surrender of Jūnagarh etc See Elliot V 461 and the Maasir U I 683 The date of the victory is said to be 6th Shawal 999 = about 18th July 1591 The T A and Badayūnī make it 998 but Faiẓī's chronogram and A F's statement show that it should be 999 According to I O MS 235 M Koka's force amounted to 8000 men and the enemy's to 17 000 I O MS 236 has 8900 for M Koka's force and 21 000 for the enemy's The Cawnpore edition has 8900 for M Koka's force and 17 000 for the enemy's I think that we may take 8900 to be the number of M Koka's men and 21,000 as that of the foe The latter number agrees with Niẓāmu d din's statement that the enemy had about 20 000 horse The reduction from 30 000 to 21 000 is not inconsistent with A F's first statement for he says that many of the rebels left when M Koka made the forward movement towards their homes Though the authorities speak of M Koka's arranging his force in seven bodies A F mentions eight Horn's Das Heer und Kriegswesen der Gross Moghuls Leyden 1894 pp 65 etc and also 113 has some interesting remarks on this battle The MS Add 27 247 says M Koka held a review (*shōn*) and that he found the number of his men was 9000 The total of the figures given in the MS for the enemy seems to be 17 000 It says the day first fixed for the battle was the Irān (also called Anīrān) that is the 30th day of the month (of Tīr) and which corresponded to Monday the Id of the Ramzān=13th July 1591 It gives 600 as the number of the altmash and calls the Jām's son Aca The actual day of the battle it gives as 4th *Amardad or 6th Shawal* (18th July) Instead of Siah āb black river it seems to have آسیه آب āsiya āb i e mill stream

[1] Text Bartuta and there is the variant Hartūta but it appears from B M MS 27,247 that the man's name was Ṭoṭa and that he was a Khatrī, and that *bar* is the preposition Qāẓī Nūr Ullah is apparently the author of the Majalisa-l Mumīnān who was afterwards flogged to death by Jahāngīr's *orders on* account of his Shi'ism See Rieu Cat I 337a and Badayūnī III 137 who praises Nur Ullah in spite of his being a Shia' It has been stated above p 549 that Akbar on his visit to Kashmīr raised the revenue from 20 to 22 lakhs The paragraph is rather obscure I

K 's confidential servants, and represented that his skirt was stained with embezzlement The Mirzā, without making inquiry, put him to the torture, and he, after being ill used, escaped and came to court as a suppliant for justice He represented that the revenue of Kashmir had been fixed at 22 lakhs of *Kharwars,* and that M Yusuf had got the fief at the rate of sixteen *dams* for each Kharwar At present the number of Kharwars (received by Yusuf) was 50 per cent more than this, and each *Kharwar* was worth 28 *dams* All these facts could be ascertained by inquiry On the 16th (Amardad =27th July, 1591) these two able and unavaricious officers were sent to inquire into matters

On the 18th (Amardad=29th July, 1591) 'Urfi of Shiraz died He had opened[1] a door of the house of eloquence If he had not had self love, and had regulated his life properly, and if Time had given him some leisure, his work would have risen high About this time (the time of his death) he composed this quatrain

Verse[2]

Urfī! it is the last breath, and still thou art intoxicated
After all, of what value are the goods thou hast packed?
To morrow the Friend with the ready money of paradise in
his palm
Will ask for thy wares and thou wilt have an empty hand 596

---

think the words *u Daryaft i hamwara bar gasht* must be a phrase meaning that everything would be ascertained by a local investigation It seems as if the author of the Iqbalnama so understood them for he says that the clerk (Ṭota) said that the truth would be ascertained if an Amīn were sent Qāẓī Nūr Ullah retreated in time but Qaẓī Alī was killed by the Kashmīris The subject is referred to by Blochmann at p 346 but apparently he has taken his account from the Maaṣir III 315 and not directly from the A N

[1] Possibly the rendering should be A pearl of eloquence has dropped But it appears from B 571 that Urfi spoke of his standing before a door etc Possibly there is a pun in the remark about self love and dar khud may mean both 'in himself and his own door

[2] Cf B 571 Not a grain, etc The translation is Mr Lowe's 387 B 569 says Urfī died in Lahore in Shawwal 999 Badayuni has a notice of Urfī III 285 See also Khafī K I 200 where two witticisms of Urfi at Faizi's expense are recorded His real name according to B was Khwaja Sayyadī though

On the 30th (Amardād) Bībī Rūpa[1] covered her face from the troublous spot of the earth (i e died) H M was grieved but from profundity of view he became resigned, and craved forgiveness (for her) She was one of the choice nurses She always spent her time with propriety, and out of her right thinking she obtained long life On this day the Ahadís came to court after performing good service Before this, some Rajputs had killed Karam Beg, the son of Sher[2] Beg, and gone off rapidly Hamza[3] 'Arab had a *jagīr* in Bhimbhar Umrā, the brother of Rai Rai Singh, became disobedient and practised violence He received suitable punishment from the fief holder Kesu Das, his (Rai Rai Singh's) brother s son lay in wait to take revenge One night he killed Karam Beg, thinking that he was Hamzā s son, and then fled with some companions When the thing was known, swift men went off in all directions S Adam and S 'Azoya llah Ahadi went off in search via Multān Between Dibāl pur[4] and Qanulā (?) they came up with the fugitives near the town of Naushahra Some Rājputs of Rai Rai Singh's and some servants of the Khān[5] Khānān also joined them Kesu Dās and five others were killed and three men were brought in as prisoners The Ahadis were graciously received

On this night after three *pahars* 1½ *gharis* 'Abdu r rahmān,[6] the son of the writer of the noble volume, had a son There was great rejoicing and the world s lord gave him the name of Bishotan It is hoped that his distinction will increase, and that he will soon get fitting employment Also at this time S Ibrahim[7] died He had a large share of practical wisdom, and the province of Agra was managed by his cleverness He died on 4th Shahriyar, 14th August, 1591, and H M begged forgiveness for him His surviving relatives

Beale says it was Jamalu-d dīn His poetry appears to have been translated by Maulvi Abdu s Salam See Rieu Cat 667a for an account of Urfī

[1] See translation 1 131 She was one of Akbar s wet nurses

[2] Sher Beg Yasawaltāshī B 515

[3] Perhaps No 277 of B 497 B M MS Add 27 247 calls Karam Sultan Beg

[4] Should be Dipālpur It is the Dīpalpūr Lakhī of J II 332 and Qanula appears to be the Qabulah there mentioned

[5] The Khan Khanan had Multan as his fief

[6] See B xxxv and for Bishotan id xxxvi

[7] B 402 and Badayūnī Lowe 387 He was very wealthy Add 28 247 gives the Hijra date as 7 Zi l Qada

received favours By the royal command Shah Quli K. Mahram proceeded from Mewāt to that quarter (Agra) and in a short space of time they (the inhabitants) discoursed[1] of his administration of justice and good deeds

One of the occurrences was the sending of ambassadors to the south When Burhān al-Mulk prevailed over Ahmadnagar he should have increased his devotion and gratitude, and been an example of obedience to the other rulers in that quarter The wine of success robbed him of his senses, and he forgot the varied favours he had received from the Shahinshah In his evil fortune he set himself to oppress the weak, and considered that his profit consisted in the injury of others The world's lord, on account of graciousness and benevolence resolved that he should in the first instance send an able person to Rajah 'Ali K —to whom Burhan was submissive—and to convey, in accordance with his suggestions, counsels to the somnolent one (Burhan) and the other rulers of that quarter If they listened and apologised, he would withhold his hand from retribution Otherwise a victorious army would be appointed, and chastisement be inflicted On the 14th the Mulku sh sh'uara[2] S Abu-l faiz Faizi was sent to Rajah 'Ali K and Burhān al Mulk Aminu-d din was sent along with him Mir Muhammad Rizavi was sent to 'Ādil K, and Mir Manu to Qutbu l Mulk Many messages of instruction were sent 597

One of the occurrences was the proceeding of the officers to Junagarh When M Koka gained his victory, he hastened next morning to Nawanagar, and gathered immense booty The Jām and Mozaffar fled to the highlands of Barra (Bardā, also called Jaitwār, The Kokaltāsh remained where he was to punish the evil-doers, and sent Naurang K Sayid Qasim, and Khwāja Sulaiman to take Jūna-

[1] The meaning is obscurely expressed in the text and I have been obliged to paraphrase A F s expressions A F speaks in another place of the people of Agra being very difficult to manage Ibrahīm Cisti accumulated an immense fortune during his governorship and the most of it went into the government coffers The expression *bar guzrānd* seems identical with the words *bar guzā rand* on the next page line eleven

[2] Cf Badayuni Lowe 389 90, and Elliot V 460 B M M S Add 27 247 gives copies of the *firmāns* (see that MS pp 398*b* and 400) to Rajah 'Alī and Burhān Apparently these also occur in the Insha, Book I

garh. His thought was that when his mind was at rest about that country he would follow them. Those sent encountered great hardships in consequence of the desolation of the territory and the high price of provisions When by endurance they approached the place, Daulat K., the son of Amin K., died of his wounds, and there was some talk of surrendering the fort The garrison said, "The governor of the fort is dead, and the victorious army has arrived: The proper thing is to conclude a treaty, and make over the keys" The answer sent was that they should send a confidential man in order that their wishes might be carried out. At this time news came that a set of Kāthīs had fallen upon the baggage. Of necessity the troops had to go to that spot Just then, Mozaffar came there, and the garrison resumed their haughtiness The Khān 'Azim was indignant, and resolved upon taking the fort. Mozaffar came out and it was reported that he had hastened off to Aḥmadābād. The Kokaltāsh sent an army after him under the command of Kharram (his son) and intended that he himself should invest the fort. Meanwhile it appeared that the Jām was in the neighbourhood and proceeding to his home M. Koka hastened thither. The Jām turned back and had recourse to supplications Meanwhile the disturbance of Nazar[1] Be and his sons arose. M. Koka was obliged to accept the Jām's apologies and to return In Dandūqa Mir Abu Turāb arrived from court and brought a rescript, and choice horses and robes of honour for the servants The officers on hearing of the glorious news offered up thanks Just then the news of the quelling of the Mālwa rebels gave a fresh brightness to the countenance of joy. The Kokaltash's idea was to return to the capture of the fort, but he was hindered by the hanging back of his companions.

---

[1] These were Uzbegs who had left 'Abdullah K See B 4?5 and 519 Their fate is recorded below, p 600 Add 27,247 mentions three sons, Qambari, Shādī and Pīrū (?) They and their father had gone to the Deccan and joined Burhānu-l-Mulk without obtaining l[eave fro]m Akbar.

CHAPTER CVI

Departure of Prince Sulṭān Murād to take charge of the province of Mālwa.

The best worship by a sovereign is the choosing of right thinking men and the appointing them to look after the weak, especially 59
when the former adorn high birth by good qualities Such is the conduct of our sovereign lord He is always testing friends and strangers, and exalting the humble He looks after the neighbouring rulers If they sympathise with mortals by administering justice, etc, no harm comes to them, and he encourages them Otherwise entreaties do not prevent him from inflicting retribution But he begins by giving advice, and holds forth both hopes and fears When the rulers of the Deccan took to behaving ill, he sent able men to advise them He also exalted Prince Sultān Murād, who was adorned with fitting qualities, and gave him a standard, a kettledrum, an umbrella and a togh (banner), and appointed Malwa as his fief On the night of 4th Mihr 14th[1] September, 1591, after the lapse of two hours, he was sent off there after receiving weighty counsels H M 's idea was that if the rulers of the South were not impressed by the good advices, punishment should be prepared for them I record here some of the weighty advices which he hung on the ears of that honoured son, and thereby communicate the materials of wisdom

"The first step is to enquire into what is God's Will, in order that right actions may be performed After that, outward purification is to be pursued Food and clothing are not to be made ends Profundity of view is to be exercised • Tyrannous actions are to be

---

[1] Elliot V 460 gives 23 Zi l hajja as the date but the Newal K ed gives 8th and Badayūnī Lowe 391, has 12th The 8th would correspond to 18th September 1591 The Iqbālnama says Murād was also made a commander of 8000 B M MS 27 247 gives 9th Zi-l hajja as the date when Murād was sent

abstained from The rules of moderation and of fitting season are not to be departed from Every member (of the body) is to be kept to its proper office Much speaking and laughing are to be avoided Sleep is not to exceed one third part of the day and night (nychthemeron) There must be an endeavour to improve the army, and the country, to provide for the safety of the roads, and the obedience of the refractory, and thieves and robbers must be put down Then attention is to be paid to internal improvement Lust and wrath must be subjected to the commands of Wisdom, for the Creator has placed two sentinels in the palace of the body The one sees that proper things are done; the other that evil things are abstained from The children of men out of somnolent intellect have given these two a loose rein, and have made what should be the adornment of life the supplier of death Do not neglect the knowledge of what is right, and support the power of the ruler (Reason) Preserve the equability of the four humours, and keep far from excess and defect which constitute evil Use justice and discretion in this daily market of hypocrisy and double facedness The worship of the choosers of bypaths who have severed the links of association is one thing and that of those who are bound in the improvement of the world is another Though[2] the idea of both is development, yet the former never departs from awakedness while insouciance is suitable to the latter Study the actions of every one, and be not disturbed by seeing improprieties. Let not love or hate or threats or encouragements, transgress bounds A frown will effect with many, what in other men requires a sword and dagger Let not difference of religion interfere with policy, and be not violent in inflicting retribution Adorn the confidential council with men who know their work If apologies be made, accept them Be not stiff in your own opinions
599 Do not consider any one suitable for this employment (the giving of advice) except a far seeing right thinking and disinterested person Do not make ease[3] your rule, and do not reject help in the

---

[1] Referring apparently to the two recording angels who attend every man One records his good actions and the other his evil deeds See *Hughes Dict of Islam* article Angels

[2] The passage is obscure but apparently the meaning is that the devotee is always engaged in worship while the layman is necessarily subject to interruptions

[3] The text here differs from the

day of (your) distress Do not be dismayed by much ill success Choose the observance of your promises above all advantage to your self, and live so that the crowds of foreigners be not distressed Especially see to it that merchants have a good opinion of you for their report carries far Expect[1] from every one service in proportion to his ability Be not deceived in your inquiries by glozing words Love is produced by one of four things 1st. The idea of worldly advantage This is slow to come and soon goes 2nd Spiritual advantage This is the opposite of the first 3rd Goodness of disposition This lasts throughout life Its permanency or its non-existence depends upon wisdom[2] 4th Loyalty (*Ikhlaṣ*) One must by the route of this fourfold stream look narrowly into the condition of followers and regulate his actions according to such knowledge You must study instructive books, and apply your knowledge to practice Secure the affection of contented hermits and of the matted haired and barefooted Be not uplifted by beholding those who have been robbed of splendour Apply yourself to sympathising with the soldier, and give him his pay in due season Demand from every one suitable horses arms and tents for him Reward good service Do not lose sight of an old servant Fail not to encourage the husbandman For every employment secures truthful and active minded men, so that they may do good work without desire of money,[3] or of greatness

MSS., but they too are not very intelligible

[1] That is do not expect more from an ordinary man than he can do

[2] This sentence is obscure and there are different readings in the MSS Perhaps instead of *khirad* wisdom we should read *khūd* and the reference may be to the oriental proverb that every thing returns to its original The word *bachīra* "at the end occurs in the Lucknow ed. and in a MS of my own

[3] The text has *bāda*, wine, but some MSS have *pāra* money The words in text are *be khāwish-i-bāda-i-buzurgī farokhtan* without the desire of selling the wine of greatness (?) Apparently, what is meant is that they are not to be accessible to bribes Badayūnī, Lowe 391 92 has a sarcastic account of Prince Murād s administration of Mālwa The Prince was then under twenty one years of age No doubt he was preferred to his elder brother on account of the latter s drunken habits. The MS Add 27 247 gives a very long Wājibu l Arẓ or Petition of the prince to his father asking for instructions in the performance of his duties To each item of his queries is appended Akbar s order thereon Each of these is headed

or praise Do not withhold your own supervision from them Exalt the right-thinking, and admonish and punish the foolish Be not satisfied in the administration of justice with oaths and witnesses. Make various inquiries and study the book of the forehead (the physiognomy) Do not introduce new customs which yield little advantage and much evil Make over the Passes to brave and experienced men and neglect not the security of the roads In prosperity remember adversity, and prepare remedies for everything Choose a good companion, and be not offended at his truthful speech Obey wisdom and refrain from ebullitions of temper ' He gave him many delightful counsels It is to be hoped that fortune will favour him, and that something of what has been said will lead to action Ismāīl
600 Quli K (here follow 7 lines of names) and many others accompanied that nursling of fortune The fief-holders of Malwa were also appointed to choice service From among them Ism'ail Quli K was made Vakil and Mukhtār Beg, Bakhshi Next day the writer of the noble volume was sent to expound some of the admonitions, and represent that there was spiritual union (with Akbar) though there was physical separation I was also to ascertain and report the wishes of the prince, and to endeavour to carry them out There was a confidential meeting The pearl of the kingly diadem (Murad) uttered pleasing words and the sovereign was delighted on hearing them, and said I hope that prosperity will not produce somnolence and that the society of the good will act as a guard

hukm shud In the same MS A F describes how after Akbar had given directions to the prince A F was sent next day to give verbal instructions, and to receive his applications for orders Murad asks a great many questions He begins by saying that he dreads the separation from his father, and says he would have liked to remain near him as his ewer-bearer He fears he may be attacked by enemies in his absence and that he may be accused of hypocrisy He asks how he is to act with regard to *kornish*, how he is to check drunkenness among his followers, how he is to regulate his time of sleep, etc He begs that two persons whom he names may be allowed to accompany him Akbar replies that one of them will be sent but that the wife of the other man objects to his going and that until she can be persuaded to let him go, he cannot be sent Murad asks about amusements and about days of fasting (*sūyiāna*) He also asks for books and is told that the translation of the Mahābharat will be sent him Also that the sacred names of God will be sent him to help him in h s do et ..

On the 21st H M went out to hunt, and some ladies accompanied him He went as far as the Cenāb, and he enjoyed himsel Though hunting was the object, yet many oppressed persons obtained justice, and many refractory persons were chastised On the 25th near Shaham 'Alı he received the news of the disaffection of Nazar Be and of his death He and his sons had received high rank and been given a *jagır*, in Handia As the wine of self-will does not agree with narrow capacities, they soon became oppressors When Burhān-al-Mulk went to the Deccan Nazar Be's sons accompanied him without orders He himself, thinking that Gujarat was empty, went off there On hearing this, M Koka made peace with the Jam and returned When that crooked-minded one (Nazar) saw that fortune was not in his favour, he represented that he had come in order to see how things were going on When the Kokaltash heard this, he did not expose[1] him, but politely dismissed him He did not go to his jāgir, but went to the Deccan When he came to Khāndesh, Rajah 'Ali K gave him a warm welcome for a time, but had the prudence to send him back unsuccessful. Near Sāwal[2] the Kūliān (a tribe) blocked his path, and in the fight he was killed At this time his sons left Burhānu-l-Mulk, and stirred up strife in Mālwa Khwāja Muhibb 'Ali Diwān gathered together Jamālu-d-din Ḥusain and other fief holders of the province, and set forth to remedy matters The wicked men dispersed thereupon, and near Bijagarh[3] fought with the landholders and were defeated Qambar[4] Be was wounded, and died Shādi Be and some followers came to Nadarbar (Nazarbār) The agents of Qulij K bound him and brought him to court H M was kind to him and sent him to Bengal

[1] *ban rū nī āward* "did not bring him to book (?) Perhaps it means, did not attend to him Add. 27 247 has *nekohish ūmid* "he was censured "

[2] Perhaps Savda in Khāndes the Sāodā of J II 225

[3] Not identified

[4] Text has Qambar Be Raḥim Be kardū But Raḥim is a mistake for zakhmi as Add 27 247 and the Iqbāl nāma show Nazar Be had a third son, called Bāqī at III. 487 Add 27,247 says Qambar took shelter with Tewārī, a dependent of Mozaffar Gujaratī, after he was wounded This is interesting for it supports the statement of I O MS 235 p 684a last line, that the wounded man took refuge with the zemindar of Rājpīpla for his name was Tewārī See J II 251 I O MS 236 also speaks of Qambar Be's taking refuge with

On 1 [1] Ābān the festival of the solar weighment was celebrated In Badalgarha H M was weighed against twelve articles, and the world rejoiced All got their desires. An order was given to Zain K Koka, who was the fiefholder of the place, to convert the site of the weighment into a garden H M gave it the name of Zainābād At this time it occurred to H M to found a large city on the
301 bank of the Cenab and that thus an old idea would be carried into effect Skilful men pointed out several sites On the 6th (Ābān) Ḥakim Miṣri, Hakīm ʻAlī, Khwaja Muhammad Husain and Mīr Ṭahir were sent to examine both banks of the river They selected two spots. One was on the other side, between Parguwāl and Hajwāl, and was a dependency of Bahlulpūr [2] The other was on this side, and near the town of Sūdhara An order was given that the Greek and Indian astrologers should ascertain a propitious time As they fixed one that was somewhat remote, the work was not undertaken

On this day Mīr Sharif Amuli was sent off to Bengal and Bihar and was entrusted with four [3] great offices (*manṣab*), viz those of Āmin, Sadr, and Qāẓi Sharīf Sarmadi [4] was made Bakhshi

---

Tewārī and adds that he died at his place

[1] 6 Muḥarram 1000 according to Add. 27 240

[2] Bhilalpūr or Bahlolpūr of I G, VI 205 in the Ludiana district The names of the two villages which were dependencies of Bahlūlpūr are different in Add 27 247 The wording too of the passage is different The names in the B M MS seem to be Barkowal and Jaguwal The other site was in the village of Kahūra near Shūdra Akbar was then in the village of Shāh Ālam and while there he discussed and reprobrated some trick perpetrated by Alexander against Porus This subject is referred to in the Sayings of Akbar given in the Ayīn J III 392 and note

[3] The text following apparently the Lucknow edition says he was made a commander of 4000 But this, as B has pointed out 452 n 1 must be a mistake I O MS 235 gives one of the four offices as Khalīfagī apostleship Evidently the text is wrong for it only mentions three offices Add 27 247 has a very curious statement It says that the highest office was to give advice to the Prince Royal (Jahāngīr) who had gone wrong through drink

[4] He too is one of Badayūnī's heretics B 391 N and 607 Sarmadī wrote a long and interesting account of Man Singh's conquest of Jagannāth (Pooree) which is preserved in B M MS 27 247

On 28th (Ābān) the standards were upreared at Lahore, and crowds rejoiced to see H M. One day, while hunting, a fawn was seen By the royal command a bitch[1] (named) Teztak (the swift) was let loose The fawn was nearly caught when the mother devised a stratagem She pretended to be lame, and came near the bitch; the latter thought her an easy prey, and went after her The fawn escaped, and when the mother had conveyed her to the herd and was at ease about her, she left off her lameness, and went away swiftly. H M said he had seen such a remarkable thing in a *qamrgah* hunt in Bazarah,[2] but that the mother had not escaped.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of the Arghūniāns.[3] It has been mentioned that a choice army was appointed under the command of the Khān-Khānān to take Qandahār. As Multan and Bhakkar were in his fief he left the near road by Ghaznīn and Bangash and took a long route in order to look after his *jāgīrs*. Meanwhile mercenary people who did not understand what should be done represented the large spoil of Tatta and the little spoil of Qandahār The commander took[4] leave to conquer Sind. Near

[1] *Qanjaq* or *qānjaq*, a canine bitch

[2] Badrak in text, but Bāzārah or Bazārak (a little bazaar) in Afghanistan seems meant See *ante* translation I. 526

[3] They derive their name from the grandson of Hulāgū Elliot I, 303 At p 428 l c, it is stated that the dynasty ended with Shāh Husain, but see B 361, 362 The Tarkhāns represented the older branch

[4] Presumably this means that the Khān Khānān obtained Akbar's consent to the change of plan A F does not give the date of the Khān Khānān's arrival at Bhakkar M'aṣūm, Elliot I 247, says he himself arrived there on 14 Safr 999 (2 December 1590) and that Khān Khānān came there at the same time On account of the hot winds and the violence of the river, he stayed there some time, and then sent M'aṣūm to Sehwān and himself followed afterwards The naval battle was not fought till about eleven months after the K K's arrival at Bhakkar

There are some words in the B M MS Add 27,247 which are omitted in the text It appears that Akbar, or at least A F disapproved of the change of plan, for the remark is that Qandahar could have been easily reached by way of Ghaznī and Bangash, and that the alteration of plan made an easy task difficult There is a paragraph about Qandahar in the annals of the 35th year, page 584 of Bib Ind ed It corresponds to a passage in Add 27,247, but the wording is different According to the latter, Qandahar had always belonged to India, but Humāyūn had resigned it to the ruler of

Multan the Baluchis waited on him and made promises Near Bhakkar he drew up his forces. At this time the ambassadors of M. Jānī Beg came to the Khān-Khānan and represented, "The conquest of Qandahar is the object of the army It would have been fitting that (our master) should join on this, but as the disturbance of strifemongers prevents this, he is sending an army to serve " The envoys were put into confinement and the troops advanced somewhat faster Just then news came that fire had broken out in the fort of Sehwan and consumed the provisions On hearing this the troops went on rapidly by land and water Those who went by water passed under the fort of Sehwān and took Lakhi [1] It is like Garhi in Bengal and Bārahmūla in Kashmir No harm came from the cannon and muskets of the garrison, and the gate of the country fell into their
302 hands. The Khan Khānan approached the fort (i e Sehwan), and set himself to take it Some call this country Siwistān This fort of the ruler is situated on the bank of the Indus on the top of a ridge The glacis (*khakrez*) is 40 yards, and the wall seven yards (high) Near it there is a lake [2] eight *kos* in length, and six in breadth

---

Persia Now that the star of the Persians was setting (*dar ufūl ast*) it occurred to H M that it would help Persia if he took Qandahar and so saved it from the Uzbegs' Also the Mīrzās (nephews of Tahmāsp) had grown deaf of heart and were not acting properly Akbar proposed to take Qandahar from them and to bring them to India The Khān Khānān therefore was sent off with a large force on 24 Mihr—the day of Dīn corresponding to 17 Rabī ul-awwal (999) = January 1590 but from self interested motives and a desire to gather the spoils of Sind, he did not go by Baluchistan M Jānī Beg s offence was that he had not paid his respects to Akbar at Lahore

[1] See B 335 and note Hughes Gazetteer of Scinde p 686 says Between the towns of Lakī and Sehwān the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus between which and the precipice there was at one time a road though in some places so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time The defile was swept away in 1839 Part of the Khān-Khānān s forces went by water and part by land Apparently, he himself went by land The taking of the Lakī Pass secured the route to Tatta The Sehwan Fort stands on an artificial mound and according to legend was built by Alexander the Great It is known as the Kāfur Qila? See also about Lakī and the taking of it by the K K Elliot I 285 Lukh means a defile in Balūchi (Pottinger)

[2] The Manchhar lake I G XVII

Three branches of the river join it It is a place of refuge for the garrison Some men live on islands in it and some in boats Qarā Beg and some men embarked on boats (*ghrab*) and went towards it As they came suddenly, they collected much plunder The land-owners asked for quarter On hearing this, M Jānī Beg prepared to give battle At the pass of Naṣirpur[1]—a place which lies on one side, the river,[2]—and on the other, streams, he constructed a fort He strengthened it by war boats and a park of artillery The army was doubtful about advancing At this time Rāwal Bhīm, the ruler of Jaisalmīr, and Dalpat s Rai Singh, represented "Our intention was to have come by Bhakkar Having lost[3] our way we are coming by way of Umarkot" From apprehension that the enemy would prevail over this force, (the K K) left the work of taking the fort and of making the road, and set off by land and water Maqṣud Āqā and some men were left at the ferries so that the garrison might be alarmed, and the route be in some measure safe On 18 Ābān he arrived within six *kos* of the enemy, and out of precaution put up four walls On the 21st,[4] Khusru the Circassian prepared his boats and came out to fight Although they were moving up stream, they were forced downwards by the strength of the current The fight went on from evening till dawn Owing to a report that M Jānī was coming by land, Faridun Barlās and others on that dark night left the river In the morning there was a hot cannonade, and a great battle The enemy could not come to close quarters owing to the shallowness of the water Those who had left the river (i e the imperialists) came by the other bank and took to shooting with arrows (bullets ?) The brave soldiers went down the stream in war-boats For a time they fought with bullets, but soon they contended with spears and daggers

---

122 and J II 338 where it is called Manchur See also Hughes Gazetteer

[1] The Nasarpur of the I G XVIII 398 in the Hala division of the Haidarābād district J II 341

[2] Variant and also I O MSS *buzurg daryā* great river

[3] Text *az gumrāhī* from losing our way But the I O MSS have az kam ābī deficiency of water and this seems right Apparently the reference is to the want of drinking water on the route by Bhakkar

[4] 21 Ābān = 3' Oc 1591 The Tarīkh Akb Elliot V 461 has 26 Muharram 1000 = about 3 November, as date of battle

Multan the Balucis waited on him and made promises Near Bhakkar he drew up his forces. At this time the ambassadors of M. Jānī Beg came to the Khān-Khānan and represented, "The conquest of Qandahar is the object of the army It would have been fitting that (our master) should join on this, but as the disturbance of strife-mongers prevents this, he is sending an army to serve" The envoys were put into confinement and the troops advanced somewhat faster Just then news came that fire had broken out in the fort of Sehwan and consumed the provisions On hearing this the troops went on rapidly by land and water Those who went by water passed under the fort of Sehwān and took Lakhi [1] It is like Garhi in Bengal and Bārahmūla in Kashmir No harm came from the cannon and muskets of the garrison and the gate of the country fell into their
602 hands The Khan-Khānan approached the fort (i e Sehwan), and set himself to take it Some call this country Siwistān This fort of the ruler is situated on the bank of the Indus on the top of a ridge The glacis (*khakrez*) is 40 yards, and the wall seven yards (high) Near it there is a lake [2] eight *kos* in length, and six in breadth

---

Persia Now that the star of the Persians was setting (*dar ufūl ast*) it occurred to H M that it would help Persia if he took Qandahar and so saved it from the Uzbegs! Also the Mirzās (nephews of Tahmāsp) had grown deaf of heart and were not acting properly Akbar proposed to take Qandahar from them and to bring them to India The Khān Khānān therefore was sent off with a large force on 24 Mihr—the day of Dīn corresponding to 17 Rabī ul-awwal (999)=January 1590 but from self interested motives, and a desire to gather the spoils of Sind, he did not go by Baluchistan M Jānī Beg s offence was that he had not paid his respects to Akbar at Lahore

[1] See B 335 and note Hughes Gazetteer of Scinde p 686 says "Between the towns of Lakī and Sehwān the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus between which and the precipice there was at one time a road though in some places so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time The defile was swept away in 1839 Part of the Khān-Khānān s forces went by water and part by land Apparently, he himself went by land The taking of the Lakī Pass secured the route to Tatta The Sehwan Fort stands on an artificial mound and according to legend was built by Alexander the Great It is known as the Kāfur Qila? See also about Lakī and the taking of it by the K K Elliot I 285 Lukh means a defile in Balūchi (Pottinger)

[2] The Manchhar lake I G XVII

Three branches of the river join it It is a place of refuge for the garrison Some men live on islands in it and some in boats Qarā Beg and some men embarked on boats (*ghrab*) and went towards it As they came suddenly, they collected much plunder The land-owners asked for quarter On hearing this, M Jānī Beg prepared to give battle At the pass of Nasirpur[1]—a place which lies on one side, the river,[2]—and on the other, streams, he constructed a fort He strengthened it by war boats and a park of artillery The army was doubtful about advancing At this time Rāwal Bhim, the ruler of Jaisalmīr, and Dalpat s Rai Singh, represented "Our intention was to have come by Bhakkar Having lost[3] our way we are coming by way of Umarkot" From apprehension that the enemy would prevail over this force, (the K K) left the work of taking the fort and of making the road, and set off by land and water Maqsud Āqā and some men were left at the ferries so that the garrison might be alarmed, and the route be in some measure safe On 18 Ābān he arrived within six *kos* of the enemy, and out of precaution put up four walls On the 21st,[4] Khusru the Circassian prepared his boats and came out to fight Although they were moving up stream, they were forced downwards by the strength of the current The fight went on from evening till dawn Owing to a report that M Jānī was coming by land, Farīdūn Barlās and others on that dark night left the river In the morning there was a hot cannonade, and a great battle The enemy could not come to close quarters owing to the shallowness of the water Those who had left the river (i e the imperialists) came by the other bank and took to shooting with arrows (bullets ?) The brave soldiers went down the stream in war boats For a time they fought with bullets, but soon they contended with spears and daggers

---

122 and J II 338 where it is called Manchūr See also Hughes Gazetteer

[1] The Nasarpur of the I G XVIII 398 in the Hāla division of the Haidarābād distric J II 341

[2] Variant and also I O MSS *bus rg daryā* "great river"

[3] Text *az gumrahī* from losing our way But the I O MSS have *az kam ābī* deficiency of water and this seems right Apparently the reference is to the want of drinking water on the route by Bhakkar

[4] 21 Aban = 3? Oc 1591 The Tārīkh Akb Elliot V 461 has 26 Muharram 1000 = about 3 November as date of battle

Verse

Flashed the diamond like swords
The steely spears were made bloody
You'd say a smoke arose from the earth
Out of it there shone the fire of battle

The enemy withdrew their hands from the work and fled, and there was a great victory Bardāna—(var Parwana) a noted man—was killed, and M Quli was wounded and captured Four *ghrabs* full of men and stores (*khwāsta*) were captured In one of them was the ambassador[1] of Ormuz The rule is that the governor of Ormuz leaves one (ambassador) at Tatta, in order that there may be a feeling of security[2] among the merchants M Jāni had brought him with him in order to proclaim that so many tribes had come to help him
93 He also brought some servants of his own, dressed up in their clothes 200 of the enemy fell into the waves of destruction, and more than 1000 were wounded Owing to the Divine protection, few of the victorious troops were hurt Active men brought up their *ghrabs* and wounded Khusru, and he was nearly made prisoner Suddenly[3] a gun burst and the boat was broken to pieces, and some were killed The far seeing and experienced urged that they should proceed by land and water to the dwelling place of M Jāni As the morning of success had blown in the evening of despair, most did not approve of this, and so they made difficult a task that had become easy On 13 Āzar H M was enquiring about the condition of Tatta and said, "Search well, for some one is coming from that quarter Suddenly a swift camel-rider (*bukhti suwar*) brought the news of victory[4] New thanksgiving was offered up

---

[1] Text *wakhshūr* ambassador But the variant qaitūr قيطور is supported by the I O MSS while the Iqbālnāma twice has taifur and calls the officer the gomastah or agent of the governor of Ormus The Cawnpore ed has manzūr A MS of my own has فيطور *faitūr*, and this is evidently the true reading for the word intended is the Portuguese feitor, equal to factor, and which occurs in a quotation in Hobson Jobson

[2] Apparently the meaning is that the governor of Ormuz (perhaps a Portuguese) left a representation at Tatta as a sort of hostage so that the Tatta merchants might feel safe in going to Ormuz

[3] M'aṣūm says the powder magazine in the imperialists boat caught fire

[4] Maṣūm Bhakkarī's account of the battle will be found in Elliot I 248, etc

On the 26th (Āzar) Āsaf K was sent to the Cinab and the Bihat As information was received that the landholders of that quarter were oppressing the weak, this good officer was sent to punish them In various places *Faujdars* were appointed Zia-l mulk was appointed to Mung, Allah Bakhsh Maral to Rasulpur, Hāfiz Wali (to the tract) from Jandala to Lahore In a short time many met with their deserts, and some were brought bound to court The persons above named were left in their place

One of the occurrences was that the ruler of Tibet sent his daughter to court From the time that Kashmir had been included in the empire, the ruler of that country (Tibet) had continually made supplications It occurred to 'Ali Rai the ruler of Little Tibet that his daughter might enter into the gynaeceum of the Prince Royal H M approved of this, and on 22 Dai she[1] was conveyed along with presents of the country He obtained his wish At this time a glorious son came into being, and there was a feast of joy Inasmuch as the Incomparable Creator waters the garden of eternal dominion, auspicious sons were bestowed, one after the other, and the garden of fortune was kept verdant Accordingly this noble record tells thereof A fresh instance was when on the 26th (Dai) after four hours and 24 minutes, during the sign of Libra, the daughter of the Mota Rajah gave birth to a son in the harem of Prince Sultan Selim (in Lahore) He received the name of Sultān Kharram[2]

One of the occurrences was the appointing of an army to Qandahar When the Khan Khānān chose the conquest of Tatta, Prince Sultan Daniel was sent off to that quarter (Qandahar) with a large army H M ordered that if the Mirzās chose service, he should accept them and make them hopeful of royal favours Otherwise he was to conquer the country and make it over to some able and just officer

[1] Cf Badayūnī Lowe 388

[2] This is Shah Jahān He was born on 30 Rabī al awwal 1000 on 5 January 1592 at Lahore, B 311 His mother's name was Balmatī (Beale) Jahāngīr, Price 20 calls her Jagat Gosāine MS Add 27,247 writes the name of the child as Sultan Khūram خرم A space is left in the MS for the horoscope but it is blank There is one in the 'Amal Sālih It states that the child was made over to the care of Rukhiya Begam Akbar's first wife and who was childless She was his cousin being the daughter of M Hindāl

Several of the imperial servants made suggestions for his (Daniel's) turning back, and from his acceptance of humble representations he (Akbar) assented On 4 Bahman Khidmat Rai [1] (?) died of dysentery He belonged to a tribe which was unequalled in India for wickedness They are also called Māwi and Candāl H M favoured him and made him chief of his tribe, and guided him towards honesty He opened somewhat the windows of his heart, and many from conversation with him turned away from evil courses At the present day, the guards in every house come from them As he had the title of Khidmat Rai, every one of the tribe is called Khidmatiya [2] On the 6th, choice mountain productions, which had been sent by Bahādur Singh, the Rajah of Khistwāra, were shown to H M The envoys received favours On the 20th the nursling of fortune Sultan Khusru was put to school First, he was shown how to pray to God and then taught the letter *Alif* An order was given to the writer of the noble volume to teach him something every day, and then to leave the completion of the teaching to his younger brother [3] Abu l khair, who bore the mark of uniqueness for goodness and acquisition of wisdom May the Almighty make the blessing of external teaching the material of real knowledge, and preserve him from the injury caused by current sciences—which are a place of stumbling to mortals

One of the occurrences was the plundering of the home of Rajah Madhukar When Prince Sultān Murād was sent to Mālwa the chiefs and the landowners everywhere came forward and paid their respects, and returned after receiving favours News came to Agra the capital that this landowner (Madhukar), out of presumptuousness, did not intend to pay his respects An admonitory letter was sent to him, and near Narwar he sent his grandson, and made excuses for not coming himself A second warning was sent to him,

[1] There follows the word نکدری Nakdarī (?) which I do not understand and which is wanting in some MSS Perhaps it is *kaidi* vomiting' which occurs as a variant It ca... be Nikodiri

[2] See B 252 The text has Bawī for Māvī, but a variant gives Mawī See Elliot Supp Gloss I 99 The Mavī are a branch of the Gūjar tribe They claim to be descended *from* a Chauhan They are apparently also connected with the Dhāuks

[3] See J III 448 He was born on 18th February 1560

and threats and hopes were held out to him He awoke from the
heavy sleep of carelessness and proceeded to tender his service
When he arrived within four *kos*, he expressed a wish that Ism'aîl
Quli K and Jagannâth should take him into their charge This was
agreed to Ism'ail Quli quickly came, but Jagannâth delayed some-
what The landowner out of fear went back, and hastened off to
the defiles The Prince became somewhat angry with the slovenly
executants of orders (*khamkaran*) and ordered that they should go
after him and bring him back Otherwise they were to punish him
Out of want of wisdom they refused to do this, and he, without
regard to his rank, personally went on this errand Madhukar had
recourse to blandishments and sent his sons Râm Sâh [1] and Ranjit
The attack on his home was delayed Near the fort of Karkara [2]
the son of Hamir Sen asked for quarter, and this was granted At
the instigation of inexperienced men he (Murâd) broke the agreement 605
and set himself to take the fort He who had been admitted to
quarter fled, and the prince took the fort 400 Rajputs died man-
fully at their homes When Râm Sah beheld this breach of agree
ment he fled at midnight Jagannâth who was his custodian felt
ashamed and had no answer to make The Prince took up again his
first resolution, and the frightened one (Madhukar) withdrew His
home was plundered, and the imperialists encamped there H M
did not approve, and issued an order, asking why had there been a
deviation from appreciativeness and the recognition of rank, and
why had he without orders attacked the landowner He also
severely censured the prince's companions They should now feel
ashamed and proceed to redress matters, and the prince must return
quickly to Mâlwa If he did [3] not submit to orders, a large army
would be sent (against him) The prince left Saiyid Râju and a
party there and came to Mâlwa When the landowner heard of this,
he had recourse to supplications Sâdiq K conveyed his [4] excuses
to H M They were accepted On the 27th, Bâz Bahâdur was

[1] B 487 He is also called Ram Cand

[2] In Sarkâr Bayânwan J II 189 See B 356 The I O MSS call Hamir Ḥamir Perhaps he is the Ḥamir of pp 490 91

[3] The person referred to here is Madhukar and not the prince

[4] *porsish* but I O MSS seem to have *pūrash* his son but apparently Râm Sâh did not come to court till later See p 628

sent to convey him to the prince in order to make his submission

At this time a new arrangement was introduced The world-adorning sovereign in his enlightenment divided, on 2 Isfandārmaz, 12 February 1592, the crown lands (khāliṣāt) into four portions, and made over each of them to an able man The provinces of the Panjab, Multan, Kabul and Kashmir were made over to Khwāja Shamsu l din, the provinces of Ajmir, Gujarat and Malwa to Khwaja Nizamu d din Ahmad Bakhshi, the province of Delhi to Rai Patar Das the provinces of Agra the capital, Allahabad, Bengal and Behar to Rai Rām Dās Though Qulij K received[1] the reports, yet this act of foresight was done on account of the extent of the country H M also attended to the matter of the currency, and the old diseases of silver and gold (coinage) were remedied, as has been described in the last volume

On the 12th Balarām was killed He was the brother's son of Rajah Bhagwant Dās As the turbulence of youth led him into the commission of improprieties, he fell out of favour and was dismissed to Behar to the charge of Rajah Mān Singh In Benares he mounted an elephant while in a state of intoxication, and then wanted to get down again at an unfitting place Miṣri Khanyagar (musician) was acting as driver, and as he had some sense he refused to let Balaram dismount The latter abused him, and Miṣri killed him with his dagger and then let himself down and went off

One of the occurrences was the capture of 'Umarkot When Dalpat and Rawal Bhim passed by it with a choice army on their way to Tatta, this birthplace of the world's lord fell into their hands without a struggle The Rai[2] of the place accompanied them in

[1] Wa mīrasīd I am not sure of the meaning Qilij K was Dīwan or Finance Minister after Todar Mal's death The reference to the Aīn seems to be to B 35 where we are told that on 26 Bahman in the 36th year Akbar adopted Azdu daulah's method about the currency Cf Badayunī Lowe p 393 Probably what is meant by Q K h a receiving reports is that he still remained at the head of affairs and that reports were made to him but that the work was lightened by the appointment of additional officers

[2] It appears from the Beglar nāma that his name was Rānā Megraj See Elliot I 297 It does not appear that Akbar ever visited Um-

performance of service There was a wonderful piece of fortune in the circumstance that some of the land owners had filled up the wells and had poisoned them Consequently the soldiers were in that sandy land distressed for want of water They remembered the holy personality and prayed to God, and then sate down and waited in expectation Suddenly rain fell, though it was out of season and the 606
dried up tanks ran over with water

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rai Rai Singh to Tattah When the victorious troops succeeded in the river fight, and when owing to the folly of shortsighted persons there was delay in advancing, the enemy who had been disconcerted made a stand After much discussion, the fort which M Jāni had constructed, was invested on 9 Āzar There was hot fighting, and every day the brave men on each side distinguished themselves One day, Sikandar Beg, who was among the noted men on the imperialists' side, was wounded in the leg by a bullet, and after some time he died The enemy were confident on account of the strength of their position, number of men, abundance of provisions and the help of the peasantry, and were watching for the rains Then everything would be under water, and the foreign army would be dispersed without an engagement Among the imperialists, provisions became very dear, and consternation seized upon the weak hearted The Khān Khanān reported the circumstances and asked for help On the 21st Rai Rai Singh was sent off Khāki Gallabān Khwaja Hisamu d-din and other brave men went by the river route Provisions, guns, gunpowder (*daru*) etc were dispatched

One of the occurrences was the death of Gurdhan (Gordhan of B), the son of Rajah Askaran Rajah Prithiraj was the head of the Kachhwāha clan He had eighteen[1] sons of whom ten were by one mother When he died, Puran Mal his eldest son was raised to the Rajahship He was killed in M[2] Hindāl's battle Suja his son was young, and they raised his (Puranmal's) brother Ratan Sai to the headship He from the turbulence of youth, and bad companionship, insulted men Some instigated Askaran his step brother to attack his life in hopes of the chiefship, and with the help of wicked

[1] Tod says 17 and that 12 of them grew up

[2] Apparently referring to the victory Hindāl obtained over the Mirzas See translation I. 322

men, the idea became fact For some time things happened according to his wish In a short time his uncle[1] Barahmal obtained the power His (Sujā's?) sons were always lying in wait for Askaran Karan, in revenge for his ancestor (*nīyag*), chose to become Askaran's servant and on the 23rd, when he got an opportunity, he killed the Raja's son in the father's presence, and then made an attack on the latter A pillar saved him from harm, and active men killed Karan The sympathetic sovereign cast the shadow of his graciousness on his mansion, and by his cordial commiseration healed somewhat the wound of those who had been deprived of a child

[1] According to B 458 Askaran was a brother of Rajah Beharī Mal See also his article in the Calcutta Review for April 1871, which gives a genealogical tree Though Askaran is stated in the T A. to have been an officer of the rank of the 3000, his name is not mentioned in A F's list Tod calls Askaran the son of Bhīm and says Askaran killed his father because his father had killed his own father Prithīraj! Behārī Mal was a son of Prithīrāj and younger brother of Pūran Mal See the Māaṣir al umrā II III The author of that work puts most of the Hindus under the letter R on account of their being Rajahs There is some confusion in A. F's narrative caused by his affected brevity, possibly also, the text is corrupt, Blochmann in the article above referred to calls Ratn Sai Ratn Singh Apparently, Karn who was Sūjā's son, killed Askaran's son in revenge for his granduncle's murder Sūjā, or Soja, grew up and in the 6th year A.N II 155, we find him leagued with M Sharafu-d dīn in oppressing Bihārī Mal As B remarks, the disturbances consequent on Puran Mal's death ended with the appointment or usurpation of Bihārī Mal He adds that Askaran was adopted to the guddee of Narwar and so his branch (*gotrı*) became extinct

CHAPTER CVII

BEGINNING OF THE 37TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR FARWARDIN OF THE 4TH CYCLE 607

On Friday, 5 Jamāda al akhari 1000 Hijra 11 March 1592, after the passing of 10 hours, 5 minutes, the glorious Sun illumined Aries, and filled the world with varied delight Beauty acquired fresh splendour, and the Age received new ornament

Verse

The awnings were raised up to heaven
The blemishes of the skies were veiled
On every wall there were skilful paintings
Heaven was astonished as if they were demon wrought [1]

The third cycle ended and the fourth began Together with strength of heart, and the glory of dawn, a window of enlightenment opened partially and brightness took possession of my darkened mind A fresh desire to continue my narrative seized me, and my strength increased

erse

Again, my fortune became lightsome,
The delight of speech possessed my soul
When fortune supplies the opening key
A jewel emerges from the dark stone

From New Year's day to the culmination (*sharf*) there were continued feasts, and liberality exceeded desire A prosperous time ensued for the desert wanderer, and a new veil was placed over spiritual beauty The cup [2] of worldly success and of joy arrived, but

---

[1] The lines are extravagant and not easily intelligible I presume that a play is intended on the two meanings of *dewār* In the third line it means a wall and in the fourth demon like Add. 27,247 has *naqsh pargār* and the Bib Ind. has this as a variant

[2] The sentence is obscure *Baja halmandī* in text is a mistake for

the Shāhinshāh's fortune made this the material of increased wisdom That day was hostile to reason and taught disturbance, and was a robber of purity This day is a day of increase of wisdom, and bears rectitude in its breast.

At this time news came that Jalāla had returned unsuccessful from Tūrān, and that he was stirring up strife in the defiles of Tirāh, and that the tribes of the Afridi and Ūrakzaī had broken their allegiance, and had given a position to that turbulent one An order was given that Qāsim K should collect the Afghan (Zābuli) army and should proceed to chastise those hot-headed ones On New Year's day Aṣaf K, Said K, Gakkar, and some others, were sent off from court, and an order was given that the fief-holders of Sind and Peshawar should be collected, and should join the Tirah force In a short time the hill country was surrounded, and the Afghans had recourse to supplications and cajolery They represented that Jalāla had not got a footing, and that he had gone back unsuccessful Qāsim K returned to Kabul without fully inquiring into the matter and without submitting a report to court Aṣaf K and the other officers remained there and waited for orders H M did not approve of Qāsim K's haste, and issued an order that he should return and exert himself in making inquiries

bakhtmandī Evidently, there is an allusion to Jamshed's cup, and to the difference in the fortunes of the two monarchs who introduced the solar year The passage is wanting in the Cawnpore edition, and also in B M Add 27,247

CHAPTER CVIII.

THE VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS, AND THE DEFEAT OF M JĀNĪ BEG BY THE FORTUNE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH 608

When the Khān-Khanan invested the fort, provisions became very dear on account of its being a foreign country, and of the closing of the roads, and the position of the soldiers became somewhat difficult They were compelled to abandon the siege on 27 Dai of the previous year All unnecessary[1] stores were put into boats and sent to Sehwān Saiyid Bahāu d din, Bakhtiyar Beg, Qarā Beg, and others were sent with them as guards Most of the soldiers marched towards Tatta in order that by plundering they might get ampler supplies, and also spread consternation among the enemy, and get hold of the country The Khān Khānan took up his quarters in Jun,[2] which is a central place Shah Beg K, Muhammad K Niyāzi, Qāsim Koka, Murtaza Quli, Dād Māl Duda Beg and others were sent to Agham[3] in order that they might take that cultivated country and watch over M Jāni Dhāru Bahādur,[4] Khān Qurdār and others were sent towards Badin[5] M Faridun Birlās, Jānish Bahā dur, 'Ali Mardān Bahādur Sarmadi, Ghāzi K Biluc went off towards Tatta Every band went to a certain tract, and had repose The enemy were somewhat disturbed on account of their families, and many of the landowners submitted Every detachment did good ser vice, but the troops who were sent-to Tatta could not get there as the wicked people set fire to the city M Faridun and Rawal

---

[1] *Besh az nāqazir* Above the indispensable The Iqbalnāma and Chalmers show that this refers to stores

[2] See translation I 380 n 1

[3] باکهم *ba kuham.* The Iqbalnāma has *barkahan* But Agham or Ak hum is correct It is known as the place where Shāh Beg died See Malet 86 and Elliot I App 502 and 362 It was 30 m S E Haidarābād

[4] This is Todar Mal s son He was shortly afterwards killed.

[5] Madbin مدبن in text but Badin seems to be the true reading See Elliot I 250 There is a [illegible] S E Haidarābād

Bhīm[1] and some others were sent to 'Umarkot, and made fitting inquiry into the previous slackness of service (of the Rānā?[2]) M. Jānī Beg came out of his fort and hastened to Sehwan, thinking that he might lay hands on the boats that had been sent there On hearing of this the Khān-Khānān sent Khwaja Muqīm Bakhshī, Dhāru Bahādur K. Muhammad K. Niyāzī, Daulat K. Lodī, S'aīd K. Kararānī, and some able men, to that quarter and followed them in person At the time when the men in the boats were disconcerted, the troops sent arrived and remedied matters Many thought that they should strengthen Lukhī (Lukh means pass in Biluchī) and wait for reinforcements At the words of brave men they prepared for battle The army was drawn up In the centre were Muhammad K. Niyāzī, Bahādur K. Qurdār, Sher K., Kalān K., Daulat K. Lodī, S'aīd K. Kararānī, Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī In the right wing were Mīr Māṣum Bhakkarī, and a number of brave men On the left wing were Saiyid Bahau d dīn and other brave men In the vanguard were Bakhtiyār Beg Qarā Beg, Shamsher 'Arab, Ibrāhīm Beg, Jūlak Beg, Murshid Qulī, Shāh Qulī Turkamān They bravely, and under the guidance of fortune, passed Lukhī and encamped six *kos* from the enemy On the 21st (Farwardīn) they advanced four *kos* with the intention
9 of giving battle Before the battle began they were rejoiced by the news of victory For some days the wind had been blowing from the other side At this time it blew from this (the imperial) side and gave the news of victory The battle soon began First, the enemy's van under the command of Khusrū prevailed over the force opposed to it and also scattered the right wing Shamsher 'Arab fought bravely in the vanguard, his friends carried him off wounded Dhāru and others displayed courage He was wounded in the forehead with a spear and fell from his horse Soon he played away the coin of life The enemy's right wing under the command of Malik Muhammad drove off their opponents, and a number pushed aside Nāhar K. and came as far as the camp, and proceeded to plunder Saiyid Bahāu d dīn fell upon the enemy's van which was exulting in its success He placed a stream between him and them (?) and stood to fight On account of the wind and dust they could

[1] It appears from I O MS 236 that a conjunction has here dropped out of the text

[2] Cf Bhagwant Das's remark to Akbar *ante* p 50

not see one another In that place of commotion the imperial centre encountered the enemy's right wing, and after a severe contest defeated it But on account of the darkness the brave men of this force got separated Bahādur K, Daulat K and some others stood firm on the battlefield, and were a spectacle (?) Suddenly Muhammad K Niyāzi, Saiyid Bahāu d din, Mir M'aṣum Bhakkari, and Khwaja Muqim joined them, and there was a great contest Similarly the enemy got scattered and did not know where the others were M Jāni was on the battlefield with 400 men and in a confused state The victorious army went quickly there The Mirza, thinking that the centre was now coming, became still more confused Meanwhile an elephant from that (the enemy's) side became furious and disorganised his own men There was a slight contest, and the enemy, owing to the Divine aid, took to flight 300 were killed and 100 of the victorious troops Though the Mirza turned several times and fought, but of what avail was it to struggle against daily increasing fortune, although the enemy was more than 5000 and the victorious troops only 1200? Victory declared itself, and the wondrous working of celestial aid was impressed on all The commander was at a distance and there was no great officer ..e, and there was much confusion in the beginning of the battle[1] Dilpat had a choice force but from cowardice he did not come forward During this rejoicing, news came of the plundering of the camp Some active men went quickly there, and the plunderers threw down their booty and fled The camp became peaceful On hearing of this good news, the Khān Khanan proceeded to the fort which M Jani had made for his protection, and destroyed it[1]

On 22 Farwardin the world s lord embarked on a boat and proceeded to the garden of M Kāmrān He enjoyed the spectacle of the spring Next morning a happy starred daughter was born in the harem of the Prince Royal by the sister[2] of Abiya Kashmiri At this time news came that Qaresh Sultan[3] had died in Hajipur **610**

[1] A F s account may be compared with M aṣum Bhakkari s Elliot I 250 and the T A Elliot V 463 This account says Daulat Lodi marched 80 *kos* in two days

[2] Presumably this is the daughter of the prince of Kashmir referred to in Price s Jahangir 20 Abiya is perhaps Yusuf Shāh s son

[3] Or Quraigh Sultan B 459 He was a son of 'Abdu r rashid of Kashghar See *ante* p 553

of diarrhœa The graciousness of the Shāhinshah removed the survivors from the dark days of sorrow. On the 25th the writer of the book of fortune was exalted to a *manṣab* of 2000 He was raised to this high dignity without having performed any distinguished service I hope that I may return some thanks by the tongue of action, and that the appreciativeness of my lord may become manifest On the 29th the lunar weighing took place, and far and near obtained their desires

CHAPTER CIX

Conquest of Orissa by the daily increasing Fortune of the Shāhinshāh

There have always been independent rulers in this country Among them there was formerly Partab Deo His son Narsingh Deo[1] out of wickedness rose up against his father, and lulled him into carelessness by the repeating of charms When he got an opportunity, he poisoned him and acquired eternal death About that time Mukund[2] Deo had come from Telingāna, and entered into the service of the Rajah He was indignant on beholding this wickedness, and resolved upon vengeance He represented that his wife was coming to pay a visit[3] (to the Rajah) and filled litters (*dolis*) with arms and sent them off He also put presents and goods into the hands of skilful and courageous men, and entered the fort Inasmuch as a parricide does not last long, the latter was soon disposed of, and the sovereignty went to another It was not the custom that the Rajah should use the accumulations of his predecessors This one (Mukund) broke the locks of seventy old treasuries and seized upon the deposits of so many of the departed Though he opened the hand of liberality, yet he turned away from obedience to wisdom, and indulged in self gratification At the time when Sikandar Uzbeg turned away from eternal fortune, and went to Sulaimān Kararāni, the latter sent his son Bayāzid on an expedition against that country (Orissa) by way of Jhārkhand, and dispatched Sikandar along with him

[1] Called Bir Singh, in the M aaṣir and in some MSS

[2] Cf II 255 where it is stated that he was also called Parmanand Rai Mukund succeeded in 1550, and was defeated by Kālā Pahar in 1568 Beames Notes J.A S B for 1883 p 933

[3] I O MS 235 says the pretext was that Mukund s wife was going to visit the Rajah s wife and it speaks of Mukund s sending 200 men in charge of the presents Chalmers also speaks of 200 men, and so do the Iqbālnama, and the M aaṣir II 163

The Rajah, yielding to self indulgence, sent two chosen officers Jihata Rai[1] and Durgā Panj, with a well equipped force, to make war Those ingrates corrupted the officers of the army by gold and turned to attack their own master by the help of the slaves of gold Hot engagements ensued, and the Rajah surrendered himself to failure and submitted to Bayazid With his aid, a severe conflict took[2] place, and the Rajah and Jihata Rai manfully yielded up their lives The government fell into the hands of Durgā Panj Sulaimān by stratagem got possession of his person and put him to death, and became supreme over the country Though in the time of Mun'im K Khān-Khanān and Khānjahān, much of this country was added to the empire, yet from divided thought, and the ignorance of officers Qutlu Lohāni prevailed over it Owing to his foxiness no harm ensued to him When he died, Rajah Mān Singh ignorantly
611 made peace Though H M 's far seeing mind disapproved of it, yet it was they who broke the treaty

When the time of retribution arrives for an evil-doer he exerts himself for his own destruction So long as Khwāja 'Īsa, Qutlu's *Vakīl*, lived, the thread of treaty was not let slip When he died, the wicked Afghans laid hold of the temple of the worship of Jagannāth, and opened the hand of plunder against the country of Hamir,[3] who had for a long time been obedient (to Akbar) Rajah Mān Singh, who repented of the peace he had made, resolved to conquer the country, and obtained leave from the court He chose the soldiers of Behar and Bengal for this enterprise On 23 Ābān of the previous year, the Rajah set off by the route of the river Tolak K, Farkh K, Ghazi K, Maidānī, Mir Qasim Badakhshi, Rai Bhoj, Sangrām Singh, Akkar Pancānan, Catar Sen, Bhupat Singh, Barkhurdar, and other warriors went by land Mādhu, Lakhī Rai Koka Puran Mal Kaidhurih, Rup Narain Sisodiah and some land

[1] These names are very doubtful and vary with MSS Cf the translation of the passage in Elliot VI 88 Cf also the M aaşir II. 163

[2] The Iqbālnāma explains that this severe conflict was between the Rajah supported by Bayazīd and his own officers and army Presumably the Rajah and Jihata were on opposite sides The Iqbālnāma apparently has Jit Rai

[3] This is the Hamir of Bishenpūr in Bankurah who sheltered Jaga the son of Mān Singh after his d feat See *ante*, p 580

I ... went off by the route of Jhārkand under the charge of Yūsuf K, the ruler of Kashmir When the victorious troops came to Bengal, S'aīd K the governor of that country was ill The Rajah moved onwards, and when S'aīd K got well, he joined with Makhsus K, Pahār[1] K, Tāhir K, Bābui Mankli, Khwaja Baqar Ansari, Makhdumzāda the son of Tarson K, M Muhammad Dīwāna, and other fief-holders of that country, together with 6000 men and 500 horse Much of that country came into possession The wicked Afghans broached the subject of a peace Inasmuch as to try experiments when one has had experience does not accord with foresight, they did not give ear to this, but reproached them for their breach of treaties But the view of the Bengal officers was for peace The wicked and black thoughted Afghans surrounded themselves with a stream at the forest of Malnāpur[2] (?), which is in the middle of Orissa, and took their stand to fight On account of the talk about peace and war, there was no proper drawing up of forces The Bengal army settled down at some distance, but among them, Makhsus K., Pahār[3] K, Tāhir K and Bābui Mankli advanced their camp somewhat The Bihar soldiers prepared for battle Rajah Mān Singh was in the centre, on the right wing were Rai Bhoj, Rajah Sangrām, Bāqir K, on the left wing were Tolak K, and Farrakh K, in the vanguard were Darjan Singh Sujān Singh, Sabal Singh, Nuram Koka, Mir Qasim Badakhshi, Barkhurdar, Shibabu d din Kur, the sons of Ulugh K Habshi, Mozaffar Īji, Khwājagi 'Inayāt Ullah Every day some active men on each side fought and the presumptuous foe fled in disgrace On 31 Farwardin the Rajah sent off his vanguard, to take an eminence (*sarkob*)[4] which 612
was near the enemy, and to proceed to build a fort If the enemy meant to fight they should engage him, and he (the Rajah) would join them The enemy were astonished at this and drew up their forces and crossed the river In the centre were Nasib K, and Jamāl K,

---

[1] Corrected in Errata from Bahādur See B 405 But according to Jahāngīr Price 34 Pahār K was a Hindu and the uncle of Mān Singh Probably they were different men

[2] The I O MSS seem to have Bināpūr Elliot VI 89 has Midnapūr[1] Beames J A S B for 1883 p 236 says the battle was fought on N bank Subanrekha

[3] Bahādur in text but see Errata

[4] The author of the Iqbalnama seems to have read sar i kulī head of a tank, for he has *sar i talabi*

(who were) the sons of Qutlū, Dilāwar K., Allahdād K., Habīb K, with 3000 horse and 25 elephants On the right wing were Jalāl K, Khāṣa Khel, Tātār K Ghāzī, Mubārak K., Khwāja Wais with 2000 horse and 25 elephants On the left wing were Bahādur Kūrūh, Sher K Lohānī, Habīb K. with 3400 horse and 25 elephants. In the vanguard were Khwāja Sulaimān, 'Uṣmān, 'Īsā K Auliyāī, Banī Sultān Sur with 1200 horse and 80 elephants In a short time the two forces met, and shields and daggers were abundant (lit had a day-market)

Verse.

Eager heroes sunk in coats of mail,
Like fire hidden in iron vessels
Sons of India clad in steel,
Like black clouds, raged and burned

Some strove with guns and other firearms, and some grappled with one another and gave a new form to courage The victorious soldiers struck off heads[1] with their shining swords, as maces and clubs were not of service Cannon-balls at the commencement killed the elephant Miyan Lohari[2] which was the chief of the enemy's elephants, together with other elephants The latter then brought forward the elephant Kunhar[3]—which was very famous—and the brave soldiers displayed masterpieces of valour Mir Jamshed Badakhshi fought and bravely gave up his life The elephant caused some confusion, but the archers came up on every side with arrows The driver was killed, and some men dismounted and lamed the elephant and seized it Meanwhile Bahādur Kūrūh prevailed over Farrakh K. Rai Bhoj and Rajah Sangram hastened to his assistance Jagat Singh and some brave men joined Durjan Singh, and drove off the foe At this time, the enemy's right wing contended with the soldiers of Bengal Bābūi Manklī fought, but had to give ground Pahār[4] K. came behind him and fought nobly. Twice he fell to the ground The second time a young man offered him his own horse He replied, You have not yet had the fruit of

---

[1] Text *sipare* 'shields,' but the MSS and context show that *sire* "heads" is the true reading

[2] The Iqbālnama has Luhari

[3] Kahtar in MSS

[4] See *ante* p 611 Pahar was a servant of Humayūn See B 405

your life Mount your horse, and rejoice. It is better for me, who have come to the end of my life, to die in combat in my master's service By good hap his horse (*bāragī*)[1] came up and he was saved by Divine help. Makhṣūṣ K. came forward well, and did great deeds. The foot of courage was nearly slipping, when Khwāja 'Abdu l-ḥalīm came with a force, and there was victory. Khwaja Wais fell bravely, and Sulṭān Sūr was made prisoner In a short time, in consequence of the Divine aid, the rebels fled with blistered 618
feet More than 300 Afghans fell on the field of battle and forty of victorious army.

At this time Zain K. Koka expressed a wish that H M should visit his quarters again On 3 Ardibihisht, his desire was gratified, and that good servant obtained his heart's wish. In the beginning of Khurdād H.M. crossed the Rāvī with the intention of proceeding to Kashmīr. As Shakraunisā Begam (Akbar's daughter) became very ill, H.M. took a dislike to the city, and went out with this intention. When God quickly sent convalescence, he returned at the desire of high and low On the 2nd, Zain K Koka was dispatched to Swād and Bajaur News came that the turbulent Afghans had again thought their difficult mountains a protection, and were meditating rebellion The Kokaltāsh was appointed to chastise them On the 4th, after the lapse of ten hours four minutes, a daughter was born in the harem of Prince Sultān Daniel by the daughter of Sultan Khwāja H M gave her the name of S'aādat[2] Bānū Begam

---

[1] Baragī is given in Vullers and in Steingass as meaning a horse, and also as a packhorse The word seems connected with *bārgīr*, i e load carrier, and is probably a variant of it In the Ayīn, bargīr seems to be used for the horse and not for the rider, the latter being called bārgīr suwār See B 139 and 215, also Wilson's Glossary Bārgīr is in common use in India as meaning a trooper's comrade or one who does not ride his own horse I have heard it explained as a corruption of bahū, gīr, one who takes another's arm, that is, a dependant Perhaps all that is meant here is that Pahār K 's horse came back to him, and this is the Iqbalnāma account At p 620, of A N III, six lines from foot, *bāragī* is used for a riding horse

[2] B 619

CHAPTER CX

Mīrzā Jānī Beg makes peace and surrenders Sīwistān

When by daily-increasing fortune the victorious troops prevailed it was time that the Mīrzā should waken from the heavy slumbers of ignorance, and have recourse to supplication, and should make apologies the material of obedience. Out of arrogance and self-complacency he regarded his defeat as accidental and again resolved on battle. He resolved that he should proceed all the quicker, and take refuge in the former shelter. On the way he learnt that it was the camp of the victorious troops. He halted to deliberate and summoned a council to decide on a stronghold. After long contemplation, he approved of a place near Ampur[1] four *kos* from Hālākandī[2] and forty *kos* from Sehwan. There, on the bank of the Indus, he built a fort, and surrounded it with a deep and broad moat. On 26 Farwardīn the Khān Khānān came there and invested the place. He was answered by arrows and bullets, and there was a brisk time of losing and taking life. The enemy was made arrogant by his long residence, his numerous army, large fleet of war-boats, and the nearness of the rains. At this time the fort of Nīrānkot[3]—which is a choice fortress in that country—was taken. There was a great success.[4] A set of Arabs and Kurds, who were in the fort
4 quarrelled with the governor Qāsim 'Alī and brought in his head and became loyal. The imperial servants were delighted and increased their efforts to take the place. After the custom of the Turks,

---

[1] Oonurpūr in Malet's translation of Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī. Unarpūr and Amarpūr in Elliot VI 251. So also in I.O. MS. 236. Text Ampūr or Anpur probably wrong. Perhaps the place is the Arpūr of J. II 341.

[2] Text Bālakandī, but the variant Halakandī is right. It lies thirty m. above Haidarabad. Elliot I Appendix 379.

[3] The old name of Haidarābād according to some, but see Elliot I Appendix 298, who says it certainly was not Haidarābād.

[4] In the Errata, *uburd* is changed into *nīrū*.

they raised up mounds of sand and carried forward their batteries and set about filling up the moat From within they made fissures and emptied the mounds Great efforts were made on both sides Sometimes the enemy sallied forth and fought, but they returned unsuccessful However, on account of the strangeness of the land, and the refractoriness of the peasantry, provisions became scarce, and again food became very dear There was also much sickness The extraordinary thing was that it only attacked the people of Sind In that fatal place of trouble some ascetics had a vision to the effect that "the courage of the country was being impressed with the Shahinshah's name, and that the heavens were revolving at his pleasure The people were beholding the retribution of their disobedience, and were suffering the punishment thereof The panacea for high and low was to recognize this, and to acquire bliss by supplicating the Unique of the age, and to offer presents in accordance with their means, and give them to the needy" Next morning the secret was revealed, and the proposition was carried into effect The sickness diminished When this was reported to H M he said, "The True Artist (God) made an old woman the means of the health of a tribe, if He make this servant, who sits upon a lofty seat of rule, a source of good, what is there to cause surprise?" In the time of the great Qāān, Cingiz K, in the year 623 (A D 1226), the army had invested the fort of Kark[1]-Sistān (?), and a great pestilence broke out. On the first day there was fever On the second the teeth loosened On the third the cup of life became full An old woman had a daughter Her nights turned to days in her anxiety to get her married Might she grow up and might her mother acquire happiness by staining her with henna At this time this old woman was seized by sickness On the second day when the teeth became loose, she, out of love and simplicity, employed herself in putting henna on her darling (lit her liver lobe) According to common usage a little spittle was used Thinking of the bridal, night passed into day (i e she lay awake), and she shed tears of sorrow In the morning when she was ready to depart, her teeth ceased to chatter, and there were signs of improvement The neighbours were astonished

[1] There is the variant Kok but the Iqbālnāma has Gargistan (Georgia) and this is probably right

When they inquired, they could perceive nothing except the use of henna. High and low used it, and a world was delivered from danger of life. Henna became of the value of pearls, and the merchants made great profits.

H. M. sent abundant provisions and money by Allah Bakhsh, and Qazzāq Bahadur. They arrived in the height of the distress, and hearts received new strength. New efforts were made, and the work was advanced. In a short time the garrison was straitened, and the batteries were brought so near that they could pull the spears out of each other's hands. The garrison were troubled and begged for peace with a thousand entreaties. The soldiers accepted the proposals on account of the scarcity of provisions. The agreement was made that Siwistan, with the fort of Sehwān, and twenty *ghrābs*, should be given up, and that M. Jāni should accept Irij, the Khan Khānān's son, as a son-in-law, and that when the rains were over, he would go and prostrate himself at the threshold. It was agreed that in the first place the siege should be stopped, and afterwards the marriage would take place. When Sehwān was made over, they would spend the rains there. On the 16th Khurdād, the batteries were dismantled, and ceremonies of betrothal performed. Men hastened to give up and to take possession of the fort.

On the 17th Qāẓi Hasan was sent to the northern hills. As the Tamūz (July) of Lahore was very hot, he was sent off there to look for summer quarters. Near the town of Panhān[1] a proper place was chosen, but on account of certain reasons the idea was abandoned.

One of the occurrences was the submission of the rebels of the eastern province. When the imperialists were victorious, they pursued the enemy and arrived next day at Jellasore which is one of the great cities of Orissa. They adorned the face of the coins with H. M.'s name and exalted the dignity of the pulpits by it. Every tribe of the Afghans retired. The Rajah continued to advance in order to dig up the root of disaffection. S'aid K. was displeased and returned to Bengal, not accepting the blandishments of the Rajah. Pahār K., Babui Mankli, Bāqar K., Mir Ghāzi, Bāqar Anṣāri separated from S'aid K., and joined the Rajah. In a short time the landowners asked for quarter, and the country came into possession. In

[1] Cf. B. 56 and 616 who states that the proper name is Pathānkot.

the town of Bhadrak, news was received that the sons of Qutlu (and) Khwāja Sulaiman, Dilāwar K, Jalal K, Bahādur Kuruh, Ulugh K, 'Abdul l-Ghafur, Malik Haibat, Malik Dāud, Kaham Karn, Rajah Mānū, Malik Sikandar, and Purukhotam had collected in the fort of Cuttack with 300 elephants That fort is at the end of the country and on the seashore It belonged to Rajah Ram Cand who was a great landholder in that country It was called Sarangarh[1] Rajah Mān Singh left Sujan Singh and some others in the city and went off to attack the fort, and the Afghans took refuge in the forest near the sea The fort was taken without a contest 'Alāwal K, the khaskhel of Qutlu surrendered the fort of Āl[2] Near Kalkalghati, the Tila[3] Rajah who is a distinguished landowner in that part joined the victorious army Rajah Ram[4] Cand admitted those who had taken protection to Sārangarh When Rajah Mān Singh came to Cuttack he left Yusuf K the ruler of Kashmir, the sons of Ulugh K Habshi, Mozaffar Lji, and others, to guard it, and went off to pay his devotions at Jagannāth His idea was that he would be nearer to Rajah Rām Cand, and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him (?) When his thought had been realized he returned and took up his quarters near Sali (?) Every day active men went forth and inflicted chastisement In consequence of counsels he (Rajah Rām Cand) became obedient and sent his son[5] Birbal with presents The Rajah returned to Cuttack and established the foot 616
of conquest near the fort of Sarangarh At this time news came that Habib K, Daryā K, Sujāwal K, Mewa K, who had taken refuge with Fath K of Hijli, had fallen upon Jellasore, and that Bābui Mankli had not found himself strong enough to fight and had retired The Rajah sent Pahār K. and some brave men to that quarter, and soon the enemy was scattered without an engagement, and Jellasore again came into possession The slumbrous ones of Sārangarh awoke from their sleep of neglect On the 20th they accepted quarter and waited upon the Rajah Every one was made hopeful of princely favours

At this time the victorious army of Sind were in some distress,

[1] Three miles S Cuttack

[2] J II 142

[3] Perhaps the Taliya of J II 142

[4] He was Rajah of Khurdah and Pārī, B 489

[5] Iqbālnāma has Harmal

but soon it became joyful. When peace was made, and the batteries were dismantled, M. Jānī Beg—before that he had obtained leave, and had made over Sehwān—went off to Tatta. The victorious troops thought they had been deceived, and were under apprehensions. Able men were sent to make inquiries. The Mirzā (Jānī Beg) represented that the atmosphere of the fort had become dangerous on account of the numbers of dead bodies, and that the position of the survivors had become critical. Some of the soldiers and peasants wished to go to their homes. On that account he had given them leave. The whole camp had been harassed, and so without saying anything it had followed them. No one remained with him and so out of helplessness he too had gone off and halted in Nasīrpūr. God forbid, he said, that I should drop the thread of treaty, or that my words and actions should not correspond. On the 31st they made their quarters in the town of Sunn,[1] and on this day Rustam the governor of Sehwān came and renewed the treaty. He made over the fort to Hasan 'Alī 'Arab, and to Maqṣūd Āqā, and all Sīwistān was added to the empire. On 22 Tīr, Prince Sultān Daniel took leave in order to capture Qandahār. As the guardians of that country were not equal in strength to the Mirzās, this jewel of fortune (Daniel) was sent there. He crossed the Rāvī, and alighted in the garden of Rām Dās. On 24th (Tīr), 4th July 1592, H. M. set off to Kashmīr, and his first stage was this same garden. On the 27th, 300 little[2] stars fell from west to east. The Indian astronomers represented that if the first stage exhibited such an appearance they should return and set out again at a chosen hour. The Shāh and the Shāhzāda were obliged to go back.

[1] The I. A. says that Sunn (or Sann) is opposite Sehwān. But A. F. III. 603 says it is twenty *kos* distant.

[2] *Sitāre*, but the variant *safed pārca*, white ... or clothes, is more likely to be right and is supported by MSS. 300 falling stars could hardly have been counted. The phenomenon was probably like the cobwebs which A. F. mentions as falling on one occasion in the neighbourhood of Agra (see p. 116).

CHAPIER CXI

H M PROCEEDS TO KASHMIR

For a long time he was inclined to go to that country Most men were averse to his going on account of the difficulty of the journey Those who had hearts bent on the enjoyment of their master regarded the difficulties of the ravines as slight, but they represented that it could not be proper for H M —whose empire it took a year to traverse—to go off to a corner thereof, and to enter that mountainous country Some farsighted men were convinced from H M 's knowledge of mysteries, that there was a secret involved 617
in his intention, and that this expedition would result in glory On 12 Amardād,[1] 22nd July 1592, in spite of clouds of rain and the opposition of men, he set out Several ladies accompanied him On the 17th he advanced from Rāmb ri,[2] but from the abundance of water there was no place found for his advance tent (*peshkhāna*). He left the camp and the soldiers under the charge of Prince Sultan Selim in order that he might bring them on slowly, and went off on elephants with some chosen courtiers At Shāham [3] 'Ali, Qulij K and Khwaja Shamsu d din were sent back to the city Near this place a woman brought her son and represented that every year his head was growing larger, and his neck becoming weak No benefit had come from physicians H M bade her to put a leathern cap tightly on the child s head She did so and the thing was remedied The skilful were astonished at this cure On the 28th near Khaima[4] Chatha (?) the Kashmir insurrection became known and the veil fell from the holy purpose A world had collyrium applied to its eyes

[1] 24 Shawwāl 1000 Elliot V 462

[2] This seems to be another name for Rām Das Bagh

[3] The text makes Shāham Alī a person apparently but it is a place See *ante* p 600 The T A says they were sent back 3 *kos* from Rām Dās Bāgh It names the Mota Rajah instead of Shamsu-d dīn

[4] I O MS 236 his *casma* a fountain, or perhaps cīma

More extraordinary still, when he was crossing the Rāvī, he asked "of whom is this verse said?"

Verse[1]

Alas, Alas! how have the Cyrus-cap and Shāh's tiara
Become the portion of a bald man?

When the confidant[2] of M Yūsuf K. represented the increase of the revenue of Kashmīr, Qāẓī Nuru-llah and Qāẓī 'Alī were sent to make inquiries When the Mīrzā's agents lost hope of getting bribes they adopted evil thoughts Qāẓī Nūrullah came to court and reported the disorganization of the men and their evil intentions On this information, some of the evil disposed were summoned, and Husain Beg S 'Umarī was sent to encourage (the loyal) When the condition of the evil disposed became known in some measure, Darvesh 'Alī, 'Ādil Beg, Y'aqūb Beg Turkamān, Imām Qulī Cūlāq, Qiyā Beg and other servants of M. Yūsuf Beg plotted together to stir up strife First, they went to Kamālu-d-dīn Husain Asko,[3] who was one of the Ahadis, in order to get him to become their leader and to raise a rebellion He had the auspiciousness not to accept

---

[1] This verse is quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe, 395 According to the Lucknow ed the verse is by Niẓāmī The words in the second line are *bahar kal* ' to every bald man being a play on the name of Yadgār kal or kul who was the cousin of M Yūsuf The Rauẓāt Ṭāhirīn calls him the son of M Maḥmūd I have taken *bahar* to mean portion and supposed the *'iẓāfat* was omitted for the sake of the metre Niẓāmu d dīn also tells the story He says Akbar quoted the lines in the garden of Ram Dās, and it would seem (see T A Newal Kishor s ed, p 377) that the word in the original was *gul* a rose or flower, and that the meaning was that every flower was blooming and had as it were put on the royal tiara It appears from Niẓāmu d dīn (and Badayūnī) that M Yūsuf had left Kashmīr and had appointed Yādgar, whom he calls his brother s son, as his deputy It appears from Niẓāmu d dīn s account of Kashmīr (T Rashīdī, Ross and Elias, Appendix) that he accompanied Akbar there In the first book of A F s letters, N K ed p 33 there is a letter from Akbar to his son Murād describing his second journey to Kashmīr In it Akbar claims to have been inspired to utter the verse about the bald man as he was crossing the Rāvī and also claims other prophecies

[2] See *ante* p 595 of text

[3] Qu? Ashu Koh a form of Shukoh, majesty

their proposals, and then they made Yadgār[1] the cousin of M Yusuf K their instrument Every day he took into his head thoughts of sedition and developed mischievousness One day furious men poured a shower of arrows into the house of Husain Beg S 'Umari. One of his servants had contracted a marriage with a member of that set, but at the instigation of wicked people it was broken[2] off. They made this an opportunity and suddenly attacked the house (of Husain B) His men had gone away, but he closed the door and stood firm Qāzi 'Ali and S Bābā intervened and quelled the tumult Then they got up a disturbance at the Koh i Mārān[3] Husain Beg collected his men and fought with them There was a slight engagement, and then peace was made Some surrendered upon promises and were put to death Their evil thoughts were nearly 618
being realized in action Ḥusain Beg and Qāzi 'Ali were obliged to leave the city and to take up their quarters at the fort of Nāgar nagar[4] (Akbar's fort) They became somewhat supine and careless On 12 Amardad, 22nd July 1592, they (the Kashmiris) closed the routes and proceeded to rebel The extraordinary thing was that on this very day H M the mystery-knower came out from Lahore Some people gathered together on the pretext of visiting the melon-beds and made a league Husain Beg and Qazi' Ali had not the energy to put down this disturbance with vigour and alacrity[5]

[1] Ferishta states that he had married the daughter of a Kashmīrī noble

[2] The I O MSS have *zadand* in the plural showing that the Kāshmīrīs broke off the marriage

[3] This is the Harī Parbat where Akbar built a fort

[4] This is the Harī Parbat see *infra*, p 726

[5] A. F s account of the revolt is not clear The Iqbālnāma adds a few explanations It says that the Kamālu-d-dīn whom it calls Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn to whom the rebels first appl ed, was in the service of M Yūsuf The rebels offered him the leadership as he was a Saiyid I do not know what the title Askū means One MS (I O 235) has Ashkūk which means a roof A variant calls him Bakhshī of the Ahadīs and perhaps Asku or Ashku is connected with the Turkish Ishik a gateway Ḥusain Beg s biography is given in B 454 where he is called Ḥasan He came to a bad end having joined Khusrū s rebellion A. F does not appear to have fully stated the cause of the disturbance at Ḥusain s house The Iqbālnāma says that M Yūsuf had 5 or 6 000 pādas of the Dilahzak tribe in his service and that a servant of Ḥusain had carried off the wife of one of them There is a variant in

On receiving this information H M went on the faster On 1 Shahriyūr his tents were pitched on the bank of the Cināb, and though there was a storm, and it was raining, he sate on the bank and superintended the crossing At dawn he crossed in a boat at the Caugān ferry On the 4th it appeared that the whole of the Mirzā's troops had joined the Kāshmīris, and that Qāẓī 'Alī had offered up his life in good service, and that Husain Beg had with difficulty saved himself When Yādgār came out of the city, and they threw away power and opportunity, he came to Kāmraj, and the success of the rebels increased At this time they awoke from the heavy slumber of carelessness, and hastened after him But they returned without effecting anything Though the Mīrza's sons did not join him (Yādgār), and the imperial servants did not assist him, that worthless madman returned to the city Near the Ilāhī garden he was victorious after a slight contest They were compelled to cross the river and come to the city Both parties broke down the bridges—the rebels for fear that their comrades would desert them, and the other party for fear that the rebels would pursue them Qāẓī 'Alī wished to take shelter with Fath K Jangalı (?), and to wait for reinforcements Husain Beg said, "M Yusuf K's men have all joined the revolt, and it would be very difficult to get there" They were compelled to go rapidly to India Near Hirapūr some one from ignorance beat a kettledrum, and the guardians of the roads (*rahbanan*) got news by this and broke down the bridges They were obliged to throw themselves into the water Some were drowned, and some were captured Husain Beg and Qāẓī 'Alī and some Badakhshīs escaped and went on As the Pīr Panjal road had been closed, they went by the defile of Hastī Watar[1] By strenuous exertions and by much shooting they escaped Qāẓī 'Alī became exhausted by the heights and hollows, and was caught and killed When Husain and some others emerged from the hills, the landowner of the place plundered them, and sought to kill them Bahabū (?) the chief of Rajauri came and rescued them

the defile of Mārān is called Koh Bārān The Iqbālnāma makes it clear that it was Husain whom it calls Hasan, who broke faith and put some people to death The I O MSS and the Iqbālnāma call the S Bāba who helped to quiet the disturbance S Bābāī Walī

[1] See correspondence in R A S J for April and July 1904 The Iqbālnāma has here Hastī Wir (qu Watīr or Wairān)

On this news H M proceeded more rapidly to that quarter, and an order was given that Zain K Koka should proceed thither with his men by the route of Swād, that Sādiq K should march by the way of Punc,[1] and that the landowners of the northern mountains 619 should start from Jammu, and that the fiefholders and collectors of the Panjab should encourage some brave peasants and send them off On 5 Shahriyur[2] S Farīd Bakhshi Begi was sent off together with Mir Murad * * * (six lines of names) On account of the nearness of the fall of snow, the soldiers were sent from every quarter in order that there might be no delay in inflicting retribution On that day the writer of the noble volume took an omen from the diwān of Hāfiz These four lines gave the news of victory

Verse

Where is the harbinger which tells of victory
That I may shed my life at his feet, like silver and gold
The stage is en fête on account of the return of the Shāh
Tis time for his antagonists to depart to the screen of annihilation

On this day M Yusuf K was, on account of foresight, made over to the charge of the writer of the book of fortune When his family came out of Kashmir he was released Near Gujrat (in the Panjab) the Prince Royal and the great camp joined H M, and there was rejoicing On the 16th, Sādiq K took leave to go forward When he had gone some stages he made unsuitable requests H M[3] was displeased and recalled him in the middle of his march

[1] Text Baranj, but I O MS 235 and Iqbālnama have Pūnc which seems preferable There is however a place called Brang J II 355

[2] As Farīd Bakhshi was his patron Faizī Sirhindī has a long account of this expedition He gives the date of Farīd's setting out as 17 Zil Qada 15 August 1592 He describes the two roads from Rajauri and calls one the Katrīl or Katarbal Pass and says that no army had passed by it before Farīd found on inquiry at Rajaurī that Yadgar had destroyed the bridges etc on the Pīr Pinjal route and so he chose the Katril one Faizī mentions the Hastivanj Pass and like A F he says it is the last Pass into Kashmīr In the I O MS it is spelt Hashtganj ' The eight markets (?)

[3] This obscure sentence is explained in the Iqbālnama

CHAPTER CXII

The conquest of Jūnagarh and Somnāth, and the victory of the Imperial Servants over the Country of Soreth

Right thinking, and proper, actions produce brilliant results Success increases, and the countenances of the wishes of servants are brightened There are various victories and wondrous works are performed at home and abroad This tale of victory is a new instance of this When the Khān 'Āzim gained his victory, his intention was to take this fort (Junagarh), and to annex the country The vexatious behaviour of his companions caused delay At this time, when the soldiers were recruited somewhat, he renewed the enterprise, and proceeded to the spot Khokhan the son of the
20 Jain, Jalāl K Ghilzī [1] Malik Rājan, Malik Aman, and many rebels of that part submitted and came in Somnāth, Ghogah (Gogo), Mangalur, Mahwah,[2] Biru[3] and others—16 ports in all—were taken without a contest Afterwards he proceeded to take Junagarh which was held by the grandchildren of Amin K Ghori It is a famous fortress, and the country of Sorath is associated with it He invested it with seven batteries Naurang K and some troops were sent to chastise the Kathi tribe which was assisting the garrison On this day fire broke out in the fort and many materials of the strength of the fort were burnt The Feringhi cannoneer, who had turned Muhammadan, and who was very skilful in his art, fell in his confusion into the moat The imperial servants received the good news of victory and raised a pæan of joy But the garrison, from the abundance of provisions, and the strength of the place, were presumptuous, and every day fired several times a hundred guns—some of which shot balls

---

[1] Text Ghāzī but MSS have Ghilzī

[2] Mahiwa of I G See J II 247 It is in the Bhawnagar State Kāthiwar

[3] Barwa Perhaps Barda But more probably Pur bandar J II 246 It is S E Dwark

weighing 1½ *mans*. They also uttered words of arrogance and contempt. Whenever the soldiers were dispirited, the Kokaltāsh encouraged them in various ways, and renewed efforts. By the guidance of fortune, they became aware of a little hill; they raised it somewhat and prepared a tower (*sirkob*), and from it proceeded to discharge mortars. The somnolent ones were roused from their slumbers and had recourse to entreaties. On 17 Shahriyūr, 27 August 1592, after fighting day and night for three months, the garrison surrendered, and made over the keys. Miyān K., Tāj K., the grandsons of Amīn K. Ghorī, who were the sons of Daulat K.—the former 7 years old and the representative of his father, and the other 12, but from a concubine—Himmat the brother's son of Amīn K., Muḥammad the comptroller of the household, Malik Dahan, Rajān Ḥabshī, Lumba Kāthī, Muḥammad Mīrak, Muḥammad Afẓal and others—57 noted men—came out, and owing to the Kokaltash's observance of treaties, their lives, property and honour were preserved, and every one of them was made happy by a cultivated fief, a fine robe of honour, and a choice horse (*bāragī*). Sulṭan Maḥmud Bīgarhā the ruler of Gujarat with a large and well-equipped army twice tried to take this fort, and experienced great difficulty. On the second occasion he took[1] it after a long time. H.M. was near Bhimbhar and intent on punishing Yādgār when he got the news of victory.[2] He returned yet more earnestly his thanks to God.

[1] In 1470.

[2] This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI. 90. The T.A. puts the capture into the 36th year.

CHAPTER CXIII

The cessation of the disturbance in Kashmīr, and the bringing the head of Yādgār Kul to Court

Heaven rises up to take vengeance on every one who commits ingratitude His day turns to night, and his fortune becomes ruined
621 By his own efforts he hastens to his retribution and plays away his life and his honour The case of this man of turbulent brain shows this to all High and low received instruction from it When the fly-like and mercenary natures gathered together, and (what has been described) happened to the imperial servants, the sons of M Yūsuf K approached him with supplications. He eagerly sent[1] them off to India, and then he crossed the river and went to the Mīrzā's quarters He laid hold of the treasure, the gold vessels, the elephants, the horses, the cannon, etc , and shamelessly sate in the seat of the mighty He stained the pulpit-tops (*faraz i mimbar*) and the faces of the coins By glorious fortune at that time, fever and trembling laid hold of him, and when the sealmaker was making his signet a bit of steel jumped up and entered his eye This indicated to the acute among the spectators that his career would not be long In his folly he gave high titles to worthless people Bahrām Nayik was called Khān Khānān, Darvesh 'Alī, Khan Jahān, 'Ādil Begı, 'Ādil K , Maqṣud 'Alī Ahdı, Makhṣūṣ K Khwāja Muhammad Moman, 'Aṣaf K , Musā M Khan, Darvesh Mıskın, Bābu K , Jamman his son, Muṣāhib K., Shāh 'Alī Beg Turkamān, Shahbāz K , Shāh Manṣur, Bahādur K , Mīr Sālih, Naqib K , Nizāmu d dın, Nizāmu l mulk, Dāūd Cakli, Bijli K , Qiyā Beg, Qiyā K Similarly, he gave great names to people of the bazaar

Verse

Fortune cannot be wrested from the holder thereof,
Diadem and throne cannot be sold
The crow[2] tried for the gait of the partridge
He ended in forgetting his own

---

[1] Cf Badayūnī Lowe 396

[2] This is a well known story See Anwārī Suhailī

In ignorance of the world's lord's knowledge of mysteries, he thought that "as the roads were closed, news would not quickly come to him, and if it came, would not be credited If it were believed, the army could not march quickly in such torrents of rain In winter it would be very difficult to come to this cold country. When a year had passed, his (Yadgār's) strength would be increased by a choice equipment For a long time a ruler of Kashmir had not had such a workshop" He did not know of the knowledge of mysteries possessed by the world's lord From the time that the Age smiled upon him with a sardonic smile, he continually had drinking-bouts with persons of no consequence They encouraged him and talked foolishly, and suggested to him to squander the accumulations and to make capital out of the honour of the Mirzā, and he from love [1] of money and from his connection by marriage (with the Kashmiris) was led into stratagems When he heard that the Mirzā had been put in prison, he was compelled to let his family go When their coming had not yet been heard of, H M from his knowledge of secrets sent Hāji Mirak, who was an old servant of the Mirzā, to bring these helpless people Near Thāna the wicked men of the country were thinking of plundering them Suddenly the messengers appeared Their lives and property became safe, and all at once the news of the coming of the august standards filled the world That wretch came a little to his senses and petitioned, saying that "Husain Beg S 'Umari meant to bring the son of M Shahrukh from Badakhshan to Kashmīr, and make him an instrument of sedition I contended with him, and he has by crafty words given me a bad name" By order, the writer of the noble volume replied to his false statements. 622

When his cajolery was not successful, he sent off Darvesh 'Ali with many troops to the defiles, and strove to strengthen them Though the soldiers had not [2] arrived from all sides, S Farid Bakhshi

[1] Text has only *dosti* but all the MSS appear to have *zardosti* "love of gold I suppose that the words *paiwand i khweshī* refer to Yādgār s having married a Kashmīrī If *dosti* alone is correct the meaning might be that his poor companions prated to him of the affection that the people had for him

[2] The text has *barasid* but the variant *narasid* is supported by MSS and seems more likely

Begi and his companions made a fort at the foot of the pass,[1] and having left their baggage prepared for battle. On 26 Shahriyūr the vanguard proceeded to the defile in front, and the right and left wings made ready. Darvesh 'Ali had put up two walls on the top of the pass and intended to fight. He stationed men here and there, and indulged in arrogance. By the Divine aid the active men of the vanguard drove away the enemy after a slight resistance. The brave men of the left wing took possession of the ground[2] in front of them. A hot engagement took place, and many of the enemy were killed. Four of the victorious soldiers fell. The right wing took without a contest a fortification (*sarkob*) that the enemy had. As there was no road farther on, they turned back and came behind the vanguard. Next day the enemy retired from the protection of the walls without fighting. The leaders of the soldiers were influenced by idle talk and thought there was a stratagem. The vanguard and the left wing pressed on and took the Kapartal Pass and got possession of some quadrupeds. One man ignorantly killed a horse in the pass,[3] and much injury followed from a hailstorm. Next morning they traversed the Akrambāl pass and encamped. Their idea was that they would halt five *kos* from Hasti Watar. Those in front believing it to be deserted pressed on to take it. S. Farid sent people to recall them. Able men knowing that it was in their power did not draw rein till the top of the pass. Those who were sent chose to join them. At nightfall it appeared that the enemy were in the waist of the hill, and prepared for battle. That night was spent in standing under arms and in watchfulness. When it was morning, parties of Kashmiris were seen on the hillocks and many were of opinion that they were coming to fight. In a short time it became certain that they were dispersing. At the close of the day the Shaikh arrived with some men. As the main army was

[1] It appears from Faizī S. that the Katrīl or Katarbal Pass is meant. The Iqbālnāma says Farīd Bakhshī Begī who is now known as Martaza K.

[2] Text *Mahakama*. A note suggests that this here means ground. Perhaps it means position. Mahakama originally means a tribunal. Faizī S. uses the word 'aqaba summit.

[3] Text *ikh ice*, but probably *paj* is the true reading. As to the effect of shedding blood in the Pīr Panjal Pass, see Price's Jahāngīr 82.

behind, and the star[1] in front he delayed to advance Meanwhile Muhammad Kāshi surrendered himself and reported that Yādgār had thrown away endurance and had fled, and that all the men had gone off into retirement Next morning 2 Mihr, 12 September 1592, they passed through the defile and reached Hirapur Near there a body without a head was seen, and it was conjectured that the headstrong fool had met with his deserts In a short time 623 his head was brought in, and the th ng became certain

When that worthless one learnt that the defile had been taken, he left 'Ādil Begi with a force at Srinagar, and came to Hirapur Next day, he gave some presents to the men and moved forward On the 31st Shahriyur at midnight an army rushed forth crying "Allah Akbar," and a report was spread that H.M had arrived The whole camp was plundered, and hat wretch was annihilated Shahbāz K Niyazī, Ibrāhim K Kākar, Ibrāhim K Miyana, Sāru Beg Shāmlu, Husain Beg Maslu, Yār Beg Uzbeg Malik Muhammad and some others of the servants of M Yusuf K made a plot, and were lying in wait When half of the night had passed, they blew the trumpet of "Allah Akbar," and proceeded to pillage The wretch came out from his enclosure (*saraparda*) and fled into the open No servant was with him except one Yusuf When he had gone some way, he took shelter in some brushwood [2] (*bot i*), and sent back his companion to fetch a horse Some well-wishers of eternal domin on did not turn to plundering, but searched for Yadgār, and were as tonished at not finding him Suddenly, Saru Beg saw Yusuf, and put him to torture He was helpless and told what had happened, and at his guidance Yādgār was found He had recourse to humility Shahbāz K came up and relieved his shoulders of the burden of his head

Verse

In the garden the pumpkin raised its head beside the cypress
Forsooth, to raise the head is to make oneself equal!
Heaven knows between the cypress and the pumpkin
Which of them is worthy of honour

---

[1] Apparently, the unlucky star or constellation mentioned in Babur's Memoirs

[2] The Iqbālnama says behind a stone

On 6 Mihr Mathrā[1] Dās brought the head of the brainless one to court, and there was worship of God The world's lord's knowledge of mysteries was impressed on all, and a world had collyrium applied to its eyes On the day that he heard of the disturbance of this wretch, this verse came upon his lips

Verse

The bastard[2] is envious, I'm what my horoscope is
The bastard slayer has come like the star of Yemen

The mother of this man of disturbed brain was the daughter of Nuqra (or perhaps, was called *dukht i-Nuqra*) and had no equal among prostitutes (*lulīyan*) for immodesty and wickedness H M said, "It has been indicated to me that the destruction of this wretch, and the rising of Canopus, will take place at about the same time By his order, the Greek, Persian, Kashmīri, and Indian astronomers examined the skies and reported that Yādgar would meet with his punishment in from two to three months He said, "Something tells me that the time will not be less than forty days or more than two months" On this day it appeared that the whole time of the rebel
24 lion was fifty one days On the same day that Canopus appeared, this evil star (Yādgār) set The secret vision of the world's lord was anew impressed on high and low A wonderful thing was that about the same time a shoulder bone was produced before H M and that on reading it he said that the disturbance would soon subside, and

[1] Faizi S says Farīd Bakhshī's party saw the body of Yadgar hanging on a tree

[2] Waladu z zina which means both a bastard and a glowworm Canopus is called the glowworm slayer presumably because he rises in the cold weather and he is also called the star of Yemen There is a play on the double meaning of Waladu z zina Akbar saying that he the bastard slayer comes as if he were (viz at the same time as) Canopus A F says immediately after this that Yadgar's mother was the daughter of one Nuqra The Iqbālnama says that Nuqra was a woman's name or perhaps the meaning is her name was *Dukht-i Nuqra* ' Nuqra's daughter *Nuqra* means silvery or white, thus a white horse is called *asp-i nuqra* The word also might possibly mean a silversmith Akbar may be referring to the fact that he was born about the time of the rising of Canopus meaning the cold weather, viz *October* The verse is also given in the Insha in Akbar's letter to his son Murād

that no one except the rebel himself would be hurt The saying became fact, and able men were astonished at his knowledge

In this glorious year there were great victories on four sides These were the submission of the ruler of Tattah, and the delivery of Sewistan the conquest of Orissa, and the submission of the rebels of the eastern provinces, the taking of Junagarh and Somnāth, the capture of Moẓaffar, the punishment of Yādgar Kul, and the prevailing over Kashmir When the disturbance was suppressed, H M went[1] on the 13th to perambulate that garden, and he said with his truth uttering tongue, "On my first visit, I saw the bridal chamber of spring, now I behold the coquetry of autumn, on that day Beauty's veil was withdrawn, to lay the attributes of Power (*jalal*) are seen" The Harem and the great camp were left under the charge of Prince Sulṭan Daniel that they might stay at Rohtas till his return As Sulṭān Khusru was somewhat ill, he was committed to the care of God, and H M made up his mind to part from him His wish was to take some ladies with him but the difficulty of the road and the severe cold prevented this in some measure Prince Sultan Selim was sent to make close inquiries, and that day the hill of Bhimbhar was traversed, and an encampment made In the morning on account of a disagreeable wind the camp was not moved H M said, "Apparently snow is falling to day in Kabul" When the year and month were noted, H M's knowledge of mysteries was revealed, and there was an increase of the collyrium of the eyes Next day the tents were set up at Naushahra On this day the prince returned He went into Kashmir by the route of Hasti Watar and returned by Pir Panjal He represented the difficulty of the road, and the amount of snow, and the idea of conveying the ladies was abandoned As the route by Pir Panjāl was reported to be somewhat easier, H M resolved to go by that route On the day that Pushana was reached, H M's horse slipped and that skilful rider came to the ground in an agile manner Next day he passed through the Pīr Panjāl defile, and pitched his camp near Nari Barāri On that day too there was a similar slipping, and the Divine protection was revealed On the[2] 23rd when the hour was favourable—Srina

[1] That is he set out on his march to Kashmir

[2] Faizī S says Srīnagar was entered by Farīd on 21 Zi l ḥajja

gar the capital was brightened by his advent On the way the soldiers who had gone on in advance paid their homage In accordance with orders, thirty four persons entered into the trunk of a cenar tree which had been hollow for ages If they had sate closer some more might have been accommodated Although the root of rebellion had been dug up, yet, owing to a report that H M had ordered the punishment of high and low, people had scattered, and there was no population in any of the villages Though *those who* had gone on in front had used soothing measures, they were not
825 believed When H M's intentions were known and his great benevolence had been impressed on hearts, people came back to the city and rejoiced on beholding forgiveness and liberality Able and truthful men were sent out in every direction, and they regarded the apprehension of rebels as the price (*pairany*) of obedience Some who had been the leaven of the disturbance met with their deserts except 'Ādil Begi, who hastened to the Deccan in the dress of a Qalandar Those who from farsightedness had kept themselves aloof (from the rebellion) obtained high dignities The world commander offered up supplications, and thanksgivings had a new foundation Though on the first occasion he had had the pleasure of water-fowling, yet as it was not the season, he did not care for it This time he enjoyed *it in perfection* *On the 2nd Ābān he had* a great feast, and the solar weighment took place He who was of equal value with the heavens, was weighed against twelve things and high and low shared his bounty He appointed several persons to distribute money The writer distributed presents to 14 00 necessitous people in the *Idgāh* In this cultivated country thieves and beggars were few in number At this time owing to an evil mixture there was loss, and many failed in *patience and content*ment

One of the occurrences was the success of Zain K, Koka Though a commotion had not broken out there, H M had from foresight appointed him to Swād and Bajaur During the Kashmir disturbance the evil minded *Afghans* broke out into rebellion As the

---

18 September 1592 Akbar entered it he says on 9 Muḥarram 1001 7 October 1592

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that the tree had exceeded the *age of crow*s that 34 men found room in it and that 200 horsemen could be sheltered under it

were no chosen troops there the Gagiyani[1] tribe and the Muhammadzai tribe, who had always been loyal, joined with the Tarikis and Yusufzais and proceeded to hunt for the life of Muhammad Quli Turkaman, who was in Begrām, in order that they might get possession of the whole of that country Suddenly the Kokal āsh arrived, and the rebels of every tribe withdrew The Yusufzai and some Tarikis came to the hill country of Bajaur under the command of Wahidat ʻAli Jalāla put his family with him and went off to Tirāh The idea was that Wahadat ʻAli would take possession of the land of the Kafirs—which is close to Kashghar[2]—and prepare a refuge there, and whenever there was pressure on the part of the victorious he would go there On 7 Amardad the Koka came from the defile of Malkand to Swād, and easily took the futile but difficult of conquest country He came by the way of Mardan to Bajaur The rebels had not the strength to resist and were obliged to hurry to the land of the Kafirs In a short time the hill country of Hardil[3] (?) was taken from that tribe It is bounded on the east by Sawad, west by Kunār and Nurkal, north by Kāshghar and Badakhshan, and south by Bajāur They strengthened the fort of Cankāri[4] (?) and behaved presumptuously The Koka set himself to put them down and went there with brave and experienced men He built forts at 626
each stage and traversed the mountains Whenever the enemy tried a night attack, they failed The Koka invested the fort On 1st Abān he took it after a severe battle and the power of the rebels was broken

On the 9th H M went off by boat to visit the saffron[5] grounds He arrived there next morning and enjoyed himself Travellers cannot point out rose gardens which come up to them in delight and fragrance Though they (the flowers) resemble the lotus, yet their

---

[1] Text Kakeyāni See J II 407

[2] This is Kāshkar or Citral and not Kashghar in F Turkestan See J II 39142 and Elphinstone s Cabul II 388 It is marked on Elphinstone s map as a large country east of Chitral

[3] There is the variant Parul I cannot identify the place

[4] There is the variant Jankarī Chalmers has Bunkary The Maasar II 368 speaks of a fort Kanshal (?)

[5] Apparently those at Pampūr Cf Jahangir s account, Elliot VI 304 and 375, and also B 84

enchantment and joy giving cannot be described A banquet of delight was prepared, and a new door was opened for the Divine bounty Also at this time Mulla[1] Husain the Turan ambassador died He had been left behind at Lahore in order that he might prepare for his return, and he was to have got his leave when H M came back Indigestion conduced to his last day By H M 's orders his family and household were sent to their native country Also at this time Khwaja Shamsu d din arrived and paid his respects He was summoned from Lahore in order that Kashmir might be made crown land (*Khalṣa*) for a time and that by his sympathetic treatment it might be developed On the 12th the Diwāli[2] feast was celebrated and by orders the boats the river banks and the roofs were adorned with lamps They presented a splendid appearance Also on this day the daughter of Shams Cak entered the harem He belonged to the great men of the country, and had long cherished this wish On this occasion it was gratified Also in order to pacify the landowners the daughter[3] of Mubarak Khan the son of Husain Cak was made over to the harem of Prince Sulṭan Selim Similarly, some of the countries were united by marriage (with Kashmiris) In this year M Qubad[4] the oldest son of M Hakim received some punishment He was sent to the place of instruction of the prison He had ignorantly given himself up to wine drinking His punishment led to the amendment of many At this time a kind of ink was introduced to H M 's notice Whatever was written with it was not obliterated by water or by rubbing nor did any harm happen to the writing H M examined it and taught the use of it to skilful persons

---

[1] His death is referred to in the letter to Abdulla *infra* p 710

[2] B 216 It is celebrated on the new moon of Kart k (October)

[3] Apparently it should be the daughters of Mubarak K and Ḥusain Cak See B 619 A F tells us J III 449 that he had a Kashmiri w fe

[4] Generally called Kaiqubad

CHAPTER CXIV.

Return of the World-Illuminating Standards to India

On account of the delightful climate and of its adaptation to H M, his idea had been to spend the winter in Kashmir, but from consideration of the fact that the high price of food incommoded high and low, and of the severe cold making life difficult for the inhabitants of hot countries, he resolved to leave the country He 627 wished to make over the territory to M Yusuf K, but the latter again was eloquent about the question of the revenue By the wonders of fortune the (papers of the) assessment which Qāẓī [1] 'Alī had made, was found, and the representations of the Mirza's confidant were proved The Mirzā felt ashamed for not having accepted (the increased revenue) H M in accordance with his first idea made Kashmīr crown land (*khalsa*) and entrusted it to Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, and assigned him 3,000 cavalry When the holy heart turned away from the country, he on 20 [2] Ābān, 31 October 1592, embarked on a boat, and went off to India The army went by land On that day he halted at Andarkul There was the dwelling of M. Haidar

[1] Qāẓī 'Alī's assessment is referred to in the Ayīn, J II 366 67 It amounted to 30 lakhs odd This was an increase on the original assessment which was 22 lakhs and apparently supported the statements of Tuta (A N III 595) M Yūsuf declined to accept it and the territory became crown land But almost immediately afterwards (p 627) M Yūsuf was restored at the request of Prince Selīm and the revenue was not raised but certain sources of income were reserved A year or two afterwards (in the 39th year) Yūsuf was again recalled and made darogha of the artillery, and fief-holder of Jaunpūr, and Āsaf K was appointed (p 654) Āsaf made a fresh assessment raising the revenue somewhat in appearance, but in reality, lowering it (J II 367) Qāẓī 'Alī had made himself very objectionable to the Kashmīrīs, for they mutilated and killed him (Badayūnī, Lowe, 394)

[2] The T A. Elliot and V. 464 Akbar entered Pīrnagar on 8 Maharram 1001 and stayed 28 (not eight) days there and left 26 Safr = 2 November 1592 Faiẓi S has 7 Safr

there, which was a grand building and a memorial of him At the request of Prince Sulṭān Selīm, Kashmīr was given in fief to M Yusuf K, and he was sent off there The jāgīr in India[1] (of M Yusuf?), the saffron, the silk and the game, were made khalṣa Other increases were remitted On 23 Ābān he came to the Wular[2] lake He obtained information about the marvels of that tract It is an extensive reservoir Its circumference is twenty kos, and the river Bihat flows through it, and hastens on to India Sultan Zainu d din erected,[3] after great difficulty, a stone platform (ṣaffa) in it, 110 yards long, and 82 broad Upon that he built choice mansions as a memorial of himself Afterwards other rulers erected buildings there A high wind always blows there, and boats encounter storms On this occasion H M's advent made the water calm High and low were delighted At dawn the tents were pitched at Barahmula Though for two months no day had passed on which some soldiers did not get furlough to India, there was still a large army H M chose out of the seven sets of guards some men as his companions, and appointed active and energetic men to the remainder in order that each party after the other might, after a suitable interval, march off On 3 Āzar, 13 November 1592 while the camp was at Pakli, it rained (snowed?) the whole night, and snow gathered round the camp The advance-tents could not proceed H M went off on horseback to select a suitable camping ground As a fitting place was not found he left the household behind and went on quickly with some companions In the course of the journey it came on to rain and snow He halted in the village of Mangli[4] (?) which is a dependency of Pakli For a long while it snowed heavily, and high and low were astonished One month before this, when it was very cold, and the Indians were apprehensive of its snowing, H M said, "I hope[5] that when we pass Pakli, and get sight of India, the fall

[1] Apparently M Yusuf's jagir in Bihar See p 468

[2] Text Isar but Ular or Wular in variant See J II 364 where the circumference is given as 28 kos

[3] This is the island of Lanka, for an account of which see J II 346 and Colonel Jarrett's note in J A S B for 1880 p 16 and J A Elliot V 465

[4] Perhaps Manglor which Hwen Thsang calls Mangala and was the capital of Swad See J II 391 and note 7

[5] Cf Elliot V 465

of snow will afford delight, and that the inhabitants of warm countries will not be disconcerted, but will enjoy the spectacle." His prescience was manifested, and the lamp of guidance was kindled. In the morning the wind rose. He went forward, and on that day he halted for a while at Damtour at the request of M. Shahrukh's[1] son whose home was there. On the 7th he hastened on so rapidly 628
that he passed Rāwal Pindī, Rabāt,[2] Nagarkot, Thāna and Serai Carwa (?). He traversed a difficult hill and near Serai Har (?) rested for a while on the top of a hillock. On the way Ṣādiq K. was exalted by doing homage. At the beginning of the expedition he had fallen ill, and had been sent back to Lahore. When he got better he proceeded towards Kashmīr. Unexpectedly he had this blessing (of meeting Akbar). His son Yār,[3] and Rām Sāh, had the honour of kissing the threshold. He had obtained leave in order that he might tame Rajah Madhkar and this proprietor (Rām Sāh ?) and convoy them to Mālwa to the Prince (Murād), and might free those frightened savages from their consternation. The land owners got new life from these royal favours and came forward with supplications. The Rajah, though he was ill, intended to come also, but died of his illness. He (Ṣādiq) brought his son Rām Sāh to Ujjain, and from thence to court. He was received with favour. As the camp of Ṣādiq K. was set up, he expressed a wish that the sovereign would spend the night there. When evening came, H.M. sent him away in order that he might come slowly after him, and himself set off. The Prince Royal and other servants begged that he would take some repose in a litter. He did not agree. In a night and a day he travelled 22 *kos*. On the 8th he unexpectedly cast the shadow of his graciousness over Rohtās—where the ladies were. Crowds of men, who were going to Kashmīr (?), had the pleasure of doing homage. Prince Daniel and Sulṭan Khusrū illuminated their foreheads by paying their respects near the city (Rohtās).

---

[1] M. Shahrukh of Dhamtaur. His son was Bahādur, B. 524.

[2] Serai Rabāṭ is marked on Elphinstone's map S.E. Rāwal Pindī. The name Nagarkot is doubtful. The I.O. MSS. have Bīkakot, and for Serai Har they have "in the morning" as in the variant.

[3] Text has Bāz. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 391 and B 499. I.O. MSS. have Yār.

CHAPTER CXV

Capture of Sulṭān Moẓaffar Gujrātī and the end of his life

When Jūnagarh was taken, and the landed proprietors had be come obedient and had made their submission, the Kokaltāsh made courage shoulder to shoulder with skill He applied all his ener gies to the capture of Moẓaffar, who was the thornbush of the sedi tion That evil thinking man had given himself up to failure and had taken refuge with Sivābād[1] Hail who was the ruler of the country of Hālār. The temple of Dwārka belongs to him The Kokaltāsh sent to that quarter Naurang K, Gūjar K, Anwār,[2] Nizamu-d-din[3] Aḥmad, Bābā Khwaja, Qādir Qulī Koka, the Saiyids of Cambay, M Quli Mogal and other soldiers On 16 Mihr they left the camp 25 *kos* from the enemy and arrived in morning (*cāsht*) at Dwārka, and took it without a contest There it was learned that Mozaffar was in Basina[4] (?) the residence of Sivā (?), and that in the town of Arāmrāh,[5] Sangrām, a relation of that landholder, was behaving arro gantly Qādir Quli and some others were left at Dwārka, and then
629 two bands were made out Nauiang K with a large force proceed ed to chastise Moẓaffar. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, Babā Khwāja, and a number of gallant men also went off in that direction At the end of the day they arrived at his residence, and a severe engagement took place A little before this, the report of the approach of the victori ous troops had made the landholder demented, and he sent off

---

[1] Text سیوآباد هىل But evident ly the text is corrupt. Perhaps the meaning is that the chief belonged to the Sesodia clan The text goes on to describe him as the chief of Lar I.O MS 236 has Hālar, and perhaps Hālaria, I G XIII 9, is meant. Or

[3] This is Niẓāmu d-dīn the son of Shāh Muḥammad, B 561, and not the author

[4] I do not know where this place is

[5] Amra The place is variously spelt. See J. II. 248. It was for

Mozaffar and his household by boat to an island[1] which he had fortified He himself went after them The imperialists followed him, and he, from being doomed, turned and fought with them On account of the heights and hollows, the brave men got off their horses and engaged Naurang K. beheld this from a ridge A force, thinking that he had few men, attacked him but by the Divine help they had to retire with disgrace There was close fighting up to evening During the struggle an arrow reached the turbulent one (Siva ?), and he went to annihilation The rebels were dispersed, and many were killed Those also who had gone to punish Sangram were successful By the Divine succour the breeze of victory played on the pennants of fortune, and in both places much plunder was obtained Some said that Mozaffar had been drowned He could not remain where he was, but fled to Cutch Bihara Jareja the ruler of that country placed him in retirement On 26 Āban the Khān A'zim went there from Junagarh, sending on ahead his son 'Abdullah with some brave men Mir 'Abdu r Razziq M'amuri, who had been appointed Bakhshi of that country, arrived on this day On 9 Āzar he arrived, after traversing 55 *kos* in ten marches, at the village of Amran,[2] which is the burial place of Dawar al-Mulk The Jam came with his sons and other relatives and renewed his promises of good service The ruler of Cutch sent able men and had recourse to cajolery He spoke about obeying orders and sent his son to do service His pretences did not lull asleep the Kokaltāsh, and he replied that if he wished to be delivered from the victorious troops, he should deliver up Mozaffar, and come in person At this time, Lokan Kohal (?) went off with evil thoughts and without leave to his house, and the soldiers in Junagarh plundered his house and household His three sons were killed The Khan Ā'zam sent his son Khurram to that quarter with some brave men He himself left

[1] No doubt this is Sankudhar J II 248 It is now called Beyt Shankhodhar It is in the Gulf of Cutch and N E Dwārka It was near Arāmrāh See I G VIII 17 and Bayley 195 and note It is a sacred island Beyt apparently means 'island' in Gujarati

[2] The Amrun of Bayley, 232 where it is said to be ten *kos* from Morbī It is the burial place of Dawar ul Mulk whose proper name was 'Abdu-l Laṭīf and who was regarded as a saint The M Sikandarī p 127, calls the place Anbarun and says it is in Cutch (not Surat)

Morbī, and having marched 31 *kos* in five stages arrived at the village of Cārbāra [1] As the words of that proprietor [2] in those two matters did not produce action, he (M Koka) wished to make over his estates to the Jam , He left his pretences and sent a message to the effect that if the town of Morbi—which had belonged to his ancestors for a long time—were given to him as a reward, he would deliver up Mozaffar His proposals were accepted, and some persons were sent ahead of the army On 13 Dai, 23 December 1592, they arrived there The proprietor's agents represented to the turbulent 30 one (Mozaffar) that Bihāra was coming to wait upon (*dīdan*) him. He was pleased [3] and came out with alacrity. When he came near, they arrested him and brought him back That night passed on the journey Next morning, he retired [4] on pretence of easing himself, and put a razor—which he had kept hidden—to his throat Thus by his own hand he gave the final touch to his retribution Apparently this was well, for the Khān A'zam would not have put him to death

[1] Variant Jāobāra, and this is supported by I O MSS and Add 27, 247

[2] This is the ruler of Cutch whose residence was at Bhūj, I G VIII 151. A F calls him Bihāra and the T A. Elliot V 466 calls him Khangār These statements are reconciled by Bayley, p 17, where we find the Zamindār of Bhūj called Bihāra Khengār The Jām whom M Koka threatened to give Bihāra s property to was the Jām of Nawānagar The two matters or conditions which Bihāra was to fulfil were evidently, 1st the surrender of Mozaffar, 2nd, Bihāra s coming on in person to visit the K K The text makes them alternative, but *yā* seems a mistake for *bā* The Zamindar Bihara who delivered up Mozaffar appeared before Jahangir in the 13th year of the reign of the latter He was then an old man of about 90 years of age *Tūzuk J*, 234.

[3] The text seems corrupt here, and the word *bapazīra* is not very intelligible Add 27,247 has a different reading, p 416*b* After giving the message that Bihāra had come to wait upon Mozaffar, who, of course, was regarded as a prince, and of higher rank, it has *khūsh waqt gashta banda barah barāmid* This seems to be part of Bihara's message, and to mean, "It is a fortunate time and so your slave (Bihara) has come on the road to wait upon you

The Iqbālnama and the Mirāt Aḥmadī say that Mozaffar sate down at the foot of a tree to wash and that he had the razor concealed in his drawers (*shalwār*) The Mirat Sikandarī and Aḥmadi pp 387 and 190, say the occurrence took place at the village of Dhamon or Dahar, 15 *kos* "on this side, i.e east of Bhūj Ferishta adds that Mozaffar always kept the razor with him against this day

without orders, and if they had brought him into the Presence, H.M.'s abundant graciousness would not have hunted for his life. In revenge for Qutbu-d-dīn K., his head was severed from his body and hung[1] up at the door of Naurang K., and afterwards Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad[2] brought it to court. Two days previous to this H.M. had said, "Inasmuch as the help of God towards this suppliant increases daily, every one who turns away his head from obedience descends into non-existence. The ingratitude of Moẓaffar has gone far. Something tells my heart that about this time he will be killed." On beholding this intelligence, eyesalve became cheap and a door of auspiciousness was opened out for many

[1] *Bar dar*, "at the door," but perhaps *bar* here means body. If the head was taken off to Akbar, it could hardly have been hung at Naurang's door or gate, except for a short time.

[2] The son of Shāh Moḥammad K (Iqbālnāma).

CHAPTER CXVI

Return of the august standards to Lahore the Capital

Thanks be to God that the veil was once more withdrawn from the world ruler's knowledge of mysteries and that high and low obtained materials of guidance. During his return, his idea had been that he would locate the army for a time on the bank of the Indus, and enjoy some hunting. The soldiers would recruit and the rebels would be reduced to obedience. For this reason Khwaja Shamsu-d-dīn Khafī was sent off to prepare the camping ground at Attock. H. M. halted in Rohtās and questions[1] were put to Zain K. Kokaltāsh and other officers who had been appointed to chastise the Tārīkīs. As it did not appear proper to proceed in that direction, he on 2nd Dāi[2] went on towards Lahore. After sixteen marches he arrived in that city on the 19th Dai, 29 December 1592. Crowds of men obtained the material of fortune, and largesse was the order of the day (lit. there was a daily market of largesse). From Srinagar to Rohtās is 112 *kos* 30 poles, and the distance was traversed in eighteen marches. To Lahore (from Rohtas) the distance is 162½ *kos*, 16 poles, and it was traversed in thirty four marches. An account of the Divine favours which were bestowed during this expedition has been given. A world sate gathering bliss, and the Age rose up to the fruition of its desires. At this time Balbhadahar the son of Rām Cand the ruler of Bhat'h[3] obtained lofty rank. His father had left him to wait upon H. M. At this

[1] A. F.'s letter to Zain K. Koka inquiring about the expedition against the Tārīkīs and suggesting that the business was too unimportant to require Akbar's presence at Attock will be found in the second volume of the Insha. It is dated 9 Āzar (the day after the arrival at Rohtās) of the 37th year = 28 Safr 1001, 23 November 1592.

[2] The text and also the I. O. MSS. have Āzar but clearly Dai must be meant.

[3] Text Tattah! It is Bhet'h or Bhattah and also Pannah and is in Central India. See B. 8406, where the son is called Bir Bhadr. He died of an accident in the following year. See below p. 641. The Iqbalnāma also calls him Bir Bhadr.

633 ing in the house of Miriām Makānī, and the marriage was solemnized at an auspicious hour

On the 23rd Pahār[1] K died in Bardwān His heirs were treated with princely favours

[1] B 405

CHAPTER CXVII

BEGINNING OF THE 38TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR ARDIBIHISHT OF THE FOURTH CYCLE

One the eve of Sunday 17 Jumada al ākhiri, 1001 A H, 10 or 11 March 1593, after 3 hours 55 minutes, the spiritual and physical light increaser cast his rays on the Sign of Aries Melancholy terrestrials had heavenly bliss, and had equal rank with the celestials

Verse

The hand of morn kindled the torch of the new spring
The branching [1] standards took to torch bearing
By the side of the wind, the black earth clothed itself in green
Every flowerpot [2] drank milk from the breast of the clouds

There was a daily feast till the day of Exaltation, and high and low rejoiced

On 8 Farwardin the Khān Khanan came from Sind and was exalted by doing homage M Jāni gathered bliss by having an audience, and placed the forehead of supplication on the ground, while the crown of his fortune was exalted to the skies After the peace, the victorious army took up its quarters in Sann, 20 *kos* from Sehwān When the rains came to an end they were in expectation of the arrival of the Mirzā and of his departing to court Suddenly a message arrived that as he was a little indisposed, and there was a long journey in prospect, he would go to court after collecting the autumn revenue, also that the agreement was that this side of Sehwān would be restored to him, but Puran (?) and Hālākandi had not been given up The imperial servants took the envoy under their

[1] Meaning that every branch bore flowers

[2] *Khazaf* The MSS seem to have *Kharaf* meaning an old weak man and the metaphor may be that they grew young i e became suck lings But khazaf seems right.

supervision and proceeded to take active measures Shāh Beg K., Ghāzī K., Jānish Bahādur, Nuram Khwāja Khiẓrī, and other brave men crossed the Indus and proceeded by land towards Tatta Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, Muhammad K Niyazi, Bahadur K Qurdar, Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī, Alī Mardan Bahādur, Khwāja Ḥisāmu d dīn Sālār Beg, Sarmadī Mubāriz Beg, Subhan Qulī, Tāj K., Nuru d dīn, S'aīd Beg and others went in war-boats by the river Sher K., Khulgān, Langa, Dada Beg, 'Alī Āqa and others went by the river bank It was arranged that all three bodies should keep touch of one another, and that they should take possession of Naṣīrpur which was on the
4 route The idea was that the Mīrzā must go to court. After some days the Khān Khānān sent an ambassador with weighty advices, and followed in person The troops prevailed over Naṣīrpūr The Mīrza came out of Tatta and took post at a distance of three kos His intention was to make his rear[1] safe up to the river (?) When the Khān Khānan arrived at Nasīrpur he sent on the three corps with the same arrangements as before They attacked the Mīrzā's camp and plundered it, and some of the Arghūnians joined them The Mīrzā had recourse to supplications, and he sent able men to inquire why the treaty was broken The reply was, "We are not breaking the treaty, and we have no new ideas in our minds, but we have heard that the Feringhī soldiers of Ormuz intend to come to this country Hence we intend to go on to Bandar Lahari"[2] The plunder which had been taken was returned with apologies (?) The Khān Khanān always had an eager desire for concord On 10 Ābān of the previous year they met each other on horseback Out of foresight the Khān Khānān proceeded as far as Tatta His ostensible motive was to see the place, but his real intent was to secure the lower part of the river, and to prevent any change in the feelings of the Arghūniāns When he had gone some way in that direction, and his mind was set at rest, he returned "As the bond of friendship had been established it was fitting that the Mīrzā should deliver up his fleet so that no one could have occasion to make any remark,

---

[1] عقبات *'aqabāt* I O MS 236 has *qanāt* The meaning seems to be that M. Jānī wished to keep open his communications with the river as there was a prospect of the Portuguese coming to help him *Aqabat* may mean "communications

[2] Lahorī Bandar in the Karāchī district now quite decayed. I G XXII 403 and Elliot I, App 377

and that foolish praters might be reduced to silence' The Mirza was thus constrained to give up the whole country to the victorious army He prepared to go to court After viewing Tatta, the Khān Khanān went on to Bandar Lahiri He dispatched Shāh Beg K, Bakhtiyār Beg Faridun Barlās and others to go forward with the Mirzā He left some in Tatta and returned by land Near Fath Bagh he arrived in person On 29 Bahman he left Saiyid Bahāu d-din to guard the country and went off to court with the Mirza Though he (the Mirzā) wished to leave his family in Tatta he could not His household went off by land and water, and he himself went on with the Khān Khānān, and set his heart upon kissing the threshold Shah Beg K and, from among the nobles of Tatta Shāh Qāsim Arghun, Khusru Bāi K, 'Il Dastam Saifullah 'Arab, and Nadím Koka had the honour of being presented, and every one of them recieved princely favours

M Jani[1] is the son of Payinda Muhammad s M Bāqī, s M 635
'Isa, s 'Abdu l 'Ali, s 'Abdu l Khaliq who was descended from Shakal[2] Beg Tarkhān As his (Shakal s) father Atku[3] Timur fell bravely in the war of Taqtamish K, the Sāhib Qirāni (Taimur), cherished him in his early years, and gave him the rank of Tarkhān He is four generations from Arghun K s Abāgh[4] K, s Hulāgu K, s Tuli K, s Cingiz K Just rulers exempted some among their servants from certain injunctions and prohibitions and distinguished them by this name (Tarkhan) A Tarkhan of the Sāhibqirān was one whom his ushers (Chāwashān) did not keep out of any place, and from whom and from whose children no inquiry was made up to the number of nine faults The great Qāan Cingiz K exalted Qishliq and Bāna[5] to this rank because they had given information

[1] Cf. B 361 and J II 346

[2] Shankal in B and I O MS 236

[3] Text Ikā and it is Ekū in Elliot I 497 B has Atku, and so have the I O MSS It is Iku in Zafrnāma I 525 etc The Zafrnāma seems to have Shah Mulk instead of Shankal or Shakal I 530 These privileges of Tarkhans are referred to on the same page

[4] Ayagh in text

[5] Bāta in B Neither of these two names nor the reason why Cingiz bestowed the honour is mentioned in the T Rashīdī The story is however told in Elliot I 498 where the names of the two men are given as Bata and Kashlak It is there said that they heard of Avang K s intending to kill Cingiz and came

about the enemy, and, from his abundant graciousness, relieved them from the burden of attendance (*bar i farmaish*), and did not exact from them the royal share of the booty For a while the Tarkhān had seven privileges, viz —1st, A *Tabb* (kettle drum) 2nd, A Tumantogh (standard) 3rd, A Naqqāra (also a drum) 4th, A Tarkhān could confer on two of his select servants a qushuntogh[1] (the standard of a squadron?) 5th, He also could carry a Chatrtogh 6th, He had a qur

It is a Moghul regulation that no one except the sovereign can carry his quiver in his hand His hunting ground is also taboo (*qurq*) If any one enter it, he becomes a slave He[2] is the head of his tribe The Amirs in the high divan sit further off and on both sides of him and are a bow's length away When Amir Bulagi raised Tughlaq Taimur (to the throne of the Khānate) there was conferred upon him the right of appointing and dismissing officers up to the rank of one thousand (*hazarī*) It was also ordered that no inquiry should be held about (the offences of) his children up to nine generations When the offences exceeded nine in number an inquiry would be held Then when retribution for this was to be inflicted, he was to be placed on a two year old white horse, and a white cloth was to be put under the horse's feet His representation was to be conveyed (to the Khan) by one of the chiefs of the Barlās tribe and the answer by one of the chiefs of the Arkiwat tribe Then his neck vein (*shahrag*) was opened and the two Amirs stood on each side and watched until he died Then they removed him from the presence and buried him with lamentation Khizr Khwāja raised Amir Khudadād to this rank, and he

and told him Apparently the story is contained in the Tarkhānnama

Haidar speaks p 55 of Cingiz s having conferred the seven privileges of a Tarkhan on Urtubu who we learn from p 17, was grandfather of Amīr Bulagī At pp 23 and 56 Haidar says he once saw the original *firman* of Toghluq Timūr

[1] Perhaps the meaning is that the Tarkhan could appoint two of his servants to commands This was afterwards made a general power to appoint officers up to the rank of 1000 The last of the seven privileges is obscure both in the T Rashīdī and in the Akbarnāma Abul Fazl seems only to mention six Cf Dr Bellew s translation of the T Rashīdī in his History of Kāshghar p 153 of the Yarkand Report 1875

[2] Text *khwah*. Is this a mistake for khakan?

added three other privileges 1st, On feast-days, when all the grandees stood, and one *yasāwal* of the ruler was on horseback to keep order, the Tarkhān also had a horse 2nd, As when in that feast of joy the cup of *qimōz* was held on the Khān's right hand, so also did a cupbearer hold one on the left hand for the Tarkhān 3rd, His seal appeared on the face of the *firmāns*, but the seal of the king is put at the head of the last line, and that of the Tarkhān *below that*

If all favours be in accordance with discretion they will agree
with the performance of God's will The provision about not inquir- 636
ing until nine faults have been committed, of whatever nature they
may be, does not appear to be consonant with propriety If farseeing princes are engaged in testing men, and take care that no evil deed be committed by them, and if such orders have been issued for the exaltation of some persons, then it is something comprehensible But as for that provision that no inquiry is to be made for nine generations, it would look as if the Almighty had given him (the Khān) the power of knowing the future! Whither have my words strayed! And whither have I gone in order to refresh my narrative?[1]

---

[1] A F has copied this account of the Tarkhān and his privileges from Ḥaidar M See the T R Ross and Elias pp 23 and 55 But the translation there given is not wholly correct and the passage has to be explained by Mr. Blochmann's note B 364 Possibly too A F did not altogether understand his authority, and his copyists have certainly made mistakes In one or two places I have ventured to differ from Mr Blochmann, who apparently was not aware that the original passage was in the T R The words *tamantogh* and *catrtogh* are explained in B 50 See also the note to the explanation of Plate 9, B. IX Mr Blochmann, translating A F., says the amirs sate, arranged in the form of a bow I have preferred Denison Ross's translation, which comes from A F's original, and makes them sit a bow's length away There is an useful preçis of A F in the Maaṣir III, pp 302-4, in which the mistakes of some of the copyists are corrected The mention of the Arkīwat tribe and of "the two amirs' instead of "two amīrs,' in the account of the Tarkhān's punishment seems *due to a corrupt text I do not find* the name of such a tribe and there is no such name in the T R In a MS of the T R in my possession, the words are *azkasrat ādab* "with great respect' Perhaps this has been read as Arkīwat Denison Ross has "from an elevation," the whole of the passage being as follows "The accused should be set upon a white, two-year-old horse, under the hoofs of the horse, nine folds of white felt should be placed

Verse

What words do I utter, whither have they driven my conveyance?
Whether have we gone, and where has our steed halted?

M 'Abdu-l-'Alī attained to high rank under Sultān Mahmud M the son of Sultān Abu S'aīd M, and became ruler of Bokhāra Shaibek K Uzbeg was in his service, but when he attained the Sultanate, he killed his master[1] and his five sons, and so gathered the materials of eternal ruin M 'Isā was six months' old The Arghūn clan being without a head, left Transoxiana and some came to Khurāsān Mir Zu n-nūn Beg Arghun became a great man under Sultān Husain M Qandahār, Sistān and Zamindāwar were given to him as his fiefs When Badī'u zamān M had the wickedness to rebel against Sultān Husain M (his father) Mir Zu-n-nūn joined him, and gave him his daughter When Sultān Husain M died, his two sons Badiu' z Zamān and Mozaffar ascended the throne, and there ensued distractions in the country Shaibeg came to fight, and Zū-n nūn was killed in battle against him His son Shah Beg was kept in Qandahar under surveillance (by Shaibāni) Shāh Beg sent for Bābur from Kabul in order that he might enter into his service and proceed to Khurāsan, but when Bābur approached, he fought with him A great battle took place, and Shāh Beg was defeated and Qandahar and the collections of years were lost Bābur left Nāṣir M (in Qandahar) and returned to Kabul At the

---

as a token of respect—and he should in that position address the Khān while the Khān should speak to him from an elevation When the interrogatory and investigation have been conducted in this fashion if the offence should be a mortal one and the other nine crimes should also be proved against him, two Amirs should stand by and watch him while his veins were opened and all his blood drawn from his body N.B—The word for veins in the T R is shāhraghā i.e "principal veins", in A F it is the singular *shāhrag* Perhaps A F has gone into such detail about the title of Tarkhan because Akbar nominally revived it and conferred it on Maulānā Nūru d-dīn the guardian of his father's tomb See B 542 Badayunī III 198 and M saqir I 480

[1] The master or rather benefactor whom he killed was Sultan Mahmūd Khān son of Yūnus K and not Sultan Maḥmūd M the son of Abū Saīd A.F's elliptic mode of writing might lead one to suppose that the

instigation of Muqīm, Shāh [1] Beg's brother, Shaibānī (Uzbeg) came to Qandahar Nāṣir carefully guarded it, and as there was a report of a disturbance in Khurāsan, Shaibānī made peace and returned After some time Nāṣir left Qandahar without cause, and came to Kabul Shāh Beg acted promptly and took Qandahar When Shaibānī in battle with Ism'aīl Ṣafavī got his retribution for killing his master, Shāh Beg came to Herat at the summons of the Shāh (Ism'aīl), and was put into prison Sanbal [2] by name, a slave, from goodness and faithfulness, made a plot with forty leaders of the Arghuns, and, going to Herat, set up as a shopkeeper He set up a shop for a while He made clever arrangements and by means of pretexts contrived to convey news to the prison, and he in a consummate manner revealed his secret plan Shāh Beg got the help of the other prisoners, and that faithful one brought together strong horses and had them shod backwards At night he drugged the food of the guards and brought Shāh Beg out of prison He himself guided him to Qandahār After some time Firdus Makānī (Bābur) made an expedition against him He did not think himself strong enough to resist and retired into the fort After two years peace was made He went towards Shāl [3] and lay in wait From there he came to 637
Sehwān and took Sewistān from Jam Nandā [4] who was of the Jādūn tribe and known generally as Samma (?) During the time of his son Jām Firuz, Shāh Beg got possession of the whole of Sind He also took Multan from the Langāhs When he died, he was succeeded by his son Shāh Husain Jinnat Āshiyānī (Humāyūn) came to him at the time of his misfortune, but Shāh Husain in his folly went to war with him Some account of this has been given in the first

master he killed was either Abū Saïd's son or Abdu l-'alī, but both of them died a natural death See T R. 166 A F does not give Zū-alnun's descent It is stated in the Tarkhānnāma quoted in Elliot I that he was the son of Amīr Basrī

[1] The name is not in text, but occurs in I O MS 236

[2] See the story in Erskine's Hist of India, I 345, and also in Malet T Sind 7

[3] Text *basūī Damsāl*, I O MS, 235, has "towards Shāl," and so has the Iqbalnāma.

[4] Text has Jam Banda See Elliot I 233 Also for Samna, the text has *bahamma* I O. MS 236 has Samma, and 235 has Samand. See Tārīkh Sind, Malet 55, and Jarrett II 343, 346 and B 362. See also Elliot I App 494 The Sammas became Muhammadans about the end of the 14th century

volume (of the Akbarnâma) As[1] a retribution for his wickedness he lost his intelligence, and could not distinguish a friend from an enemy He took flattery and cajolery to be the tests of goodness. He constantly spent six months in ascending the river, and six months in going down stream When he was going towards Bhakkar, Kastak,[2] (?) Mir Shâham and Kirchak, who were noted men among the Arghuns, raised up M 'Isa—whose ancestors had been the heads of the Arghun clan—and seized Tughlaqabâd[3] and Tatta On hearing this, Shah Husain turned back without going to Bhakkar. With the help of Sultan Mahmud his foster brother, who was governor of Bhakkar, he prepared for war, and encamped near Koh Haftdakhtar (the hill of the seven daughters), and with a stream in front of him For six months, naval fights went on By the evil machinations of Sultân Mahmûd, a sort of peace was made The country of Sind was divided into five portions, three being assigned to M 'Isâ and two to M Shah Husain Afterwards[4] that ingrate deprived his master of the wine he was accustomed to He died in the same[5] year as that in which Humâyun went to heaven, and the whole country came into the possession of M 'Isa When he died, his son M Bâqi succeeded him Madness overcame him and he stuck a sword hilt in a wall, and drove

---

[1] Cf Malet 121

[2] Variant Kabīk and this agrees with Elliot I 320 which has Mir Kabak B M MS Add 27,247 has Kistik

[3] A fort about two miles S Tatta Elliot I App 402 It is mentioned also in Elliot I 272 and 319

[4] *Sipas ān na sipās sarab ra az khudavand khwesh ke ban-i khūd dasht bāzgirift* This is an obscure sentence The text has sirāb or sarāb but all the MSS seem to have sharab Instead of khūd dasht I O MS 236 has khū dasht No 259 of Ethé has sharab We are told by M'aṣum Malet124 that Shah Husain after he was attacked by palsy, constantly drank wine and remained in an intoxicated condition. Apparently then A F means that Sultân Maḥmūd caused Shah Husain s death by depriving him of wine to which he was accustomed Perhaps however the meaning is quite different and is that Shāh Husain experienced the ingratitude which he had shown to Humāyūn The T Ṭāhirī has a great deal to say about Shah Ḥusain s misconduct towards Humāyūn and contrasts it with the kindness and loyalty shown by M Isā to Humayun The latter in consequence prophesied that M Isā would get the kingdom

[5] Humāyūn died in 963 (1556) and Shāh Ḥusain in 962, or according to the Tarkhānnāma Elliot I 323, on 12 Rabi al awwal 961 = 15 February 1554

the point into his belly He died,[1] and the Arghūns assigned the name of royalty to his son M Pāyinda, but as he was a recluse, and of an insane disposition, the administration was committed to his son M Jānī Beg In the previous year (1000 ? 1592) the recluse died For the sake of refreshing my narrative, I have disgressed somewhat Now I return to my tale with the same straightforwardness as formerly May this quality never fail!

On 15 Farwardīn Shaham K Jalāir and Qāsim K Tamkīn came from their fiefs and had the good fortune of an audience and were exalted by princely favours On the day of exaltation (sharf) the feast of the lunar weighment look place That noble personality was weighed against eight articles, and many necessitous ones had their desires gratified On this day, the territory of Tattah was given in fief to M Shāhrukh M Jānī Beg was given a *mansab* of 3000, and the province of Multan All those who had served in Sind received 638 the reward of their service Shah Beg K was made an officer of 2500 and Saiyid Bahāu d dīn one of a 1000 Similarly, every one received in accordance with his merit On this day, M Qubād, who had learnt wisdom in the school of the prison, was released

One of the occurrences was the departure of M Koka for the Hijāz For a long time fancies had taken possession of him He thought that H M disliked him, and he regarded[2] marks of favour as censures At the time when he showed good service, H M out of excessive affection summoned him to his presence The old frenzy boiled over, and he sank into improper thoughts He had not the courage to treat his imaginings as realities, and yet come to court, nor the discernment to rid himself of his wrong ideas He dismissed Naurang K, Gujar K Khwāja Ashraf and many of the royal servants to their *jagirs* and went off himself to Junagarh But without going there, he proceeded to Dwarka in order that he

[1] Malet 136 says he committed suicide in 1571 (979) But apparently the true date is 993 (1585) See B 362 and the MS T Masūmī

[2] Probably this refers to his appointment to Ahmadābād which according to Khāfī K was procured by the brothers Faizī and A F in order to get him away from Akbar See Tuzuk Jahāngīrī p 38 for account of a seditious letter written by M Koka to Rajah 'Alī K See also the letter which he wrote to Akbar from Mecca Darbār A. 859 and Khāfī K. I 201

might after the fashion of thorough-going men take the road of exile He disclosed his secret to some confidants, and hurried off to Pur Bandar That is a populous place on the seashore It has a stone fort, and most of the wall is of stone From there he went to Mangalūr[1] He gave out that he meditated the capture of the port of Diu, and he stopped the coming and going of traders from all the ports of Gujarat—a traffic which makes Diu prosperous The Christians were put into straits and made a peace It was agreed that this year the Divine[2] ship (*Jahaz-i-Ilahi*) which is always filled up in Diu, should only be half filled (there) and that the other half should be freighted wherever the owner of it (*khedive*) chose, and that the 10,000 Mahmudis,[3] which was the hire, would not be demanded, and that the embarkation might take place wherever he chose (?) No one would interfere with this In order to deceive people, he wrote to the Jām and to Bihāra (of Kach) that he was going to court by way of Sind, and asked that they would arrange to accompany him He also described the route, stage by stage, and requested them to make suitable arrangements for food and water When he came to Pattan Somnāth he confined Mir ʻAdu r Razzāq Bakhshi and Saiyid[4] Bāyazid, and took a promise from the soldiers that they would not prevent him from going On 15 Farwadin,[5] 25th March 1593, he embarked on the ship Ilāhi at the port of Balāwal[6] which is near

---

[1] The Māngrol of I G It is in the Jūnagarh State Supposed to be the Monoglossum of Ptolemy

[2] Many MSS have Jahāz Ilāhī i Kokaltāsh B M MS 27,247 has Ilāhī guft Kokaltāsh ʻThe Divine ship called the Kokaltāsh Apparently the ships belonging to Akbar or those employed for the pilgrimage were all called Ilāhī and Kokaltāsh was the name of this special ship Possibly jahāz here means ships or fleet and the meaning is that M. Koka would get *one* ship to himself Probably there were at least two pilgrim ships

[3] The Mahmūdī was worth about a shilling Bayley 16 n., 10,000 then would be worth £500

[4] B 501 The Iqbalnāma says that before departing he released them and apologised for having imprisoned them

[5] 1 Rajab 24th March 1593 Elliot V 465 Cf Badayūnī Lowe 400, 401 Maasir I 683 and Khāfī K I 197 *et seq* M Koka disliked A F and his brother and they in their turn intrigued to have him employed far from court He wrote to Akbar and sneeringly asked if he regarded these brothers as Usmān and ʻAlī B 326 n

[6] The Verāwal of I G 2 m

Somnāth Six of his sons—Kharram, Anwar, 'Abdu-l-lah, 'Abdu-l-latīf, Martazā, 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr, and six daughters, together with their mothers accompanied him He took [1] with him Khwāja Bābā, Hāfiz 'Abdu-r rahmān, Mullā Yūsuf, Hakīm Mas'ūd, Muhammad Husain, Qāsim 'Alī, and others, to the number of one hundred persons The anchor was raised at night, and he went afar from the *Qibla* of hope H M, on hearing of this, forgave the crookedness of his vision, and his errors, and prayed to God for his deliverance, and for the success of his journey He said, "Inasmuch as I have trod the path of peace with Jews and Nazarenes and others, how can I rise up against my own protegé? I so love 'Azīz that though he show evil thoughts, we can think nothing but good of him 639
Should his mother die of grief for his absence, it will be hard for him to be delivered from the harshness of the world Otherwise he will soon repent of what he has done" He also said, "Before this, the mother of the Mīrzā came into our presence Before I knew what she was going to do she made a cup of water revolve round my head and then drank it When I asked what she meant, she said, 'This night I had a dream that something untoward had happened to the Shāhinshāh I have taken it upon myself' Apparently she had seen her son in my [2] form" H M was most gracious to his sons and servants—who were in a state of great perplexity—and raised

N W Somnāth temple It is 20 m S E Mangrol The Iqbālnāma says that when 'Azīz was leaving all the soldiers and others stood on the shore and beat their drums Badayūnī, Lowe, 401 says people compared M Koka's journey to that of Ibrahīm Adham but that afterwards it did not matter whether he had gone or not (meaning that he lost all the merit by his afterwards accepting the Divine Faith of Akbar) He also says that Akbar had sent for him before he left and had deprived him of Jūnagarh and given it to Rai Singh In A. F's Insha, Book I, there is a letter from Akbar to M. Koka, reproaching him for distressing his mother and himself by going off without leave and for exposing his family to the dangers of the ocean M Koka soon repented and came back

[1] The T Maşūmī Malet, 131, mentions a Hāmīd of Uc as one who accompanied 'Azīz to Mecca.

[2] Dar paikar i man But there are different readings in the MSS, and I think *paikar* ' form, must be wrong Possibly, the true reading is paigar, or paigār i man "fighting with me The B.M MS has در سکر واقع *dar sikr wāqa a*, but *sirk* may be paikar B M Or 116 has *dar nāmalāīm* " acting improperly

his eldest son Shamsī[1] to the rank of 1000, and his other son Shādmān to the rank of 500 A fertile jagīr was also bestowed They got new life on beholding his kindness and felt ashamed on account of their father's conduct

One of the occurrences was the appointment of Prince Sulṭān Murād to the government of Gujarat When M Koka took the road of disobedience, and that country remained without a guardian, an order was issued on 10 Ardibihisht to that nursling of fortune, informing him that skilful and liberal men were being sent and that he should use them in the administration When the Governor of Malwa arrived, he should make over the province to him and proceed to Gujarat On the 28th the standard of the seekers after knowledge, the Poet Laureate S Faiẓi, returned from the Deccan, and, after an absence of 1 year, 8 months, 14 days, did homage He was exalted by various favours He had gone on an embassy Burhān in his arrogance and self-will had not listened to his counsels He had not sent fitting[2] presents and had prepared the materials of his own injury Rajah 'Ali K. had to some extent listened to the commands, and had sent his daughter with choice bridal gifts for the wooing of the Prince Royal

One of the occurrences was the capture of Kanshān[3] When Zain K Koka took Cinkāri he stayed at Fort Fathābād which he had founded in Bajaur He sent Mubārik K, Jalal K and some troops to watch over Swad At this time the watching over the country from the other side of the Indus up to the Hindu Koh was made over to him, and the fiefholders there were directed to assist him He applied himself to the uprooting the thornbrake of the Tārikis and went to Tirāh Qasim K came unattended to Jalalābad A feast of concord was held, and it was arranged that he should go via Bāzārak to the hill country, and that the army of Bangash should come from that quarter With this idea, the Koka went to Kabul by the Ilam[4] Pass Near Gagiāni Āsaf K came in from

[1] Afterwards known as Jahangīr Qulī K B 450

[2] Cf Elliot V 467 where it is stated that only fifteen elephants and a few other things were sent

[3] I O M S 236 has Kanshāl and so have the Maasir II 368, and the Iqbālnāma

[4] This seems to be the Ailum range of Elphinstone Cabul I 129 It is mentioned again at 702 It was apparently a Pass into the Tīrah

Bangash, and accompanied him At Bigram Khwaja Shamsu d din and other officers—who had obtained leave from court—joined him The Koka took up his quarters at the Pass Qāsim K proceeded with the Kabul troops to Tirāh by way of Bāzarak The Yārān (?), who 640
were among the leaders of the Afridis, were killed in battle, and though other soldiers had not arrived, the Afridī and Orakzai tribes had recourse to entreaties They submitted and gave some hostages Jalāla Tariki left Tirāh and went to the country of the Kafirs At the time when the Koka took the Fort of Cinkari and returned, Wahdat 'Ali his (Jalala's) relation (son in law ?) with the help of the Yusufzai prevailed over the fort of Kanshan and parts of the territory of the Kāfirs He (the Koka) left Qasim K in Jalalabād and Muhammad Quli and Hamza Beg Ataliq in Bigram He took with him Āsaf K Khwaja Shamsu d din, S aid K Ghakar, Takhta Beg and others, and went to that quarter (Kanshān) Before the ill fated Tarikis had crossed the Kabul river, the victorious troops came and barred their road They failed and had to go back to the hills of Tirah Some were of opinion that an effort should be made to chastise them The Kokaltash said, "The land owners of Tirah have submitted Probably they (the Tarikis) wont get access there, and they will become vagabonds Now let our efforts be directed to overthrow Wahdat 'Ali Before he make this difficult country secure we shall be at our ease regarding him" All approved They left their baggage, and entered the Kafir country by the route of Shāhzādi Near the village of Kandi Kahar they made a new bridge over the Bajaur[1] river—which is 70 yards broad and is very swift The Tārikis, when they crossed, had broken down the bridge Khwāja Shamsu d din was left to guard it, and to keep the road open They marched seventeen stages of heights and hollows and came to a great pass, eight *kos* from the enemy The latter had strengthened the fort of Kanshan, and were exulting in their arrogance Halfway, at this defile and uneven ground—where a single horseman could with difficulty proceed, and there were four *kos* of straits (*legha*)[2]—they had collected stones in ten places and were

territory Or it may be the Shah Ālam ferry on the Kabul river That river is also called the Shah Ālam

[1] I presume that this is the Kash kar or Citrāl river

[2] *legha* means a sword-blade I presume the meaning is that the

prepared to give battle On 6 Khurdād, 16 May 1593, the Koka advanced with some men and was searching for a camping ground Takhta Beg, S'aid K, Ḥaidar 'Ali 'Arab and other brave men were sent on as the vanguard They were to select a choice spot and halt there, and not to engage in fighting The Afghans attacked this party, and a battle became inevitable The enemy was driven off four times When the Koka heard of this, he joined with the few men who were with him The sound of the trumpet restored courage to those of the vanguard who had lost heart Many had left their place, but Takhta Beg, S aid K, Haidar' Alī 'Arab and some others did not shift their foot from the arena, and fought stoutly On the arrival of the Kokaltāsh they renewed their efforts and devotion Brave men too came up from the rear and took part in the fight First, Āṣaf K came up The place was narrow and for three *pahars* there was a fight of spears and daggers Suddenly Waḥdat 'Ali could not get out of the defile[1] (? *tegha*) With a large number of followers he went down into a deep hollow, and by the Divine help the enemy was dispersed, and victory exalted the hearts of the imperialists The fort of Kanshān, and much cultivated country, came into possession There was a daily market of
41 submission The wicked went off to the high mountains, and perished (?) This hill-country is the seat of the officer (*dārogha nishīn*) of the ruler of Kāshghar[2] It is full of snow throughout the year Active men followed, and made many men and women prisoners. Many Kāfir leaders submitted and helped to put down the Afghans Some went off towards Caghānserai and Badakhshān in order that they might cross the Bajaur river and get shelter with the other Kāfirs A party of the victorious troops broke down the bridges on the other side, and so the heads of the Yusufzai—Hātim, Bābā 'Ali, Hindāl, S Husain—came in and paid their respects under the safe-conduct of Qāsim K and others Wahdat 'Ali too could not help coming in (i e surrendering) Four hundred of the enemy were killed, and 7000[3] were made prisoners On the side of the imperialists thirty persons gave up their lives with honour, and 150 were

place was as narrow as the edge of a sword

[1] I presume the meaning is that he could not force his way through the pass, and had to escape by the side of the valley.

[2] i e Citrāl

[3] Badayūnī, Lowe, 401, says 14000 Cf Elliot V 467.

wounded The country was conquered up to Kāshghar and Badakhshān

At this time Shahbāz K was[1] set free His success had somewhat darkened his understanding, and the gracious sovereign placed him in the school of instruction (the prison) When signs of instruction showed themselves, he was, after two years and more, made the recipient of favour on 24 Khurdād On the 30th, Sher Beg Tawācibāshi arrived from Bengal, and produced 127 elephants and other articles which Rajah Mān Singh had obtained at the conquest of Bengal At this time Naqib K[2] represented that Qazi 'Īsā his uncle had made his daughter a present to H M and that this chaste and secluded lady had for a long time been spending her days in cherishing this wish The world's lord—though at this time he paid less attention to such matters—accepted the representation, and on 12 Tir he visited the house of Naqib K and received that chaste lady according to ancestral rites The long standing desire was gratified On this day the Mota Rajah took leave to go to Sirohi in order that he might reduce the proprietor there to obedience, or else prepare punishment for refractoriness

One of the occurrences was the sending of Sādiq K as Atāliq to Prince Sultān Murād As Ismā'il Quli K did not do well in this appointment, Sādiq K was on the 13th appointed to the high office and sent off By his skill, things were well managed there On the 12th Amardād H M visited the house of Rai Rai Singh and by heartfelt sympathy soothed his grief His beloved daughter was married to the son[3] of Rajah Ram Cand When that Rajah died, his son was treated with favour and sent to that country (Pannah or Bāndhu) On the way he fell out of his litter To cure him, he was bled, but from unseasonable bathing, he died near his home in the town of Khora (Jarrett II 193) On hearing of this Rai Singh's daughter thought of burning herself, but H M induced her to refrain from[4] such an idea on account of the tender age of her children

One of the occurrences was the restoration of the country of 642

[1] It appears from Badayūnī that he had been imprisoned in the fort of Kāngra and that he had to pay a fine of 7 *lakhs*

[2] Text Naqīb but see B 449

[3] This was Bīr Bhadra or Balbhadra B 406

[4] B 358

Tatta to M Janī Beg. Though the farseeing sovereign read goodness on the forehead of the Mirzā, and had this idea (of restoring him), yet he delayed somewhat on account of the objections of undiscerning persons At this time it came to be known that the Arghun tribe, to the number of 10,000—men and women—was coming upstream by boat Owing to the emigration,[1] the boatmen and servants were in distress and were tearing themselves with their hands and teeth H M's benevolence was touched, and on the 17th the Mirzā was gratified by this great favour Though some courtiers represented in a proper manner that he should be restrained from returning, their suggestions were not successful Bandar Lahorī was made crown property (*khalsa*), and Sewistān, which had been a present (*peshkash*) in the first instance, was given in fief to Bakhtyār Beg and some others The emigrants got fresh life and returned from near Bhakkar

On the 20th Zain K Koka did homage When Kanshān was taken, and the neighbouring country conquered, and all the rebellious made submissive, he encouraged the Kāfir chiefs to settle and develop the country He then withdrew his thoughts from the country and returned When he had come midway, news arrived that Jalala was two stages off Apparently, after he heard of the victory and of the capture of Wahdat 'Alī he had returned back and was hastening to Tirāh. The Koka was on the point of either leaving a body of troops to protect the camp while he himself should hasten on, or of sending a party of soldiers to that spot Owing to the ignorance of his companions neither thing was effected Near Bajaur it became known that Jalala was passing in the neighbourhood They blocked the roads and halted to look for him. He, owing to the somnolence of a few, passed near the camp The Koka sent some of his own servants in pursuit of him under the charge of Ṭālib Beg Badakhshī He came up (with Jalala) with a few men and played away his life At the end of the day when the villain had entered the hills, Zain arrived in person with some men and Jalala went off rapidly to Tirāh The inhabitants had given hos-

[1] Apparently it was not those who were left behind who were suffering from the emigration but those who were obliged to take part in it, for we find that they were relieved by being allowed to return

tages and so did not give him a passage He went off in a distracted state to Kauguram (?) The Koka came to Begr im and was thinking about entering the hills At this time an order came, summoning him, and he went off to court In this year he attained his wish 'Asaf K., Khwaja Shamsu d-din and others of his companions had the bliss of an audience and each of them was exalted by royal favours

One of the occurrences was that a day of distraction came upon the writer of the noble volume At the close of the 24th (Amardad) corresponding to 17 Zi l q'ada, 5th August[1] 1593 my honoured father, the Teacher of the Age and the guide of the intelligent departed to the sublime world A carbuncle formed on his neck, and after eleven days he left this transitory life Wisdom rose up to mourn, and knowledge sate down helpless

Verse

The Imâm of science the venerated councillor, the perfect teacher, 643
Who in world guidance was the confidant of universal Reason
200 Bū Naṣrs[2] and Avicennas departed that he might be born
Fate in her nine[3] shops oft practises such trafficking

---

[1] B XVIII has 4 September but as J has pointed out J III 442 this must be a mistake J has Tuesday 4 August but A F says it was on a Sunday He was born in 1505 and so was 88 years old He died at Lahore but his body and that of his wife were sent in September 1594 by A F to Agra and there buried in the family burial ground See A N III 654 last line A F says his father was ill for 11 days and in the Ayin he mentions 7 What is meant is that he d ed 7 days after taking leave of his son He had been al ready ill and it was the sense of h s approaching end which made him b d adieu to h s son There is a full account of Mubārik in the Darbārī Akbarī

[2] Bu Nasr is Abu Nasr Farabī for whom see D Herbelot s v Farabī Avicenna is called in text Bū Alī See D Herbelot s v Sina 200 is used for any large number

[3] A metaphor I presume, for the nine heavens but I O MS 235 has *tah* instead of *nah* or *nuh* *Tah dukan* would mean the bottom or inner part of the shop and the meaning would thus be that Fate often keeps such goods as Mubārik in the bottom i e in the hidden part of her storehouse This seems to make more sense Possibly the *nah* is for not and means that Fate does not often p ssess such prec ous goods The proper translation seems to be ' Fate oft keeps such goods in her inner shop

Whiles he circled the earth with the caravan of the Peripatetics,
Whiles he careered o'er the skies with the Illuminati,
The Ages contended for his perfect birth
With the era of Jalalu d din Akbar Ghazi

Who would have supposed that the ocean would sink into two yards of earth or that a mountain would at a breath be moved from its place? Had substitution been permitted, many life-lovers had shed their lives[1] What question then of a life-hater? The condition of myself—who had but little understanding—was overset, and I was near abandoning my life

Verse

My heart became blood, and blood rose above my chest,
Because that soul of the world passed from my view
Alas, it is in every respect a day of orphanhood,
For to day both my sire and my saint have passed away

He held high rank in the rational and traditional sciences, and had on his tongue the views of the philosopher, the orator, and the Ṣufi, and of every form of religion He had received from the Great Teacher (God) every kind of knowledge. He removed the veil of formal science from over spiritual beauty, and cultivated seclusion in the midst of society The ways of contemporaries stained not the hem of his soul In spite of his profound insight he did not see his own perception and devotion (i e was not conscious of them), and did not bring his goods to market He did not sell his ecstasy (*halat*) and knew no finesse (*hilat*) The turmoil of the world did not engage his mind His search for proof made no distinction between the great and the small and from his intelligence, he when vexed took the path of humility He did not withhold the truth from the powerful and in giving counsel he never troubled for himself At the close of his life, and when little[1] time remained to him, he at the desire of some friends completed a great commentary, and left an abundant memorial of himself in every description of knowledge The discerning remained in astonishment In his[2] hundredth year

[1] *bandak rūzgār* I think these words mean when time was nearly with him

[2] This account of his father should be compared with the fuller biography given in the Aīn, J 419 etc

he possessed the fire of youth, and fulness of years did not restrain him from expending soul and body At the beginning of his illness he sent for this one (the author) who was bewildered with existence and took him in his arms He spoke many heartfelt words and bade him adieu On account of my crudity I was in a state of distraction, but was silenced somewhat by the kindness of H M Ten years before this a severe illness befell him (Mubārik) H M said, "If it does not end within ten hours there will be danger on the 10th day if not, there will be danger in the 10th month and if not, there will be (danger) in the last day of the tenth year" Afterwards it so happened, and the veil was once more removed from H M.'s knowledge of hidden things Out of his stout-heartedness and strong life he did not die, and bore the burden of life on the shoulder of weakness There is no contending against Fate! Nor any remedy against its hunting after life, and its destruction of endurance!

Verse

Gone is the world's philosopher to whom
While yet on earth[1] the gates of the spiritual heaven were open
Without him, his kindred are orphans and dead of heart
He was the Adam of his race and the Jesus of his family

644 Where is the strength to control my grief for that unique one of God? My heart is lacerated with its own grief I, who am an inmate of the hermitage of resignation and submission, was struck a heavy blow, and nolens volens I became impatient I cannot tell if this misfortune (his father's death) was the result of destiny or

Shaikh Mubarik was born in 911 (1505) and he died in 1001 August 1593 so that he was under 90 when he died. The Darbārī Akbarī has a long and interesting notice of him A. F does not say much about his father's commentary It appears from the Iqbālnāma that Akbar was not pleased at its being written without reference to him, and was still more displeased with A F for sending copies of it to various foreign princes without his permission The story is also told in the Khulāṣat tawārīkh

[1] Text in first line has *dajahān*, but the MSS have *barjahān*, and it is *bar* in the Āīn II. 271 where the same stanza is quoted See J III 412 where there is a spirited translation in rhyme The *D* Akbarī 354 has another reading

was one greater than could be imagined. This story of grief and pain is very long, and this tale of a lasting sore is life-consuming. It is better that I wrap up this mortal event in this book of fortune, and with this verse[1] control my disturbed mind.

Verse[2]

Happy are they, for the bitter waters of death's poison
Have smote their pitchers with the highest and deepest
organ tones.
Close the lips, for the incurably wounded of Fate
Have become wild, and have cried from the depths.

On the 26th Mir Manir—who had been sent with counsels to the ruler of Golconda—arrived with the ambassador and the tribute (*peshkash*), and was honoured by an audience.

One of the occurrences was the accepting of Shāhrukh M. as a son-in-law (*farzandi*). On 11 Shahriyur (September 1594), that jewel of a noble family, who joined modesty with knowledge, received his exaltation. In the quarters of Miriam Makānī, Shakrnisā Begam—the beloved child of the Shāhinshah—was united to him. When this auspicious meeting was over, another great feast was prepared and another daughter, *viz.* Khanim[3] Sultān, was united to Mozaffar Husain M., the son of Ibrahīm Husain M. On the 10th the daughter of Rājah Ali K. was made over to the harem of the Prince-Royal, and that family obtained a strong protection. On the 23rd, Adham, the son of Niyabat K. died. The world's lord conveyed his sympathies to Māmā[4] Āgha. From there he went to the

[1] The I.O. MSS. have a different reading here.

[2] See Vullers s.v. *sabū*. The allusion is perhaps in part to the custom of throwing down old pitchers from a roof on the last Wednesday of a month, and crying out, "Go, Sorrow. Come, Joy!" But probably the main reference is to the noise made by a pitcher when it strikes the water in a well. Those who have died, that is, those whose pitchers have struck the waters of death, have sounded the highest and deepest notes of sorrow.

[3] Also called Shahzāda Khānim. She was Akbar's eldest daughter and was born in 1569.

[4] She was the widow of Shihābu-d-dīn and was related to Miriam Makānī, A. N. III. 716, and B. 333. Perhaps she was a daughter of Māham Anaga. Niyābat was Shihabud-dīn's nephew, and was put to

quarters of Zain K. Koka and reposed there a little. At dawn M Yūsuf K. came from Kashmīr and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*.

One of the occurrences was the sending Shāhrukh M. to look after Mālwa. H.M. had been searching for a governor of Mālwa from the time that Gujarat had been made over to Prince Sultan Murād As his ability and consideration for the peasantry were conspicuous, he was on 7 Mihr raised to the high rank of 5,000, and after receiving weighty counsels he was sent off there. Shahbāz K. was raised to the office of Atālīq and sent with him—Haidar Dost and..... . (three lines of names) were also appointed.

---

death in 997 (Badayūnī, Lowe, 308) He had been married to a daughter of Nahīd Begam See T M'āṣūmī

His proper name seems to have been Najāt B. 439.

CHAPTER CXVIII

Arrival of Rustum M. at Court

From the time when by the order of H M, Shāh Muhammad
645 Qilāti made over Qandahar to the agents of Shāh Tahmāsp and came to India, the Shāh (Tahmāsp) had given it to his brother's son Sultan Husain M., the son of Bahrām M He always behaved respectfully to H M and sent presents, and reckoned himself as a servant As he always kept the chain of obedience in motion Qandahar was not taken from him in spite of the Shāh's death He died of drinking in the 21st year, leaving four[1] sons Mozaffar Husain M, Rustum M, Abū S'aīd M, Sanjar M From courtesy and appreciation of rank that populous country was left to them Shāh Ism'ail—that blood shedder—set about, in his distracted brain, the slaying of his brothers and his other relatives He appointed some persons to put those at Qandahar to death Those sent got hold of them, but cupidity and the gratification of their wishes led to the preservation of life When the Shāh heard of this, he became indignant and assigned Qandahar to Shāh Quli Sultān Zu ul Qadr, and the latter sent Budagh Beg to take their lives and to annex the country The murderers trembled[2] for themselves and arranged that on the following morning they would put them to death. Suddenly a report spread that the blood shedder was dead, and the innocent persons escaped When the government of Persia came to Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda he left them in possession of the country M Mozaffar Husain, the elder brother, was in Qandahar, while Rustum M and his two other brothers lived in Zamin Dāwar From selfwill and the turbulence of youth, they quarrelled among themselves Mozaffar Husain was de-

---

[1] The Maaṣir III 696 speaks of five sons

[2] ... previous order for the murder of the Mirzās

feated and retired to the fort Rustum M invested it for forty days, but by contrivances, peace was made and they met one another When 'Abdullah Khān, the ruler of Turān, besieged Herat, Īgān Sultān Afshār, the governor of Farāh, by means of entreaties brought Rustum M. to his aid He fought with the Turanian soldiers and did not give up Farāh From not knowing his friends, and from somnolence of intellect, he (Rustum) killed Īgān Sultān Sulaimān Khalifa joined him from Khurāsān in order that he might make the Mirzā an instrument of strife, but a happy star prevented the Mirzā from acceding to this But at his instigation he laid hands upon Sistān which is commonly known as Nimroz Mozaffar Husain M found his opportunity and hastened to make an expedition against Zamin Dāwar Rustum M came there, and a great battle ensued Mozaffar Husain M could not withstand him and retreated to Qandahar Mercenary and fly like creatures were continually going from one to the other, and were disturbing the public peace When the old enmity had got the upper hand, they severed the ancient connection with Persia, and did not attach themselves to the Shāhinshāh's court At last the elder brother prevailed, and took Zamin Dāwar M Rustum came to Herat and attacked Qilāt Meanwhile a report was spread of the approach of the victorious troops, and M Rustum had the good thought of making friendly overtures to Sharif K Atka, the governor of Ghaznin He also sent a humble representation to the sublime court, and expressed a wish to pay his respects A comforting letter was sent to him by Mirak Jalair and Mihtar Ibrāhim, and an order was given to the fief holders 646
on the route that they should regard the coming of the Mirzā as an honour, and show him proper respect When he arrived within the empire, Qarā Beg, Hakim 'Ain ul-Mulk and Bakhtyar Beg were sent one after the other, and when he had nearly approached, Sharif K Atka, Shāh Beg K, Āsaf K and other officers were sent off (to meet him) On 12 Mihr, which was the festival of the Dasaraha, the Khān Khānān, Zain K and others received him and brought him into the presence He glorified his forehead by performing the *sijda* Sanjar M, his younger brother, and his four sons, Murād, Shāhrukh, Hasan, Ibrāhīm and 400 Turkomans had the honour of an audience Every one of them was exalted by princely favours. H M conferred on him a *mansab* of 5,000, Multan

and many *parganas*, and Bilucistān—which is larger than Qandahar [1] On the 18th, Qāsim K came from Kabul and did homage, and was the recipient of royal favours

In this year Prince Sultan Daniel was saved by the Divine protection from a sudden danger A great uproar occurred in the female apartments The souls of the servants there melted The world's lord came out to offer prayers At evening there was some carelessness on the part of the sentinels A madman thought it was the public hall, and entered the harem The prince saw him and ran after him Near the inner pigeon-house he flung him on the ground and got on the top of him Thinking the man might use a weapon, he held both his arms tightly, and twisted them The inner servants who were Circassians, Qalmāqs Russians (*Arus*, text has *Ardus*), and Abyssinians, rushed after him, and taking the prince for a stranger they attacked him with sticks and clods (*khisht* perhaps bricks) From promptitude, the prince did not let go the man At this time H M came out, and saw the affair He stated "When I approached, I thought of using my sword, and so drove off the girls A beam which had been left at the pigeon house prevented me from doing what I intended Thinking that the prince was a stranger I seized him by the hair, and dragged him, and wanted to prick him with the point [2] of my sword Suddenly, my wrath subsided and mighty love seized the skirt of my heart" At the same time it appeared that the prince had thought the mad man was an evil intentioned man in his senses and so was holding him down The lunatic was let go

One of the occurrences was the despatch of Prince Sultan Daniel to chastise Burhan ul Mulk As words of enlightenment did not

[1] Cf B 313 314

[2] *Sanjagi palarak* Apparently sanjagī is connected with the Turkish *sanjmak* to pierce The Iqbalnama represents Akbar as saying he wished to inflict a wound The account given there is more intelligible than A.F s It was the darkness that caused the confusion The Qalmaqs and Russians etc were women See B 45 The inside of the harem is guarded by soler and active women B M N 116 has *zakhm i palārak* The beam had probably been left at the pigeon house in consequence of its being under repair after having fallen down (p 631) There is nothing in Add 27,247 about Akbar s pulling his son by the hair

enter his ears, and he regarded advices as futilities H M 's idea was that he would go to Agra and from there appoint the troops But as 647
provisions were somewhat high in that quarter his intention was not carried out. He was obliged to send away Prince Sultan Daniel on the eve of the 25th Mihr to carry out the undertaking He sent with him the Khān khānān, Rai Rai Singh and many officers, and treasure a park of artillery, and elephants An order was given to Shāhrukh M, Shahbāz K and the other fief-holders of Mālwa to equip troops and to proceed with the prince An order was also given to Rajah Mān Singh to the effect that if he could turn away his attention from Bengal he should proceed from there to the Deccan An order was also written to Prince Sultan Murād that he should make preparations for the conquest of the Deccan, and that when the soldiers had been gathered together from every side, near him, he should carry out the order On the 4th Ābān, the solar weighment took place, and H M was weighed against twelve articles A world had its desires gratified

At this time the marriage feast of Prince Sultan Daniel was arranged For a long time it had been H M s intention that the daughter of Qulij K should be united to this pearl of the crown At this time the idea was renewed, and on the 5th, the grandees were assembled outside of the city, and the marriage was effected There were various rejoicings and there was a daily market of enjoyment It occurred to Qulij K. that H M might visit his house In gratitude for this great favour he arranged a feast His request was accepted and on the 13th there was a time of enjoyment On the 20th, H M. spent some time in the Rāmbāri garden, and M. Yusuf K obtained leave to go to Kashmir Artificers by the command of H M commenced to build four ships On 7th Āzar Sultan Khusru commenced to learn Indian philosophy Shiv Dat Brahman, who was famed as the Bhattācārjo of the age, and had few equals in science, was appointed to this service Sultan Rustūm[1] and Sultan Parviz were set to learn knowledge, and by H M 's orders the writer of the book of fortune taught something of the alphabet On the 17th, the elephants of M Koka which had been left in Gujarat, were brought, and were presented On 3rd Dai, H M. went to

[1] This is Murād s son B 618. Parvīz is Jahāngir s Both were children

Sultanpūr to hunt On the 8th, near Haibatpūr, news came that Prince Daniel was still in Sirhind, and that the army was not making progress H M did not approve, and his former idea revived (of going in person to Agra, etc) He summoned the Khān-khānān to come post to him Near the town of Shaikhūpūr[1] he had an audience He represented that "the time for the army to enter the Deccan was after the rains Water and forage would then be plentiful, and corn cheap On this account there was slowness of movement" When a council was held it was unanimously agreed that Prince Daniel should return, and that when the rains were ended, the royal standards should advance and that the Prince should remain to
648 guard the Panjab H M also said, "Since I ordered Prince Sultan Murād to go on this service, perhaps this sending (of Daniel) may vex him" Qulij K was sent off to turn back the Prince At this time a large black deer appeared on the hunting ground The sovereign so struck it with an arrow that it did not move, and when an enquiry was made it was found that the bones of its waist were broken The head (of the arrow) came out with difficulty Some persons stated that in the Ajmere expedition a large tiger had been knocked over in this way The acute of sight were astonished On the 15th near Sultanpur the Khan-khānan obtained leave in order that he might assemble the troops in Agra H M returned. On the 17th, near Patiala, Prince Sultan Daniel did homage An extraordinary thing was that on this day a petition came from Prince Sultan Murād representing that "he had come to Ahmadābād on 6 Āzar, and was preparing for the expedition to the Deccan He had heard that Prince Sultān Daniel had also been appointed to this service H M's sublime thoughts were pleasing to God, but he (Murād) feared lest he might have done something improper, or meddlers might have said something unfitting" H M, from his knowledge of secrets, had anticipated his wishes On the 22nd, H M arrived at Lahore, and the world reposed anew

One of the occurrences was the increase of saffron[2] in Kashmir Formerly each seed yielded less than three flowers, and the amount received by government did not exceed 20,000 *traks*, but was not

[1] Shaikhpur in text but Shaikhūpūr in I O MS 236 and in Elliot VI 91 Sultānpur is on the Beas 35 *kos* from Lahore Elliot V 468
[2] Cf B L 4 and J II 357

less than 7,000 Once in M Haidar's time it was 28,000 *traks* This year when it became *khalṣa* the ruler's share was 90,000 *traks* Though there was more land under cultivation, yet the flowers were also more than usual Every seed yielded up to eight flowers On 18 Bahman, the report was received, and thanks were returned to God

One of the occurrences was the destruction of the Kashmir porters Numerous traders were bringing their goods Near Pīr Panjāl there was a fall of snow, and a hillock was dislodged 115 men lost their lives under it. In accordance with justice the goods reached the owners and the despairing had their desires gratified

At this time Rai Patr Das was sent to conquer the fort of Bandhu It is one of the famous fortresses of the world When Rajah Rām Cand and his son died, wicked men made the young grandchild an instrument of strife and rose up to oppress the peasantry H M on 1 Isfandārmaz sent that servant to civilise the country and to punish the evil doers and to take the fort Next day Abū S'aid M had an audience He was the brother of Rustūm M, and had remained behind in Qandahar At this time he was exalted by doing homage and was gratified by princely favours On the 13th, Rajah Mān Singh did homage After conquering 649
Orissa, he came to Rohtas H M had called him to himself When he arrived within one stage of Lahore, the Prince Royal was given leave[1] from the hunting field An order was given that as during the mourning for Rajah Bhagwant Das condolences had not been sent to the Rajah (Mān Singh, the adopted son of Bhagwānt), the Prince-Royal should proceed from the hunting ground to his quarters The order was carried out and that chosen servant (Mān Singh) obtained high honour Naṣib, Lodi and Jamāl, the sons of Qatlū, Jalāl K Khaṣkhel Yusuf Kāshi Pānde, Purusotam—who were headmen in Orissa—were introduced by the Rajah On the 14th, Ismail Quli K arrived from Gujarat, and did homage On the 22nd, M Yusuf[2] arrived from Kashmir

[1] *Rukhsat shikār farmūdand* This might mean "gave him leave to hunt But the context seems to show that it means he was allowed to leave the hunting field Perhaps Jahangīr was to go to 'Ambar

[2] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that Yūsuf had gone back to Kashmīr to settle matters, and that the present entry refers to his return from there

CHAPTER CXIX

Beginning of the 39th year, viz the year Khurdâd of the 4th Cycle

On the eve of Monday 28 Jamâda al-âkhiri, 1002 H (10 or 11 March, 1594) after the passing of 9h 44m 22s, the world illuminating sun lighted up his mansion of exaltation, and the third year of the 4th cycle began The earth rose up with grace, and the heavens set themselves to rejoicings

Verse

By the might of delineation, the moon became like the Gallery of Mâni
The parterre became by skill like the mind of Avicenna
In the tray of the buds the morning was like the musk of Khallakh (a city in Turkistan)
In the mortar of tulips the air became like the powdered ambergris of Sârâ [1]

H M celebrated entrancing feasts up to the day of exaltation, and Divine worship assumed a higher form On 7 Farwardin 10,000 cavalry were assigned to the Prince Royal Five thousand (of them) received *jagirs* in Bengal Among them were Jagat Singh, Darjan Singh, Sakat Singh, Bâqir Safarci, M Muhammad, Bâqir Ansari, Mîr Qâsim Badakhshi, Y aqub Kashmiri [2] Sharif Sarmadi Four thousand (received *jagirs*) near Lahore the capital Among them were Takhta Beg, Rai Manuhar Bahadur K Qurdai Salâha d din Bângâ, S Khubû, Mir Murad Sarmast, Muqim K , Khwaja Muhibb
350 'Ali Khâfî, S Kabir Hakim Mozaffar One thousand Ahadis were appointed who received pay monthly from the (imperial)

[1] A place on the Omân coast famous for ambergris

[2] Perhaps this is Y aqûb Chak the son of Yûsuf the former ruler of Kashmîr A Kashmîrî chronicle quoted in Rieu I 300 i says Y aqub was poisoned by Akbar !

[3] This is a detail of the 10 000

treasury Sultān Khusru, who though small[1] (khurd) in years was great in wisdom (khird), was raised to the *manṣab* of 5,000 Rajah Rām Cand, Himmat Singh, Bahāu Singh, Sher K, Bahadur Kūrub, Salim K. Lohānī, Sultān Sūr, Allahdād Lohānī, 'Isā K Maswānī Nūram Koka, S'aid K Manduri, Naṣir K Miāna, Manu K Lohānī, Tāj K Lohānī, Sajāwal K Jīlam, Ulagh K Lohani, and some others were assigned to that new fruit of dominion The territory of Orissa was given to him in fief Rajah Mān Singh, whose ability and loyalty were conspicuous, was made Atālīq, and his maintenance jāgir was allotted[2] to him in Bengal, which country was made over to his charge S'aid K became the warden of the province of Bihar On this day M Rustum obtained a flag and a drum, and was exalted by great favours On the 8th the feast of the lunar weighment took place, and H M was weighed against eight articles There was a daily market of liberality, and all sorts of men attained their desires

At this time Mozaffar Ḥusain came forward with apologies When it became bruited abroad that the victorious troops intended to capture Qandahar, and Rustum M arrived at the threshold of fortune, he turned his rein somewhat from wickedness, and fell into consternation From a happy star he sent his mother with his eldest son Bahrām M and begged for quarter On the 9th the visitors obtained an audience, and the petition was granted Qarā Beg[3] — who had been long connected with that family—and M Beg Qadimi were sent to convey to the Mirzā the news of forgiveness and to bring him to court Shāh Beg was appointed to watch over that country On the day of exaltation (*sharf*) Khwaja Daulat Nāzir was promoted on account of his good service and received the high dignity of Khanship On this day Mir[4] Haidar M'aammāi (riddle-

assigned to Jahangīr The Aḥadīs were to get their pay from the imperial treasury

[1] He was only six

[2] Text *tan shud*. Tan is a contraction for *tankhwah* See Irvine's Moghul Army p 39 and also the Cawnpore Akbarnama editor's note on the passage in text

[3] See Maaṣir III 299 which calls him Qarā Beg Kūrjāī and says he was an old servant of Sultan Ḥusain but had run away from Mozaffar Akbar made him farāshbegī

[4] B 593 He is Rafīī of Kāshan Badayunī III 232.

maker) came from Persia, and had an audience, and was gratified by princely favours On the 20th Shiroyah the son of Sherafgan (B 455) received the title of Khān, and that good servant's wishes were gratified On the 30th, Jabbāri the son of Majnūn K Qāqshāl was released and treated with favour From associating with wicked men, he had rebelled in Bengal When he was arrested, he was sent to the school of the prison Signs of repentance were read on his forehead, and he was released On 1 Ardibihisht (11 or 12 April, 1594) Mullā Sālah Bokhāri came from Turān, and had the *bliss of kissing the threshold* He was acquainted with the current sciences, and was to some extent free from bigotry At this time Hakim 'Ali Gilāni made a wonderful tank[1] There was a passage in it to a room (*tashana*), and a wonderful thing was that the water of the tank did not enter it Men who went down into it to find the entrance had much trouble, and many returned from half-way. On the 5th H M went to inspect it, and personally went down He did not listen to the warnings of men and entered the place, and
651 stayed for some time The spectators[2] nearly died (of terror), but came to themselves on hearing of his welfare I lost my senses on seeing this misplaced courage, but submitted to fate and remained silent On 1 Khurdad Hāji Habib Ullah died He was one of the good men of the world, and enjoyed H M's favour On this day Sharif Wuqu'i[3] died On the 13th Samanji K was summoned from Oudh, and was exalted by doing homage Next morning Qāsim K was sent off to Kabul, and Shah Beg K was sent to his fiefs in Khushab and Bangash, and an order was issued that he should prepare for an expedition, and march to Qandahar whenever the officers *going there should summon him In this year the Jām came to Prince*

---

[1] B 466 and Badayūnī I owe 273 See also Maasir I 570 whose account seems taken partly from the Iqbal nāma Part 2 It is said there that the water was kept out of the chamber by means of air See also the quotation from the Zubdatu t tawarikh Elliot VI 193

[2] *Binandagārrā* but the variant *bandagānrā* has the support of the I O MSS The next sentence is obscure but apparently the *bejā diler*ī refers to Akbar and A F intimates that he did not approve of it See note in Cawnpore ed Perhaps A F means that he followed Akbar into the chamber but if so he would probably have described it

[3] A poet See B 591 and Badayuni III 378

Sultān Murād, and enjoyed eternal bliss On this day Naurang K died of diarrhœa near Junagarh His survivors were cared for by H M

At this time the thorn-brake of falsehood was uprooted and a world had repose The collectors of the Khalṣa, the fief-holders and the assayers (ṣairafī) of the mint were summoned, and a proper test and just weight were assigned to the coins On the 15th the charge of this work was given to Khwaja Shamsu d din His disinterested ness and laboriousness remedied in the course of two months the old disease of the gold and silver The embezzlers retired into obscurity Also on this day Ism'ail Quli K was deputed to Kilpi in order that he might develop the jagir, and make himself ready for service On the 20th, 'Abdu r razzāq M'amuri arrived from Gujarat, and had an audience Next morning Muhammad Yar, the daughter's son of Gulbadan Begam, from illfatedness went off to the hills with some companions He hurried off with rebellious designs Silhadi and Danmandās and others were sent after them Khair Ullah Kotwal went a little ahead and contrived to detain them by words, so that the others came up Some were killed and he and seven others were made prisoners Fourteen rubies, a chaplet of choice pearls, some embroidered jewels (maraṣṣ'aat) and much property were taken from him On the 24th Rajah Mān Singh was sent off to Bengal after receiving weighty counsels, in order that he might carry out the royal regulations On the 30th a ship was completed on the banks of the Rāvi The length of the keel (cobi), which formed the foundation of this wooden house, was 35 Ilāhi yards 2936 large planks (shahtir) of sal and pine (naga),[1] and 468 mans two sirs of iron, were used in building it and 240 carpenters and blacksmiths 65
and others were employed H M went to see the spectacle A thousand persons struggled to drag it along In ten days it was brought from the dry land to the water, and sent to Bandar Lahari There was much difficulty on account of deficiency of water On 20 Tir Miyān Karm Ullah died of illness in Saronj His children were provided for by H M On 7 Amardād Durjan Kachwāha, who was one of the confidential servants, died

One of the occurrences was the death of Qasim K and the punishment of Muhammad Zamān It has been mentioned that a

[1] Text has wrongly ndkhūd See about ships B 280

native of Andijān gave himself out as the son of M Shāhrukh and that ignorant people accepted him As he had attached himself to eternal dominion, he had some success When by baseness he dropped that thread from his hand, he sank into the abyss of failure The hill men became disgusted with him on account of his misconduct, and the soldiers of Turān prevailed over him When he failed, he formed a friendship with the Hazaiahs of Afghanistan, thinking that with their help he might make a disturbance in that country When Qasim K went to court, he (M Zamān) came to this tribe with a hundred followers He represented to the road patrols that he was going to court, and they believed this and informed Hāshim K, the son of Qasim K He sent Ali Sher Mākri, Selim Beg and Allah Dost with 500 men to escort him That villain, when he passed Panjsher hurried off to the houses of the Hazāra When Hashim K heard this, he quickly went there in person, and encountered M Zamān near Maidān There was a slight engagement, and Qara Beg Bahādur, Jahāngir Beg and some others of the victorious troops were killed M Zaman was defeated and made prisoner and brought to Kabul When Qāsim K came there, he, out of simplicity, gave M Zamān a place near himself, and but slightly guarded him He took his companions into service, and in accordance with commands set about arranging for sending him to court He appointed Hāshim Beg as his conductor The villain conspired with 500 Badakhshis and watched for an opportunity of assassination The leaders of the plot were Mir Shamas K, 'Āqil Qāzizada Baqlānī, and Gadā Beg Hiṣāri Some suggested that Hashim K should be killed on the road, and some proposed that father and son should be put to death in the city They would get abundant plunder, and obtain possession of a cultivated country On 12 Amardād the villain sent a message to Hashim Beg, and represented his dulness and begged him to come and have a game at dice (*nardbazi*) His sole idea was to get rid of both father and son at one time Hāshim was pre

653 paring for his journey, and did not come At midday Qāsim K. finished his food and went to sleep There was no one near him except some servants The rebels appointed some to go to Hashim K's house, and went off to attack Qasim K He bravely gave up his life, and they cut off his head and set it on a spear Khwāja Arbāb and Khudadād Khāṣakhel lost their lives in good [illegible]

Hāshim K came out to quell the disturbance Active men were sent to close the gates of the fort, soon the state of affairs was known Hāshim then went to the citadel The shutting of the gates helped the conclusion of the matter, for many of the rebels could not get in When he came there, he broke the bolts and there was a hot engagement, and several were killed Some active men got upon the wall and discharged bullets and arrows Many of the rebels were killed, but some got into the wardrobe room (*toshak khana*) which formerly was the arsenal Their idea was that they would get shelter and get materials for fighting Brave men watched the door and whoever came out was killed They opened the roof and threw fire inside The rebels were bewildered and threw themselves into the warm bathroom, which was close by They were compelled to come out, one by one, and were killed Things went on in this manner from midday till the end of the night At dawn eighty men came out together, and lost their lives Meanwhile the fight went on till another As he was doomed, foresight deserted Qāsim K, and though well wishers informed him of the rebellion that was meditated, it was of no avail Though all the soldiers and artizans (*shagird pasha*) put their hands to the work, M Ahmadi, Mir Momin, Mir 'Abdullah, Allah Dost and Mahabbat K made great efforts side by side with Hashim K His courage and skill were conspicuous No one lost his life At the end of the day there was again some disturbance Hashim Beg and other brave men armed themselves Five men who were breathing their last breath in the bathroom came out thinking that it was night and that they might escape They were soon killed Next day Hāshim Beg seized every Badakhshi that he could hear of and killed him, and some injustice was done He reported that on the first day he, on account of the little help he received, and the number of the enemy, had thought of killing himself The comforting warcry of the Shāh was heard by many and gave strength to the despairing Malik Mozaffar Mas'audābādī used to say, 'On the day of the disturbance I was coming to the city of Kabul and on the way I encountered some noble figures on horseback When I looked closely at them, I discerned among them the king He had a dark tiara on his head, and a cloak round his breast I supplicated him, and was greatly as-

tonished He said, 'Tell no one, for I have a work in hand'"
654 Mādhu Das reported, "On the night that was pregnant with this adventure, I saw my *Pīr* in a dream, and I asked him why he came He replied that the S͟hāhinshah had come there for a purpose, and that many imperial servants were in attendance on him" Some reported, 'When we set out, we were very few in number, but from every side soldiers gathered together in troops, and fought" There is nothing in this to wonder at The great ones of horizons do such things What difficulty there is then about chosen spirits! On the 23rd Hajī Muhammad Mas͟hadī, and Yūsuf the brother of 'Alī Dad Kas͟hmīrī conveyed the rebel's head to court H M was somewhat grieved at the death of so able an Amīr, but returned thanks to God for the glorious victory, and royally rewarded the good servants He sent Mīrak and Qara Ahadī with a gracious message, a choice *k͟hilat*, a sword and an embroidered belt The charge of Kabulistan was given to Qulīj K, and K͟hwāja S͟hamsu-d dīn was made *Dīwan i Kul* in his room Jaunpur, which was the *jagīr* of Qulīj K, was made the fief of M Yusuf K Kas͟hmīr was given to Ahmad Beg,[1] Muhammad Qulī Beg, Hamza Beg, Hasan Beg Gurd, Hasan 'Alī 'Arab, and Muhammad Beg Aimāq of Badak͟hs͟hān S͟harīf K was sent off to guard G͟haznīn, and thus an old desire of his was gratified On 2 S͟hahrīyur Āṣaf K was sent to Kas͟hmīr in order that he might make a new and proper division among the jagīrdārs and that the saffron and the game might become crown-property On the 11th Qulīj K received weighty advices and went to Kabul He was favoured with a choice *k͟hilat* and a special horse On the 30th news came that M Koka had returned to Gujarat He arrived at the same harbour as he had set out from He desired to kiss the threshold and was busy with preparations for the journey The gracious sovereign sent him choice *k͟hilats* and numerous swift horses and camels

One of the occurrences was the sending of troops to the northern hills (i e the Siwaliks) Though the Rajahs and chiefs of that hill country did not cast away the thread of submission, yet their shortness of view and the strength of their country carried them somewhat out of the road (of obedience) At this time the demon of

[1] Aḥmed Beg Kabulī, B 465 and the Maaṣir I

arrogance took possession of them, and they behaved improperly On 1 Mihr S Farid Bakhshi Begi, Husain Beg Shaikh 'Umari, 'Ali[1] Muhammad Darbari, Bahadur K Qurdār, Ahmad Qāsim, Muhammad K Turkamān, Nasir K, Junaid Mural, Ulugh Beg Kulābi, Abdūl Siāh Gosh Dost Muhammad Barwati, and many others, were sent off in order that if the Rajahs did not take advice their rust might be cleared off by the shining sword On 12 Mihr, 22 September 1594, the writer of the noble volume went to the resting place of his honoured father and mother, and in obedience to (their) orders sent off the bodies of both these chosen ones of God to Agra the capital, and buried them in the old home 855

On 2 Ābān the feast of the solar weighment took place, and H M was weighed against twelve articles and crowds of necessitous persons had their wishes gratified On the 4th he crossed the Rāvi for the purpose of hunting beasts of prey Next morning he alighted at Fazlābād, which was a house which the writer of the book of fortune had built on the roadside By this, eternal glory was conferred (on A F) On the 14th Khwaja[2] Nizāmu d din Ahmad Bakhshi became very ill near Shaham 'Ali from a high fever His sons obtained leave and conveyed him to Lahore He died on the bank of the Rāvi H M's discerning heart was somewhat grieved, and he begged forgiveness for him at the court of God Strangers and acquaintances mourned, and honesty (*rasti*) indulged in grief It is to be hoped that his right thinking will be a provision for him on his long journey On the 21st, after the passing of 8 hours and 28 minutes a sister to Sultān Parviz was born It is the rule that H M promptly gives names to the children and grandchildren Though the inner servants expressed a wish that he would do this, he did not accept the proposition Suddenly that newly born one descended into non existence, and H M's knowledge of hidden things was anew displayed! On the 28th he reached Lahore, and high and low rejoiced He went to Hāfizābad and then returned On the

---

[1] Faizī S says he is commonly known as 'Alī Muhammad Asp See B 492 He was at one time in M Ḥakīm's service For his long account of this expedition see Elliot VI 125

[2] The historian He was an universal favourite and an excellent man See Badayūnī Lowe 411 He died on 23 Safr 1003 = 28 October 1594

6th Āzar he sent Qāẓī Hasan to the northern mountains As S Farid had done much work in that quarter, it was ordered that he should be recalled, and that the envoy (Qāẓī Hasan) should finish the task with the help of Husain Beg S. 'Umarī On this day Shiroza K was sent to Ajmere in order that he might become acquainted with the soldiers and peasantry, and might promote happiness by the administration of justice On the 13th M Koka had the bliss of an audience When he glorified his forehead by prostration, H M raised his head by the hand of graciousness, and embraced him From exceeding love, tears fell from his eyes, and he called his (the Mirzā's) mother into the presence and relieved her of her dangerous sorrow He was favoured by being made a Panjhazāri (5,000), and was named the Khān 'Āʿẓam It was left to his choice as to whether he should take his *jagirs* in Gujarat, or in the Panjāb, Bihar, etc He chose Bihar His sons also received *manṣabs* and fiefs The idea of great and small had been, that he would not return to this country (India) One morning, at the hunting ground of Sulṭānpur, H M said, " M Koka will soon repent and convey the face of apology to court In a short space of time his heart emerged from darkness, but he remained in a state of bewilderment He had not the effrontery to return, and he could not think of staying Suddenly, he became aware again of H M 's graciousness, and giving up all other ideas he set out on the ocean In twenty-four days he came back from the port of Balāwal, and gathered eternal bliss by paying his devotions (to Akbar) A new aspect was given to submission On this day 'Ali Muhammad Asp brought to
356 court Bahabu the *zamindar* of Jasrota When S Farid went to the northern mountains, he adroitly came and paid his respects As his craftiness was proved, he was seized and sent to court On the 16th S'aādat Yār Koka died His elementary constituents were dissolved by excessive drinking H M implored mercy for him He graciously went to the house of his sister Hājī[1] Koka and administered consolation He also showed suitable kindness to his children

[1] It appears from the Maaṣiru l Umara that she lived in to Jahāngir's reign and was superintendent of the Harem (Sadr anas) See Tuzuk J 21 and translation, p 46 where it is stated that Jahāngir employed her to present the women who were worthy to receive money and land

CHAPTER CXX

Letter of H. M. the Shāhinshāh to Persia, account of the Ottoman Dynasty

Allah Akbar. Praise and supplication of the sublime threshold of the Unity—Glory be to the Name—are such that if all the niceties of Reason, and all the Categories of Intellect together with the armies of the Intelligences, and hosts of the Sciences were gathered together, they would not amount to one letter of that book or to one ray of that sun, though, in the eyes of truth, all the motes of existence are a fountain head of Divine praise, which with a tongueless tongue come forth and moisten the parched lips and burnt up throats of non existence with true praise! It is better then to shorten the lasso of thought before the pinnacle of eternal glory—to which the pure spirits (the angels) cling—and to apply oneself to the laudation of the glorious company of the prophets and apostles—on whom be benediction and peace! Let us proclaim in the pulpits of publicity, firstly, their glorious conditions, and secondly, the beautiful gifts whereby they have led mankind from the defiles of error into the highway of favour and guidance, and let us tell of the bounties and noble qualities of the "members of the household" (*Ahl-i bait*) who are confidants of the great secrets, and unveilers of the mysteries of the prophets, and let us, relying thereupon, implore new mercy! But inasmuch as on a just view it appears that the praises[1] of those showers forth of things Divine and human, and that the greatness of that assemblage of spirits who have been consumed in the search for truth and who are transitory in the midst of permanency are a shadow of the praises of Omnipotence, it is fitting that we abstain from this likewise, and place on the preamble of our statement some points from the current performances of the masters of wisdom, with whose practical science the administration of mundane affairs is associated. For assuredly, in this way do the zealous travel

[1] There is a difference of reading here

lers on the paths of faith, and those who slake themselves at the 65
fountains of truth—who have set before themselves the refreshing of the categories of the visible and invisible—become affused with auspiciousness!

Glory be to God the great and holy! The beholding of the pure and honoured letter which was sent along with Yādgār Sulṭān Shāmlū in the midst of spring and at the time of the equability of night and day made our loving soul to exult The joyous breeze of the tulips and fragrant flowers became insinuated into the convolutions of the brain, for this nosegay of love and friendship conveyed the perfume of unanimity What you have written about the delay in writing letters of affection is very appropriate In truth, spiritual relationships require that there should not be such delays But you must have heard from comers and goers what great affairs, and continued wars, have occurred to us against the princes of India which has been reckoned by geometricians as four sixths of the seven climes During this long period, this vast country which was shared among so many independent chiefs and martial rulers has by the Divine aid been conquered by the imperial servants. From the mountains of the Hindu Koh to the shores of the ocean all the rebels and stiff necked ones of three directions—strongfisted[1] rulers and arrogant rājahs, shortsighted Afghan mountaineers, swiftly-careering, desert-dwelling Balucis and other fortress-dwellers and land owners—have, one and all, come into the shade of obedience, and the tribes of mankind have enjoyed equability in concord By the Divine aid that which was revolving in our truth-choosing soul has become accomplished fact When the Panjab had become the seat of sovereignty it was our secret design to send an able ambassador, but some undertakings intervened The chief of these was the deliverance of the inhabitants of the heart-rejoicing country of Kashmir from the hands of villanous tyrants In spite of the strength of the country, and the long marches, the lofty mountains, the dense forests, the numerous ravines—which can with difficulty be crossed by the forces of the imagination—were by grasping the strong cable of Divine aid by the support of the spirits of the holy Imāms—May Peace be upon them—traversed by the sublime army in an excellent

[1] Text has wrongly *serdast* instead of *zabardast* See Errata

in Persia, it behoves that cream of lofty ancestors (S 'Abbās) to exert himself greatly in the management of the country and in the conciliation of all the inhabitants In every undertaking he must regard caution and have a thought of the final result, and he must not let his heart be perplexed by the fictions of interested people and the lies of intriguing weavers of tales He must practise endurance of burdens and the ignoring of the mistakes of hereditary servants and new employés, and advance the sincere, and by the light of graciousness cleanse the rust of darkness from off the hypocritical He must also exercise supreme caution before putting any one to death and destroying what is an edifice of God Many life friends have been removed from their near position by the craft of self-interested enemies and have drunk the blood of death, and many enemies and seeming friends have donned the garb of loyalty and engaged in destroying the foundations of dominion Ample thought must be exercised in studying the hearts and secrets of those men The lent fortune of this transitory state must be made submissive to the Divine *pleasure* *The sections of mankind, who are a Divine deposit and* treasure must be regarded with the glance of affection, and efforts must be made to conciliate their hearts It must be considered that the Divine mercy attaches itself to every form of creed, and supreme exertions must be made to bring oneself into the ever vernal flower-garden of "Peace with all" The increase of one's good fortune must always be kept in full view, for the eternal God is bounteous to all souls
160 and conditions of men Hence it is fitting that kings, who are the shadow of Divinity, should not cast away this principle For, the Creator has given this sublime order (that of kings) for the discipline and guardianship of all mankind, so that they may watch over the honour and reputation of every class Men do not knowingly and intentionally make mistakes in worldly affairs, which are unsubstantial and pass away, why then should they be negligent in the affairs of faith and religion which are permanent and everlasting? In fine, the position of every sect comes under one of two categories Either it is in possession of Truth, and in that case one should seek direction from it and accept its views Or it is in the wrong, and then it is unfortunate and suffering from the disease of ignorance, and is a subject for pitying kindness, and not for harshness and reproach One must exercise wide toleration and knock at the door of inspec-

tion for in this way will the veil be removed from the whole extent of spiritualities and temporalities, and there will be ample life and fortune. One of the advantages of this method is that at a time of want of leisure and of the predominance of wrath, friends will not be destroyed under the idea that they are enemies, and that enemies masquerading as friends will not have an opportunity for deceit. One must strenuously adhere to one's word, for this is a pillar of rule. Patience and endurance must ever be one's companions, for the maintenance of permanent dominion depends thereon. Let it not be concealed that it was our intention to dispatch one of our chosen confidants along with Yādgār Sultān in order that he might learn the real facts about Persia and report to us. Meanwhile a number of rebels and strife mongers rose up in Kashmir. We were in the hunting ground with a few intimates when the news of this arrived. A Divine inspiration made us proceed thither rapidly, and we had not reached Kashmir when gallant heroes—who out of necessity had become the companions of this rebellious crew—got their opportunity and brought the head of the ringleader to us. When that territory had become, by the blessing of our advent, a site of peace and tranquillity, we returned and came to Lahore. At this time the ruler of Siwistān, Tattah and Sind—which are on the route to Persia—had the temerity and ill fortune to engage in war with the troops who are associated with victory, and the route to 'Irāq and Khurāsān became closed. Hence there has been delay in sending an ambassador. Now, that our holy heart is free from all cares, and that Siwistān and Tattah have been incorporated in the empire, and that M. Jānī Beg the ruler thereof has appeared at our court and done homage, and that we have read on his forehead the marks of repentance and devotion, we have restored that country to him. The route to 'Irāq has thus become shorter and safer than before, and we have given him his dismissal (to Tattah). We send Ziyā al Mulk[1] who is the 66
essence of trustworthiness and devotion, and have confided to him some loving expressions which he will communicate to you in private. He will also ascertain the state of affairs in Persia and report to us. Some rarities of this country have been entrusted to Khwāja Abū Nāṣir. We hope that you will consider this abode of dominion

---

[1] B. 497 where he is styled "of Kāshān."

as your own house and pursue a line of conduct contrary to that of former times, and will consider the despatch of letters—which are a spiritual conversation—as appertaining to the rules of concord May God Almighty ever preserve that cream of a chosen family from deceits and wiles and succour him by secret aids!

On 24 Āzar Āṣaf K. arrived in three days from Kashmir, and reported the revenue of the country to be, according to the settlement of Qāẓī 'Alī, 31 lakhs of *kharwars*, each of 24 *dāms* He had pacified the soldiers and the peasantry and distributed the fiefs in a proper manner On the 26th 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent an excellent royal falcon to court The connoisseurs were much astonished, and H M. said that in the year in which he conquered Surat such a falcon had been sent to him, and that he had sent it to Mun'im K by the hands of Subhān Qulī Turk

On 1st Dai the "king of poets" S Abu Faiz Faiẓī presented the poem of Nal Daman, and was much commended In the thirtieth Divine year that cavalier of the plain of eloquence conceived the idea of making the *khamsa* (Niẓāmī's Pentad) the arena of his heaven-embracing genius He composed the Markaz-i-adwār after the model of the Makhzan i-asrār in 3,000 verses, the Sulaimān and Bilqīs after the model of the Khusru and Shīrīn, and the Nal Daman—which is one of the old stories of this country—after the model of the Laila and Majnūn The last two consisted, each, of 4,000 verses He also composed the Haft Kishwar in 5,000 verses after the style of the Haft Paikar, and arranged the Akbarnāma according to the metre of the Sikandarnāma. In the same style (as Niẓāmī ?) he made in verse a catalogue of the glories of the Shāhinshah At that period (the 30th year) he commenced the first poem Inasmuch as genius is attached to the antechamber of intelligence, his soul in no way grew cold and he continually, by virtue of his inspiration and delightsomeness, produced new work In a short time he executed the preambles of all five works together with several tales which increased the understanding of the enlightened and

---

[1] Text توملی A note explains that a white falcon is so called It appears from P de Courteille's Dict that the proper spelling is تویغن Tūīghūn Apparently the bird was sent from Gujarāt Imād al Mulk was a Gujarati title

critical As the foundation of poetry has been placed on fancy and fiction, H M pays less regard to it Still that unique one of the banquet of appreciation on the appearance of a choice poem expressed a wish to discourse about it He (Faizi) out of proper devotion and auspiciousness withdrew himself from the troop 662
of futile rhymesters He preserved silence and studied deeply philosophical works He reverenced great spirits and exercised himself in praise of the Deity Though his intimates urged him to build up these five palaces he did not assent The whole design of spiritual conquests is to erase the marks of existence, not to adorn the antechamber of renown At length,[1] in this year, the wise throne occupant sent for that knower of spiritual and physical mysteries and bade him complete that *Panjn ima* (pentad) He also indicated that he should begin by putting the tale of Nal Daman into the balance of words In four months, four thousand verses were completed in a variegated and decorated manner

On the 4th S Farid Bakhshi Begi returned from the northern hills, and was exalted by doing homage On the 6th, Ādat Das Kashmiri died He was singular in that country for his knowledge and rectitude and by his fortunate star he was admitted to the august society (of Akbar) On the 8th M Yusuf K was made *darogha* of the Artillery, and Shāh Beg Qandahāri was made the Diwan of that department On this day the Mota Rajah arrived from his estate of Jodhpur and had an audience At this time—when the vines in Hindustan did not bear—a grape was produced in Hasan Abdal which was called ox eye (dida i gão), and Mir Husain showed it to H M Next morning Hashim Beg came from Kabul and did homage, and was exalted by princely favours On the 24th, after the passing of 3½ hours, a daughter was born in the harem of Prince Sultan Selim by the daughter of 'Abdullah Biluc It is hoped that she may become a source of increased fortune In the end of this month Sultān Murad, the ruler of Turkey, died. Twelve days afterwards, when his son Sultan Muhammad was brought out

[1] Cf Badayuni, Lowe 410 In the preface to his translation of Ayeen Akberry Gladwin speaks of a poem by Faizi in six hundred couplets in particular commendation of every person who held even the smallest office at Court This poem I have never been able to find It does not occur in any copy of the Ain that I have seen

of the fortress, he was buried, and Sultan Muhammad, from somnolence of understanding and stony heartedness, put to death his nineteen brothers, the eldest of whom was twenty years old On hearing of this, H M said, "It is very strange that the river of sovereignty has remained full in his house It some prosperity attends this malicious and selfish man, it apparently must be as a means of retribution for mankind He who seeks to follow wisdom does not (try to) comprehend the marvels of destiny

Verse

Faizi, open the ear of the heart and the eye of the mind
Dedicate those eyes and ears to the work of the world
Behold the wonders of the Age and close your lips
Listen to the tale of the epoch and close your eye

663 Sultan Malik Shah Seljuqi took Syria[1] from the Christians[1] and made it over to his connexions and servants When the dominion of the Seljuq family in 'Irāq and Khurāsān came to an end, the Seljuqs in Turkey somewhat increased in prosperity The first (of the Seljūqs of Turkey) was Sultan 'Alāu d din Qulij Arslan, then came his son Sulṭān Raknu d din, then Sulṭān Ghiāsu d din, then 'Azza u-din Kaikāus, and then Sulṭan 'Alau d-din Kaiqubād Many reckon 'Azza u din as the last of this dynasty others add two other descendants of 'Alau d-din Seljūq was descended by twenty-four generations from Afrasiyāb He had four sons Michael, Israil,[2] Mūsa and Yunas In 375 A H, 985 86 A D, they came from the defiles of Turkistan to Transoxiana, and from there to Khurasan Then the sons of Michael,

[1] *Nāqūsparastān'* the worshippers of the *nāqūs* the wooden gong of the Eastern Christians But the text seems corrupt The MSS I have seen have not the words *nāqusparastān*, and this seems an absurd name for Christians The MSS vary but I O MS 236 has *Armān īs tarsā* Armenian Christians (?) and I O MS 3296, No 209 of Ethé has *az namūs tarsā* Christian leaders

All the MSS have Rumistan i e Turkey instead of the Ardistan of the text which is a town in Persia Perhaps what A F wrote was Anthakia i e Antioch D Herbelot says Malik Shah s conquests extended to that city Gibbon may be consulted about the Turks and Seljuks

[2] Israfil in text The Habību s siyar etc., says there were 34 generations between Seljuq and Afrasyab

viz Toghril and J'aafir Beg, became great Their dynasty ended after 117[1] years Then the prosperity of the Qaramān Begs (of Caramania) began This too came to an end after 173 years in the time of Ibrāhim Beg The Osmān (Ottoman) dynasty began in 688 A H and the Osmān year and month are counted from him (?) It is said he was born in 648[2] Various accounts are given of his success He reigned 37 or 39 years In some ancient histories he is said to be descended from Aghuz K (His genealogy is) Osman s Toghril s Sulaimān, s Qiyālat s Qazil Buqā s Payindai s Ajul Safī Āqā, s Tughān, s Qandasun, s Mait vaqun, s Baqi Āqa, s Suncaq Āqā, s Bakhtumur, s Busāqi, s Lak 'Ali (Kok Alp K), s Aghuz, s Qasā K They say that Osmān s grandfather Sulaimān Shāh possessed the city of Mahān (in Khurāsan) When the Moghuls disturbed the world, he proceeded with his family to Rumistān On account of difference of religion he attacked and plundered the country He fought battles at Amāsia[3] and from there went on towards Aleppo He lost his life in crossing the Euphrates Ūr Khān (Orkhan) his (Osmān's) son succeeded him and died after administering justice for 55 or 32 years His son Ghazi Murād succeeded him, and conquered numerous territories He became known as Murad K With him began the practice of taking one fifth of the captives[4] as the share of government He also instituted the corps of the janissaries[5] While he was hunting Christian troops arrived and he fought bravely with them and was victorious Suddenly some men in ambush came out of a cave and killed him He died after 47 or 32 years of rule He was succeeded by his son Īldarim Bayazīd He conquered Persia and Qirman and attained high dignity The accumulation of treasure the keeping of accounts, and the drinking of wine in this country became current from him He 664
fought a battle with Sāhib Qarānī (Timur) near Angora and was

[1] The variant 170 is supported by B M 22 247

[2] In 656 or 1258 according to Stanley Lane Poole

[3] Abasia in text Birthplace of Strabo and old capital of Pont Spelt Amasyah in Ayīn J III 101 For genealogy of Usman see the Shajrat-ul Atrak Miles's translation p 41

[4] Bandiyāi See Gibbon cap 6 where he speaks of the royal fifth of the captives

[5] Nekeeri in text Properly yeni ceri

made prisoner For 14 or 16 years he was successful He had six sons Mustafa Calabi was missing after that battle Sulaiman, who was called Calabi took some country He sent presents to the court of Sāhib Qarani, and was submissive Some land was left to him Musa, who was an attendant on the stirrup, obtained some of the land of Rūm The brothers fought with one another. One day Sulaiman was drinking wine in his hot bath Mūsā attacked him He came out alone and took shelter in a village, and the villagers killed him He reigned 7 years Musa became sole ruler and indulged in arrogance From excessive suspiciousness and deficiency of wisdom he degraded the great, and raised up the slaves of gold Sultan Muhammad his brother rose up to contend with him and there were several battles While he was flying, his horse stuck in the mud and the lamp of his life was extinguished [1] He reigned either six or three years Sultan Muhammad upreared the banners of sovereignty One Muṣtafa claimed to be a prophet The Sultān fought with him and killed him He reigned for 5 or for 2 years When the pains of death came upon him, he summoned his son Sultān Murad from Roumelia, but died before he arrived He arrived after forty days They proclaimed his (S Muhammad's) death and committed the body to the earth Some soldiers rebelled An obscure man claimed to be Mustafa Calabi the son of Ildarim Bāyazīd, and many believed on him He took the country of Roumelia, and made an expedition against Anatolia [2] The Sultan by the advice of some persons went to a saint, who was called Amir J'aafiri,[3] and who lived a prayerful life in the city of Bursā (Brusa) which is the cemetery of the rulers of Turkey The dervish inspired him, and in a short while the sedition monger was seized and put to death In the heat of success his heart grew cold to the world and he went into retirement, making his son Sultan Muhammad his representative He could not manage properly, and the violence of the Franks [4] somewhat disturbed the country By entreaties, the leaders of the army induced that hermit to adorn again the throne He quelled the disturbance and again retired into solitude He left the administration to

---

[1] See D Herbelot for accounts of Sulaimān Musā and Muḥammad

[2] Text Ābadanī

[3] I O MS 236 has Jafiratī which is also given as a variant

[4] See Errata where *karda* is changed to *giroh*

the same son After some time the janissaries became unmanageable and conspired to kill Khadim Pâsha the chief councillor He fled and took shelter in the Sultân's place of retirement By endurance of burdens, planning and increase of pay, the mutiny was quelled Able men by much supplication again brought the hermit to the palace, and victories showed their countenance The whole time of 665
his rule was 27 or 30 years When he went to the privy-chamber of non existence, Sultân Muhammad, after sixteen days, sate on the throne Fortune rose up to do him homage Apparently it was by her order that the tiara of rule did not show its glory during the life time of his father He took Constantinople, which is famous as Istambul, and made it the capital and chose it for his place of burial He reigned for 31 years On his death, his son Sultân Bâyazid put the imperial crown on his head The Egyptians prevailed against him, and some unfaithful soldiers joined his son Sultân Selim That turbulent one contended with his visible god (i e his father) And by the jugglery of the heavens he was victorious He ended his (father s) life by poison [1] and acquired eternal abhorrence Bayazid reigned thirty years Afterwards the parricide obtained the sovereignty and fought a battle with Shâh Ismâil S'afavi in the plain of Khâldarân between Diarbikr and Azarbaijan He defeated him and proceeded to attack the Egyptians Sultân Qansu (Qânsuh Ghuri) the ruler of that country was killed, and the dynasty of the Circassians came to an end [2] Malik Salih, who was the last prince of the Ayûb family, died at Cairo in 648 His clan and his slaves raised his mother [3] to the power, and 'Izzau d din who belonged to the family was made commander in chief When some time elapsed base and mercenary people raised 'Izzau d din to the sovereignty, and he is the first of the Circassian dynasty From that time the power in Egypt and Syria fell into the hands of low slaves (the Mamluks) The dominion of the Bani [4] 'Abbas—which was only nominal—also

[1] D Herbelot says s v Selim Khan that it is only the Christians who charge Selim with parricide

[2] This was in 922 (1516) After this A F turns backward and give the history of the Circassian or Mamluk princes

[3] This is Shajar-al durr, but she was Salih s widow, not his mother The text has 348 but the variant 648 is right

[4] The Abbasid Caliphs of Egypt They had only spiritual authority

came to an end. He (Selim) reigned for ten or for seven[1] years and was succeeded by his son Sultān Sulaiman Shāh Ism'aīl sent choice presents and condolences and congratulations He (Sulaiman) wrote "reply unnecessary[2]" and put his seal on the front of the letter (of Ism'ail) and made Ism'ail exceeding sorrowful Sulaimān took Cyprus[3] and many countries from the Christians He reigned for 48 years Then his son Sultan Selim (II) succeeded him His brother Sultān Bayazīd took shelter with his four sons with Shāh Tahmasp the ruler of Persia, and lost his life Sultān Selīm reigned seven or sixteen[4] years, and was succeeded by his son Sultān Murād Though his empire became extensive the janissaries prevailed over him They took the grand Vizier (buzurg dastur) Muhammad Pāsha (Sokolli) forcibly out of the palace and put him to a shameful death He reigned for 25 years In order to water my discourse I have gone somewhat out of my way to speak of this dynasty, and have provided a collyrium for the eyes I return to the narrative of eternal dominion, which is my objective

666 On 9 Bahman M Yusuf K obtained leave to go to Jaunpur in order that he might bring it into some degree of order and then return On the 15th Shida Beg died He was *tahwildar* of the Wardrobe

---

[1] For 8 years 8 months according to D Herbelot

[2] *Beniyāzāna pāsakh nigāshta muhur barū kard* I think that *beni yāzāna pāsakh* must be what Sulaiman wrote on the envelope The text has *barū* on it but I O MS 236 B M MS 27 247 and the Cawnpore ed have bar ru on the face Perhaps the sting of this consisted in his not opening the letter and merely putting his seal on the face of it But from Dorn's Hist of the Afghans p 124 it appears that to put a seal on a letter was an affront, at least if the person doing so was of inferior rank The following passage occurs there In short the governors of Malwa, obeying Sher K.'s commands, sent letters of allegiance and loyalty with the only exception of Melloo K who, from excessive folly and a wish to show his royal dignity, impressed his signet upon the letter, and notwithstanding the entreaties his well-wishers made to dissuade him, sent it off so Sher K on beholding the letter tore off the seal and preserved it, observing that the punishment for the impertinence would one day overtake him ' Naturally, Sulaiman would despise Ism'aīl as a Shīa, and it is rather strange that the latter should have gone out of his way to express grief at the death of Selīm his conqueror

[3] Text فرس Persia

[4] So in text and in I O MS 236 but 16 is probably a mistake for 8

From self indulgence and drinking he seldom appeared on parade (*ba kashk*) H M became angry and on one occasion had him stripped and soused[1] with cold water He died of the cold It appeared that he had laid presumptuous hands on the private dresses H M said, "God has punished him with nakedness for having donned stolen garments" At this time a supplicatory letter came from Khān Ahmad Gīlānī On account of long prosperity, the strength of his country, and bad company, he had been insolent to Shāh Tahmāsp the ruler of Persia, and had been sent to the school of the prison Sultān Muhammad Khudābanda released him, and sent him back to the government of Gīlān Envious tale bearers incited Shāh 'Abbas against him Out of ill fatedness he set himself to fight (with 'Abbās) He was defeated and took refuge in Turkey. He was not appreciated there and not treated with favour On the 23rd his envoy had an audience and presented a petition It stated that he had long desired to have recourse to the sublime court, but could not accomplish his desire on account of the distance and the insecurity At present he was passing his time in distress in Baghdad, and his old desire was occupying the skirt of his heart The envoy was favourably received and made hopeful of royal favours, On 1 Isfandārmaz, after ten hours, a daughter[2] was born to Sultān Daniel by the daughter of Qulij K It is hoped that her advent may increase prosperity

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Siwi (Sibi)[3] It is a strong fort near Qandahār, and in old times was held by the ruler of Bhakkar For a long time the Afghans had held it Saiyid Bahau d dīn Bokhārī the fiefholder of Ūc, and Bakhtiyār Beg the fiefholder of Siwistan, and Mīr Abu l Qāsim Tamkin the *jagirdar* of Bhakkar, and Mir M'asum and other soldiers of the province of Multan, received orders to proceed thither and to make advice the material of conquest If they did not listen, they were to be punished On 23 Dai they went out with this intention The zamindārs of

---

[1] This was in the month of Bahman which corresponds to January

[2] Būlāqī Begam A N III 837 Afterwards married to M Walī Tūzuk J p 272

[3] In Baluchistan The district is now British See I G XXII 336 The town is S E Quettah and on the Sind Pishīn railway See J II 328 n and B 362 and Elliot I 237 It is a long way from Qandahar

Ganjāba[1] and the other chiefs there—such as Daryā K and Dāud—submitted On 3 Isfandārmaz they arrived at the fort 5,000 men came out to fight, and after a short engagement they were defeated and retired into the fort After investing it and preparing to take it, the garrison came to terms and gave up the keys By this victory the country up to Qandahār, Kac[2] and Mekrān was included in the empire The soldiers were distressed in that desert[3] from want of water They made the world's lord the Divine instrument of worship and prayed for water By the Divine favour in a short space of time, the dry bed of a turrent became full of water, and there came occasion for thanksgiving

667 On the 27th[4] the festival of the lunar weighment took place H M was weighed against eight articles and the world sate down in the light of success

---

[1] Elliot I 238

[2] Text Kic Cf J II 336 It i Cutch

[3] Cf J II 328 where it is said that there is a vast desert between Sīwī and Bhakkar

[4] The solar month was Isfandarmaz the last of the solar year The birthday was on 5 Rajab, and in this year 1003 Rajab began on 2 March The last clause of the sentence refers apparently, to the charities that were bestowed on the anniversary

CHAPTER CXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 40TH YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR TIR OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On Tuesday, 9 Rajab 1003, after 3 hours, 33 minutes, the world-lighting sun illuminated the sign of Aries, and the fourth year of the fourth cycle conveyed the news of eternal dominion. The world's Commander returned fresh thanks to God, and adorned nineteen days with varied celebrations. The dejected of heart became exhilarated, the savage became sociable.

Verse.

Allah Akbar! What eternal bliss is this!
Allah Akbar! What a lamp of truth is this!
No particle do I see void of light.
Allah Akbar! What sunlight is this!

On 5 Farwardīn, Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umrī came with some men from the northern mountains, and brought with him Rāja Bāsū and some zamīndārs. Each received suitable favours. At this time the conquest of Busnah took place It is a strong fort, and a populous country is connected with it. When Rāja Mān Singh came to Tānda, the capital of Bengal, he sent off troops in all directions. One body was sent under the command of Himmat Singh (the Rāja's son) to that quarter. On the 19th it prevailed, and a faction was chastised. When the world's lord had performed the thanksgivings of the New Year, he crossed the Rāvī and went to the Dilāmez garden, which had lately been made. From there he went with some ladies in retirement to Rāmbārī. Night and day he gathered the flowers of joy, and at the same time his enlightenment increased.

One of the occurrences was the death of Burhān Niẓām-ul-Mulk. Whoever neglects goodness and practises ingratitude, soon, by his own efforts, reaps his retribution. Fresh evidence of this is afforded by the story of this base one. The royal favours he received, his

coming to power, his ingratitude, and his non acceptance of counsels, and the appointment of an army against him have been described On account of the distance and of slackness in making preparations, the army had not been gathered together when he died He delighted in obstinacy, and flattery made him arrogant He stretched out
668 his hands against men's property and lives, and destroyed the honour of families He made no distinction between friend and foe, relative and stranger He raised an army to attack Ādil K and returned unsuccessful Thinking that he would take the fort of Rewadanda,[1] which adjoins Caul, from the Christians, he sent Farhād K and Asad K Rumi with a large force to that quarter, and then lascivi ously defiled Farhād K's wife Farhād felt ashamed and made terms with the Christians Many Deccanis lost their lives, and Asad K was made prisoner In order to increase his virility Burhān used mercurial[2] medicines, and made himself ill by listening to quacks, so that he became hopeless of life He brought his son Ibrāhīm Beg

[1] I G X 184 and XXI 273 Rewa danda is also called Lower Caul The two towns are in the Kolaba d strict and about 30 m S Bombay There is an account of Burhan s attack on Rewadanda in Noer s Akbar II p 309 of translation The siege began in April 1594

[2] *Shangarf* Cinnabar The Iqbāl nama has *simāb kushta* ashes of quicksilver For *kushta* quicksilver see B 563 n 1

The story about Farhād s wife does not appear to be correct Dan vers in his The Portuguese in India II 90 says that Farhad and his wife and daughter were captured at Chaul in 1592 (should be 1594), and that the wife was ransomed while Farhād and his daughter be came Catholics and went to Portugal Faria Y Sousa however says that Farhād died of his wounds after he had been baptized and showed signs of conversion and that only the daughter went to Portugal (III Part I c 8) Ferishta says nothing about Farhad s wife s having been outraged though he says that Bur hān ordered every beaut ful woman to be brought to his palace Among others, he sent for Shujā at s wife but dismissed her unharmed. How ever her husband was so affected by the disgrace that he committed sui cide He also says that Burhan s licentiousness made his officers re luctant to serve h m and so led to the triumph of the Portuguese (Newal Kishore s ed 3rd vol p 155) The Portuguese victory occurred on 16 Zi l hajja 1002 (September 1594) Akbar seems to have been highly pleased at the defeat of Burhan and expressed to Xavier h s admiration of the feat of the Portuguese in tak ing the Morro at Chaul (J A S B for 1896 p 109)

out of prison, and made him his successor Ikhlās K Abyssinian and some others did not agree to this and endeavoured to raise up Ism'ail, another son, and who had formerly ruled When he had recovered somewhat, he got into a litter and set out to fight Three *kos* from Aḥmadnagar he fought and was victorious[1] The strife-mongers had to go into retirement This success made him more mad, and increased his arrogance When he returned, he used more medicine, and increased his illness On the 25th[2] (Farwardin) he died Many said that his sister Cand Bibi poisoned him The acute beheld in it the retribution of his ingratitude The army leaders raised Ibrāhīm to power, and he from shortsightedness first blinded brother and afterwards put him to death

---

[1] The battle was fought near Humāyūnpūr which was a place founded by Burhān s mother

[2] 5 or 6 April 1595 According to Ferishta, Burhān died on 13 Shaʿbān 1003 = 18 April 1595 A F s account of Burhān may be compared with the more detailed one by Ferishta. Ferishta says nothing about the alleged poisoning by Cand Bibi Badayūnī, Lowe 416 also speaks of reports that Burhān was put to death According to Ferishta Burhān died at Aḥmadnagar in consequence of fatigues of his campaign against Ikhlās K According to Ferishta it was Burhān and not Ibrāhīm who put Ism all to death Burhān did this partly because Ism all belonged to the Mahdi religion

CHAPTER CXXII

Arrival of the victorious troops at Qandahar, and the tranquillisation of that country

When Qarā Beg and M Beg—who had gone to bring Moẓaffar Ḥusain M—approached, the Mirzā received them and rejoiced over the royal order He expressed submissiveness and showed a desire to proceed towards the court from there As Shāh Beg K had not arrived, he turned back at the instance[1] of the above named persons, and for a time had other thoughts, in consequence of the foolish talk of wicked persons Owing to his auspicious disposition he looked deeply into the matter and frankly surrendered the fort and came out. On the 28th, silver and gold were illuminated by the Shāhinshāh's stamp, and the pulpits were exalted by his honoured name Shāh Beg K encouraged the Mirzā in various ways and sent him off with his family and 2,000[2] Qizilbāshes A populous country
369 came into possession without a battle, and a noble family was delivered from confusion. The Uzbegs turned aside their rein from that country for a while, and the peasantry had some repose The tribes of the Hazāra and Afghans and other presumptuous landholders received chastisement At this time the great office of Vakil was conferred on the Khān Aʿazam M Koka As ability and disinterestedness were seen in his forehead, he was, on 9 Ardibihisht, exalted by that great favour Though the talents of the world's lord needed no help, and he accomplished everything by his own wide capacity, yet he, from wisdom and a knowledge of the world, entrusted business to an able officer The thread of watchfulness was thereby doubled

On the 19th[3] (Ardibihisht) a large caravan laden with choice

---

[1] Apparently they suggested his return, as owing to the non arrival of Shāh Beg things were not ripe for his departure See the Maasir III 299 300

[2] Chalmers and the Iqbālnāma have 1 000

[3] Or 29th April 1595 The Pādris were Jerome Xavier, Benedict of Goes and Emmanuel Pinheiro and

goods arrived from the port of Goa In it were several learned Christian ascetics—known by the name of "Padre" By the favours of the Shāhinshāh their heart-desires were gratified

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Zamīn Dāwar and the country of Garmsir (the hot country) These two populous tracts belong to Qandahar The Uzbegs had taken them from the Mīrzās When the report of the approach of the victorious troops became current, the headmen of those places gathered together and were victorious The Uzbegs retired after failure At this time Sultān Muhammad Oghlān, Tengrī Bardī, Murād K, and some others (of the Uzbegs) rose up to take revenge, and surrounded the fort When Shāh Beg K came, the inhabitants begged for redress He was doubtful about helping them in the absence of orders By good fortune some of that crew extended the hand of plunder to near Qandahar, and M 'Iwaz took by force the fortress of Teri [1] When he would not listen to advice, Shāh Beg K proceeded to give him battle He (M 'Iwaz) made Teri strong and came out to fight and was soon made prisoner. The fort was taken Then Shāh Beg crossed the Helmand and attacked Zamin Dāwar. The enemy was disconcerted and hastened to the fort of Darghor [2] (?) When they were pursued, they fled without fighting towards Herat The victorious troops returned and came to Zamin Dāwar, and Garmsir was also, without a contest, included in the empire The Turānī soldiers had their eyes opened somewhat, and Qul Bābā, the Commander in-chief of Khurāsān, became anxious about protecting it Out of foresight he behaved in a friendly manner to the troops On 28 Tir the news came and every one was rewarded in a suitable manner On the 30th (Tir), 10th July, 1595, the Mota [3] Rajah died from inability

the date given for their arrival in Lahore is stated by Maclagan J A S B for 1896, p 68 as 5th May 1595 I presume that the difference between 29th April and 5th May is due to the missionaries using the Gregorian calendar Jerome Xavier was the nephew of St Francis Xavier

[1] Text Hari, i e Herat but immediately afterwards Tirī is mentioned, and this is the reading in I O MS 276 It is the Tarīn of J II 398 and the Terī of the I G XXIII 281 It is in the Kohāt district.

[2] Perhaps dar ghor, i e in Ghor The Iqbālnāma has 'the fort of Ghor B M MS 27,247 has "from the fort hastened into Ghor, and this is probably right

[3] The Mota i e the fat Rajah, is

to breathe (*nafas tangi*), and four wives freely gave their bodies to the flames H M went there by water to teach[1] the truth, and led some to fortitude by showing the unimportance of life

One of the occurrences was the death of Ibrāhim Niẓam-ul
670 Mulk From the time that H M turned away the eye of favour from the Deccan, fresh evils occurred from time to time in that country, and retribution for ingratitude occurred When Burhān died, and Ibrāhim succeeded him, improprieties increased An army came from Bījāpur to punish him On 16 Amardād, 40 *kos* from Ahmednagar, there was a battle and suddenly an arrow reached[2] Ibrāhim, and he was killed

The Bijāpurians returned successful and the Niẓām-al-Mulkians came home in a bewildered state Many made Aḥmad the son[3] of Khudābanda their chief, and some chose Motī,[4] the son of Qāsim Burhan Nizām al Mulk, the 1st, had six sons, Qāsim, 'Abdu l Qādir, Ḥusain, Khudābānda, Shāh 'Alī, Muhammad Bāqir When he died, the succession fell to Husain,[5] and when the latter died his eldest son Martaẓa became Niẓām ul Mulk

---

Udai Singh s Rai Māldeo of Jodh pur B 429 Apparently his cor pulence caused his death Tod has an extraordinary story about his having died in consequence of a Brahman s curse Apparently he died in or near Lahore His daughter was the mother of Shāh Jahān The last clause is obscure but I think that the meaning is that Akbar was present at the satīs or arrived shortly afterwards and took the opportunity to encourage his followers to despise death by show ing how little value the widows put upon their lives Compare his re mark, J III 318 The women of Hindustan rate their dear lives at a slender pr ce

[1] *Bahaqiqatāmozī* Perhaps the meaning is to learn the truth

[2] The Lucknow Ferishta says he was killed by a spear But a MS says it was an arrow that killed him He met his death on 20 Ẕī l ḥajja 1003, or 16th August 1595

[3] The alleged son Apparently he was really the son of Shāh Ṭāhir See Ferishta s account of the Aḥmadnagar dynasty Aḥmad was made king on 10 Ẕī l hajji 1003 6th August 1595 but was soon deposed in favour of Bahādur the infant son of Ibrāhīm Mīyān Manjū however supported him for a time and called in Prince Murād to help him

[4] Mūsā in text, but Motī in I O MS 236 and in B M 27 247

[5] Text *nakhastin* the first but the true read ng is Ḥusain as in the I O MSS Aḥmad said to be the son of Khudābanda was apparently

On the 31st, twelve diwans were appointed Though the viziership was prosperously conducted by the truthfulness and industry of Khwāja Shamsu d din Khafī, yet on account of excess of business and of farsightedness, a vizier was appointed to every province, and former wishes became fact Husain Beg was appointed to Allahabad, Bharti Cand to Ajmere, Rai Rām Dās to Ahmadābād, Kahnur to Oudh, Kishn Das to Bengal, Ram Dās to Bihar, Rām Rai to Delhi Khwāja Ghiās Beg to Kabul, Mathurā Das to Lahore, Khwāja Muhibb 'Ali to Malwa, Kesu Das to Agra, Khwāja Muqim to Multan An order was given that every one should report his proceedings to H M in accordance with the advice of the Khwaja

One of the occurrences was the victory of Bajranath[1] At the royal feast he wrestled with Balbhadr—who was at the head of the wrestlers (*Mals*) The spectators were astonished to see that H M had commanded that slenderly made man to contend with that powerful frame In a short time by dint of courage it appeared that that strong one would be thrown In order to preserve his reputation, they were separated as being equal

At this time it became known that some persons exacted tolls at the ferries H M's justice was moved, and an order was issued everywhere that every exertion should be made to punish such conduct From Lahore to the Hindu Koh this work was entrusted to Zain K Kokaltāsh, from Lahore to Lower Bengal to Daulat K, from Lahore to Gujarat to Rām Dās Kachwāha, to Zamīn Dāwar, to Daulat Khurd, and from Delhi to Oudh, to Miyan Khānu

the son of one Tāhir who claimed falsely to be Khudābanda's son Ahmad reigned for a short time, and then was succeeded by Ibrahim's son Bahādur The history of Ahmadnagar at this time may be studied in the 2nd volume of Noer's Akbar Mrs Beveridge's translation

[1] B 253 where both Bajranāth and Balbhadr are mentioned It is there said that the *Mals* came from Gujrat

CHAPTER CXXIII

Mozaffar Husain M. glorifies his forehead by prostrating himself at the Holy Threshold

Whoever is exalted by fortune and whose star raises him from a humble position enjoys prosperity, and has happy days without
671 exertion The condition of the Mīrzā [1] is an instance of this, and is a collyrium for the eyes Out of dissatisfaction with the ruler of Persia, and from fear of his life, he did not submit to the Shāh, and from the turbulence of youth and bad companionship he did not attach himself to the sublime Court Suddenly the Uzbegs prevailed over Khurāsān, and the position of the Mīrzās became difficult They were disconcerted by the appointment of the victorious army Owing to his happy star, Rustum M bound himself to eternal dominion, and this increased the distracted condition of Mozaffar By the guidance of his star he sent his mother and his eldest son to make his excuses They were kindly received and a comforting order was sent to him He emerged from his disturbed state, and prepared to do service When Shāh Beg K arrived he made over the country and set out The officers and guardians of the passes showed, under H M. orders, great respect to this nobly born one Every week, one of the courtiers arrived with choice goods When he was three stages off, M Jānī Beg, S Farīd Bakhshī Begī, Ḥusain Beg S ʿUmri and others were sent off (to him) When he was three kos away, Khān Aʿẓam, the M Koka Zain K Kokaltash and many others (met him) On 5 Shahriyur the Mīrzā glorified his forehead by performing the prostration, and the rank of his auspiciousness was exalted. He presented one hundred ʿIrāq horses and other things Among them was a wonderful shell [2] which when rubbed on a snake-bite sucked out the poison, and caused a recovery The

---

[1] B 313

[2] *Mahra.* Perhaps here it only means an

Mirzā was made a Panjhazārī, and Sarkār Sambal,[1] which is larger than Qandahar, was given to him as a fief He was made happy by much money and many goods His four sons, Bahrām M, Haidar M, Alqās M, Tahmāsp[2] M, and his companions, received great presents

In this year the officers (*mansabdaran*) were divided into three classes 1st, those who had horsemen equal in number to their office, 2nd, those who had half and upwards, 3rd, those who had less The pay of each was fixed[3] (accordingly?) An account of this is in the last volume (the Āin) On this day Tāsh Beg K was sent off to chastise the 'Īsā Khel, but as he fell ill, he could not accomplish the work properly On the 6th a daughter was born in the harem of the Prince Royal by the daughter of Ibrāhim Husain M It is hoped that she may become a great lady of the Age On the 9th S'aid K came from the Eastern districts, and received varied favours He had long cherished the desire to come, and when he reached Bihar, he proceeded very rapidly He presented 100 elephants and other articles On the 11th[4] Hakim 'Ain-ul-Mulk died in Hindia The appreciative sovereign begged forgiveness for him, and bestowed favours on his children He was one of the good men of this world He exerted himself very much in helping men On the 16th S'aid K presented the *peshkash* of 'Isā K the land- 672
holder of Bhāti It was accepted In the beginning of Mihr, food was sent to Qandahar There was somewhat of a scarcity in that country and the soldiers were in distress Able men sent every kind of grain from Multan several times, and soon there was plenty Qul Bābā the C in C of Khurasān became very anxious and strengthened his friendship with the officers in that quarter On this day Bāqi[5] K Safarci died in Bengal H M freed his children from

[1] Badayūnī, Lowe 416 says Sambhal was taken away from A F and given to the Mirza

[2] The Maasir and I O 236 have Tahmas

[3] Cf B 238 l 6 and also the Table p 248 At p 241 B remarks The three classes differ very slightly (in emoluments) and cannot refer to p 238 l 7 Here I think he forgets that the salaries were monthly A difference of Rs 1 000 a month is considerable, especially when we remember that the contingent of the 2nd class was one half and *upwards* See Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls* p 6

[4] Cf Badayūnī Lowe 417

[5] He is called Baqī K in B 408 and 534 He was s Tāhir K Mir

grief by his kindness At this time a different scale (*barāward* [1]) of pay (estimate) was made. On 11 Mihr an order was passed that Moghuls, Afghans and Indians who had three horses should get 1,000 *dāms*, those who had two horses 800, and those who had one horse, 600 dāms Rājpūts of the first class got 800, and those of the middle class 600.

One of the occurrences was the illumination of the jewel of Truth. One of the foolish talkers brought a charge of impropriety against a chaste personality (a woman ?) H M [2] sate to inquire into the matter. He said, "I have heard from persons of understanding [3] that when an inquiry was made and the facts could not be ascertained, recourse was had to the ordeal of fire [4] The truth came out, the accuser was put to shame, and a world was astonished" One of the Hindu ordeals is this They heat a piece of iron in the fire and then placing leaves of the *pīpal* (ficus indica) on the hand (of the accused) they put the burning metal on the top thereof If no burning takes place, they accept the statement (of the accused) as true. On this occasion the accused did not employ any leaves, but took a piece of fire in the (her ?) hand, held it for a time and then slowly put it down [5] No harm ensued (to the accused) though

Farāghat who again was s Mīr Khurd the guardian of Hindāl See Gulbadan Begam trans 106 and n

[1] Perhaps *barāward* has a technical meaning A F says B 231 that poor troopers who have not their horses branded are called Barāwardī The rates there are Rs 25, 20 and 15, corresponding to 1000, 800, 600 dāms It is curious that the three horsemen get only 200 more dāms than the two horse troopers Also that a distinction should be made between Hindi or Indian horsemen and Rajpūts I O MS 236 has Sindī for Hindī

[2] Dad Khudā ' The gift of God One of A F's names for Akbar See below, p 698 line 5

[3] The text has *beṭār* "a farrier' This is obviously wrong, but the right reading is not clear Most MSS have *dark naẓẓāra* "spectators of intelligence," and this I have adopted But perhaps the true reading is *behār* the Hindi form of *vyavahara* "the administration of justice, which is the heading of a chapter in the Āīn See J III 261.

[4] The word is saugand "an oath' Cf Badayūnī, Lowe, 368

[5] Text has the word *andākht* "threw,' but most MSS have *farūd award* "brought down,' and this seems more appropriate as it agrees with the word "slowly '

the ground was burnt by the heat of the thing The truth-seeking of the ruler of the age produced these wonderful results!

On the 16th the sacred seal was made over to the Khān A'ẓam and his dignity received a fresh increase Maulānā 'Alī Ahmad, at the orders of H.M., engraved the names of H.M.'s ancestors up to the time of Ṣāhib Qirānī and produced a masterpiece An order was given that all the confirmatory[1] *sanads* and some of the secret orders (*bayāẓī manshūr*) should bear this adornment.

On this day the envoy of the Viceroy[2] of Ormuz had the bliss of kissing the threshhold. He brought two ostriches very remarkable in their shape and behaviour. They treated pieces of stone as if they were fruits All forms of existence are full of wonderment, but much seeing has put many men to sleep, and they marvel at nothing except what they see rarely.

One of the occurrences was that the veil fell from off the face of the condition of the writer of the book of fortune. After divers fallings and risings, and after traversing many heights and hollows, the idea of "Peace with All" came to me and for a while I was rooted in contentment. I perceived that there was somewhat of the glory of being in every form of creation, and so I breathed the breath of 673 Love I thought for a while that the calm spot of resignation was my abode and was in a state of wishlessness! Suddenly, *the basin tumbled from the roof* (a proverb),[3] and cruelty and sorrow were impressed on the hearts of high and low!

Verse.

I made 2,000 vows that I'd not go crazy
For you my vows were shattered, for you my resolve failed!

---

[1] *Ṣabīt amād = firmān i-ṣabtī*, for which see B 260 They were issued for three purposes *Biyāẓī manshūr* = *farmān-i-biyāẓī*, i.e. "Blank orders, for which see B 264 They were called *biyāẓī* or blank, because they were folded and sealed in such a manner that their contents could not be seen

[2] The text, and all the MSS apparently, have *wazīr*, "vizier" But the word should probably be وسري *wasrī* representing the Portuguese *viserei* "Viceroy" See A N translation I 323 It is the Portuguese Viceroy of Ormuz who is meant, and he must have procured the ostriches from Africa. As Tatta and Sind were in Akbar's possession, the Portuguese would be anxious to conciliate him

[3] The conjunction is wanting in the MSS

On 21 Mihr,[1] Saturday, 10 Safr 1004 (5 October 1595), the order came to the king of Poets, Sh Faiẓī, my elder brother, and that free-souled and enlightened one on receipt of the call for the last journey proceeded with open brow to the holy city!

Verse

A Joseph was lost to his brethren
Nay, not to us, but to the whole world was he lost.
In Love's game our hands are empty,
He who has departed held the ring[2]

The venerable and eloquent sate in sorrow, and crowds and crowds of men were grieved The heart of the appreciative King was contracted because a veil had covered the seeker after wisdom, the maker of eulogies, and because the cup of the life of the chief guest at the banquet of loyalty had overflowed The noble princes sate in sorrow because the wise hearted teacher, and the imparter of wisdom and eloquence, had become silent The great officers' nosegay of joy withered because the loving cup of the chief of the confidant of the banquet and the battle had become full The spirits of those immersed in business were broken because the solver of the difficulties of the age had died The travellers in the desert of exile were pained in their hearts and had a lump in their throats because the adorner of the stage of comfort had withdrawn his heart from mankind Those who traversed the world of search sate with sad hearts and erased from their minds the thought of travel because the fountain of the life of the eloquent exponent of truth had been choked The thorns of failure increased in the feet of the empty handed and the necessitous, because the unsolicited wish granter had withdrawn from the world of society Every section had its special lament, and drank the new and intoxicating wine of affliction The tale of this stroke of lightning does not come within the mould of language One cannot write with a wooden legged pen When such were the feelings of mere contemporaries, who can understand the

[1] Cf Badayūnī Lowe 420

[2] The allusion is to a game which consists in hiding a ring in the hand of one of the players See Vullers s v *kacha* and also Bahār i Ajam The text has *kujja* a hockey stick This does not agree with the MSS and seems wrong

sorrow of me who loved him, body and soul? How can my mental
agitation and my bodily benumbment be described? I who am of
sewn-up lips, wept like a child, and a tempest of lamentation arose
Patience, wisdom's first-born, expired in weeping, and that light-giver
sate in a day of darkness! Blind feelings became dominant and light-
headed fancies prevailed I regarded his leaving the house of bones
as death, and his choice of life eternal as annihilation! Life became
a heart-calamity and a burden to the soul. Sleep and sustenance
(*khwab u khūr*) took the path of estrangement My elemental ties
were nearly being loosed, and I was nearly casting the burden of life
from off my shoulder Sometimes I strove, like a crazy person, with
heaven, and sometimes I opened my lips to abuse Fate The material
removal of a brother wrought this effect on me, and the separation in 674
spirit from a beloved solver of entanglements made me mad Except
him, this privacy-admirer, publicity-practiser, had no confidant
He it was who applied the balm to the inward sore. I felt compelled
to go into retirement and to sit down in affliction and in expectation
of the end I tore my heart, and squeezed out my liver The exhortations
and endeavours of the Shāhinshāh led me back with blistered
feet to the valley of patience His life-giving encouragements and
endeavours were my palisade Departed reason returned, and slumbering
understanding awoke This came from his truthful lips,
"The incomparable Almighty calls His servants to Himself by means
of Liberation (*warastagi*) and Restraint ((*dilbastagī*). By these two
opposed methods He confers upon them the desire of their hearts If
death be a reality, nothing befits the good friends of the departed
save submission and resignation, and if life eternal be the lot of all
men, then the friends of wisdom should wear an open brow and a
cheerful visage, especially in this Caravanserai where there is nought
which endures. If in future you adopt your present course (of excessive
grief), the bonds of hearts will be loosed, and the city will cease
to prosper. God shall be displeased, and harm shall be caused to
realm and religion If grief did not touch the hem of one who had a
share of spirituality, and if he were not affected by it, his man's
nature would be called brutish, and his humanity be termed bestiality
Hail to the domesticities (*shahrbandī*) which in this world cause
every one's foot of wisdom to strike upon stones and which make
the thread of self-control to fall from our hands and compel us to

yield to various forms of sorrow! That impatience which you displayed was a necessary adjunct of the state of Limitation (*wabastagī*)" By [1] many cordial counsels did that spiritual physician administer remedies to me

For two days that journey-chooser (Faiẓī) withdrew his heart from us all, and turned to the incomparable Deity There was no sign of consciousness Suddenly the world's commander the lover of wisdom, came to his pillow He opened his eyes and testified his veneration The mighty sovereign yielded him to the gracious Deity and retired, and at the same moment my brother went to heaven In his jewelled writings he has thus spoken of the final journey

Verse

Fayyazī,[2] cease from this strain
Thy bird [3] is moving (?), put him in the cage

[1] Akbar's exhortation is obscurely worded and it is impossible to believe that he ever uttered it It bears the impress of A F himself The MSS—of which I have consulted many—differ, and the text is probably corrupt I find it difficult to understand the meaning of the phrase *nekūwan-i-nakhastinrā* at line 8 of page 674 Perhaps *nakhastīn* means here those who have died first and is opposed to *pasīn* later on But some MSS do not seem to have *pasīn* I O MS 3257 has *nekuwan nakh* In line 9 the text has *khird dostān* lovers of wisdom philosophers but nearly all the MSS have *jiz dostdārān i inān* (or *īnānra*), i e except their friends But this does not seem intelligible unless we read with I O MS 3288 *nabashand* for *bāshand* The meaning then might be ' If there is immortality then no one should rejoice at the death of their friends except when the latter were good the allusion being to the doctrine of transmigration—in which Akbar was a believer At line 10 the text has *agar pasīn īn taras peshgīrad* which I do not understand I O MSS 3238 and 3257 have *agar bastan* etc., and this seems likely to be right *bastan ain taras* would mean "to adopt this course

Apparently the gist of the discourse is that if death ends all things, then resignation is fitting but if there is another life then the friends of the good should rejoice

[2] Fayyāzī *is the later name* assumed by Faiẓī From a remark by Faizī Sirhindī it would seem that our Faiẓī surrendered the title because the Sirhindī had a prior title to it But according to Badayūnī Faiẓī called himself Fayyāzī in imitation of his brother's title of Allāmī According to A F (B 949) Faiẓī adopted the new title to express the abundance of his spiritual love It *appears from* Badayūnī *III 307 that* Faiẓī only adopted the title Fayyāzī in the year before his death See the verse there

[3] نواسی *banawā ast* I take *nawā*

Pass away from this wide field
Pass away, thirsty one, from this ocean

Another[1] (*Verse*)

Hail! Shāhinshāh the seeker after Truth,
Pearl of ocean, Majesty of heaven
'Tis a pearl where a world annexes joy,
Thy reign is the heady wine of heaven
I'm a musician whose notes are formed of blood,
My pen is like the stops of an organ,
If from this feast where thy fellowship is the cupbearer,
I depart, the melody will still remain,
The pitcher drawers work marvels. 675
No musician yet the feast is full of music

Another (*Verse*)

No one can advance like me (?),
This is the work of the heart, not of the body,
What can vulpine men do against me?

---

to be used here in the sense of hopping or jumping. This seems to be the Lucknow editor's opinion for he says that the meaning is that the bird i.e. his genius is about to fly. The word cannot I think here mean singing or being in voice for the verse occurs in the extract given at p. 686 of the A. N. line 11, and is followed by the couplet

"Be silent, for the tale is a long one."

It (the bird or the genius) is a sparrow and not a noble falcon. The word *mastasqī* which occurs in the last line of the quatrain means 'a drawer of water' and also 'a dropsical person' and 'one who is thirsty.' No doubt Faiẓī plays on all three meanings.

[1] Badayūnī quotes some of these lines—and many others—in his third volume p. 306 and says they come from the conclusion of a poem in supplication of Muhammad which at the instance of friends he wrote when near his end. Like most of Faizī's poetry they are obscure and justify Badayūnī's criticism of his writings. In the fourth line there is a play on the word *daur* which means both reign and a cup that is handed round. Badayūnī has a different reading of the line and it seems an improvement. He has *Daur tu sharab u asman mast*. Thy reign is wine and heaven is intoxicated thereby. The 7th line perhaps means that the pearl is not a material one but a pearl of the soul and that Akbar's companionship takes the place of wine.

Why do they prick the forehead of the tiger ?
I've satisfied my gaze with the holy feast;
I've received the favours of the holy lineage;
Those dog-minded ones who wander in the streets
Are throatless (i e voiceless) devourers of carcases;
I liken [1] them to the vultures of the age,
I leave them to batten on carrion on a dung hill !
I took a morning-draught of life with Jesus;[2]
I asked for life long as Noah's,
When this word was born of my breath,
Khiẓr [3] came and gave me his own term of life
If the Fates exalt me in my fortune
They will make the life of my words lasting.

The world's lord intended to go a-hunting He who was prepared for the last journey (Faiẓī) expressed a wish that the writer of the book of fortune would take four days' leave and be with him When I petitioned,[4] H M abandoned his intention On the fourth day he turned aside from mankind, and his knowledge of hidden things became apparent Four months previously, at the beginning of the illness, he had composed this quatrain

Verse [5]

Seest thou what cruel sport the heavens played
The bird of my heart made a night-rush to leave its cage,
That bosom in which worlds could harbour
Is pained when I draw half a breath

During his illness this verse was several times on his lips

---

[1] The Lucknow ed says that the verb *māndan* has in this line the force of likening or comparing, and that in the next line it means "to abandon"

[2] Alluding to the life giving breath of the Messiah

[3] Khiẓr is Elijah, and drank of the fountain of life The last four lines occur in Badayūnī s extracts p 309, and they come there after many other lines which do not occur in our text.

[4] The third person is used, but I think A F means himself Badayūnī says that Akbar visited Faiẓī at midnight, just before his death

[5] These lines, with some verbal differences, are quoted in Badāyūnī, Lowe 420, and text II. 406. The word in the second line is *shabāhangī*, and *shabāhang* means the morning

Verse.[1]

Should all the worlds together strive
One lame ant's foot would not get well.

From a long time he loved[2] solitude, and took the path of silence In spite of the endeavours of the Shāhinshāh, he did not complete the pentad.[3] He himself speaks of this

Verse

Many caravans set out, for the heavens
Never heard before such a noise of bells,
I fastened my pen to the foot of the bird;[4]
I formed the idea of composing a pentad;
It did not[5] adapt itself to the air of the skies
But stopped midway on account of the heavy weight,
I perceived that pigeons with feathered[6] legs

---

star, and also a nightingale Here, I think it means a night journey, on the analogy of *shab-i-khūn*, a night-attack Apparently the meaning is that Faiẓī wished to sing, but was prevented by his asthma. The Darbār i akbarī, 365 reads *bad āhangī* "an evil design '(?) instead of *shabāhangī* Price reads *qafs-i-shab* "cage of night,' but the metre will not allow of this Mr Lowe renders the line, "the bird of my heart out of its cage became a nightingale ' According to Price, Jahāngīr, p 76, these lines were quoted by Akbar on his death bed They are more appropriate to Faiẓī as he was a poet, and was dying of breathlessness Price's rendering of the second line is, "My soul is on the wing to escape this cage of darkness ' Apparently, Badayūnī's remark, "One of his acquaintances invented this chronogram, must refer to the chronogram immediately preceding Otherwise there must surely be an omission in the MS

[1] I presume the verse to mean that all efforts are vain unless God, or Fate, wills The Darbār-i akbarī quotes the lines at p 366, but reads *ba jang* instead of *ba tang* It is *ba tang* in the M'aāṣir II 588 By the lame ant's foot Faiẓī perhaps means his pen which he is fond of describing as a foot

[2] I adopt the reading of the MSS, which is *dost dāshta* The text has *daulat dāshta*, *dost* seems correct as it also occurs in the M'aāṣir II 587.

[3] Faiẓī wished to write five poems in imitation of Niẓāmī. A list of them is given in the Darbār i akbarī p 370

[4] Meaning his genius

[5] Text *bagirifta*, but MSS have *nagirifta*

[6] *Parpā* The text has *bar pāī* 'with weights on their legs' and this may be correct, but probably the true

Were not capable of brushing the empyrean
If the feet had not caught in his snare
There was hope that it would carry a message
Of the seven caravan sarais and [1] the four stages (?)
I placed five litters on camels,
676 There were four brides and seven tents (?),
Half-way did I convey them,
Some day, if Fortune give me repose
I'll bring them one by one to the throne's foot
I watered my soul with the thought
That ere I sank into slumber,
If heaven brake not my vow,
I'd bring Bilqis [2] to the bosom of Sulaiman

I now [3] write down something of each poem that I have obtained

696 One of the occurrences was the marriage of Prince Sultân Daniel On the eve of the 22nd Mihr (2nd October, 1595), there was a feast of joy, and that nosegay of fortune was united to the daughter of Rai Mal the son of Rai Mâldeo On the 2nd Âbân the solar weighment took place There was rejoicing, and H M was weighed against twelve

reading is *parpā*, for there is a kind of pigeon which has feathered legs, and in consequence does not fly high See Vullers and the Bahār i 'ajām s v *kabūtar* Faiẓī feigns that he fastened his quill to the leg of his genius and consequently it could not soar *Parpā* pigeons are referred to at B 302 where the passage probably means that such pigeons only take short flights in contradistinction to the *nishāvari* who fly up till they are out of sight.

[1] I borrow the conjunction from I O MS 236 I do not know what the line means but probably the four stages mean four of the five poems Apparently they are also the four brides mentioned two lines after this The seven tents there referred to may be the Haft Kishwar which Faizi intended to write in imitation of Niẓāmī s Haft Paikar, or they may be the seven climes The five litters are the five poems of his projected pentad, of which only two were completed

[2] The Queen of Sheba and the heroine of one of Faiẓī s poems 'Sulaimān here stands for Akbar

[3] Here follow twenty pages from 676 696 of extracts from Faiẓī s poems! A F s account of Faiẓī here may be compared with Badāyunī s III 299 etc, of which there is an abridged translation in Elliot V 544 with the long account in the Darbār i akbarī, p 359 etc, with B 548 Elliot VI 147 and Badayūnī, Lowe 420

articles A new door was opened for liberality On this day Rustam M obtained leave to go to Citūr[1] As his agents in Multān had cast away the thread of justice, Multān was made crown land and entrusted to Khwāja Muqim. Amīnu d-dīn accompanied him (Rustam) in order that an ignorant[2] Turk might not oppress the weak On account of the illness (*tabāhserai*) of his companion, he sent him back from Sirhind

At this time Hakīm Hamam died For two months he suffered from a decline (*diqq ranjurī*) and on the 16th (Ābān) he died He was of a good countenance, was a jewel of purity, and a sweetly spoken man He laboured much for men's advancement He had a knowledge of temperaments and some acquaintance with physic He was exalted by the high office of Bakāwal Begi (steward of the kitchen). H M begged forgiveness for him, and consoled the survivors by various kindnesses

[1] See Badāyūnī Lowe, 416

[2] Text *nāsipās* but the variant *nāshīnās* is more reasonable and is supported by I O MS 236 Perhaps the next sentence rather means that M Rustam through wickedness turned back Aminu d din al Sirhind, B 314 and M aasir III 437 understand the passage to mean that Akbar recalled Rustam at Sirhind but the verb is *gardānīd* and not *gardānīdand* as would be the case if Akbar were the nominative

CHAPTER CXXIV.

Rajah 'Alī K, the ruler of Khāndesh, joins the victorious troops

He always talked about service, but his acts did not balance his words He did not have the august *khutba*[1] recited except in the presence of the envoys, and he became foolish from self-willed thoughts When the Khān Ā'ẓam went to conquer the Deccan, he and other rebellious Deccanis fought with him, and gravely repented of this afterwards He was continually in fear and was seeking for means of escape When the Maliku'sh shu'arā Shaikh Abū l faiẓ Faiẓi went to give him advice, he emerged from his bewilderment, and when the Shāhinshāh's expedition for the conquest of the Deccan took place, he acquired fresh wisdom His envoys were summoned to the Presence and his fears were removed by oaths and promises When Prince Sultān Murād struck his tents in order to proceed from Gujarāt to the Deccan, and Shāhrukh M , the Khān khānān, Shahbāz K and other Malwa officers proceeded with him, he had the auspicious idea of taking precautionary measures, and made an offer of his services On the 27th he waited upon Shāhrukh M and other imperial officers at the distance of thirty *kos* from Burhānpur. The officers received him with cordiality, and by H M 's orders increased his territories by Nadarbār

On this day Akbarnagar was founded When Rājah Mān Singh was in Bengal he considered about a seat of government which could to some extent be safe from an attack[2] by boats After much inquiry a place was found near Ākmahal (Rājmahal) Apparently Sher K had approved of it The foundation was laid in a fortunate hour, and

---

[1] He only had the proclamation of Akbar's name made when the ambassadors were at his court.

[2] *Āsīb-i-kishtī*. But the word *kishti* seems a little doubtful as one does not see how Rajmahal was safe from an attack by boats unless perhaps from the Maghs who were not likely to come so high up the river Possibly the words mean that the place was a safe anchorage

in a short time there was a choice city, to which the glorious name was given At this time much of 'Īsā's territory came into possession On the 27th Āzar Rajah Mān Singh led a force thither from the new city The enemy not seeing themselves able to resist, crossed the Brahmaputra, and abandoned all this side of the river On account of the approach of the rains the Rājah encamped in Sherpur, Hurra (in Maimansingh), and there built a fort which he called Salimnagar Also at this time the fort of Kākruyiā [1] was taken The *zamindar* of it applied for help to Quṭbu-l Mulk Deccani (of Golconda), and Durjin Singh with some brave man was sent there In a short time the *zamindar* was punished and his house taken

One of the events was the punishment of the Kākar tribe (an Afghān tribe) On account of wickedness and of the strength of their country they for a long time tormented the weak, and closed the road to Qandahar In the beginning of Dai, Shah Beg K went off to punish them, and a great battle took place Strong stockades were destroyed, and many were killed Some fled, and some submitted On 3rd Dai Rājah Suraj Singh received favours and was sent to guard Gujarāt which was somewhat bare of troops On the 16th the wardrobe was submitted for inspection On seeing a coat (*jamah*) H M said "It seems that this is Ikhlās K 's," who had been one of the eunuchs [2] of Jannat Ashiyāni (Humāyun) and from great service had been made an Amir, and had died 17 years before this Many simple minded persons made inquiries, and the old register showed that the statement was true Also a merchant brought, by the august orders all his horses for inspection by H M, in order that he might choose the best H M said, "It seems that with one exception [3] they are not his" On a little inquiry this was found to be the case A slave represented that he was called Balbal, and that this grieved him H M gave him the name of Balkarn He rubbed his head on the ground and said, ' My mother and father

[1] So in text From the mention of the ruler of Golconda it would appear that this sentence has nothing to do with Bengal I O MS 235 seems to have Gāgrun which was a fort in Mālwa (see Jarrett II 209), and probably this is right

[2] An I O MS seems to have Khwāja *Pisar* instead of Khwāja *Sarā* But eunuch is probably right See B 405 The Ṭabaqat i akbari says he died as governor of Delhi

[3] Perhaps the meaning is one part is not his

called me by this name" A separate volume would be required to describe the intuition into mysteries of the "gift of God" The subject cannot be disposed of in a subsidiary narrative On the 11th Bahman he, at the request of Zain K Koka, visited his house and gave it fresh glory He tendered 170 elephants as a present but only some were accepted

At this time H M directed that an expedition should go to the Deccan As the hauteur[1] of the Prince and the duplicity of the officers were impressed upon him, and as unpleasant reports arrived one after the other, he determined to proceed thither Though many courtiers from avarice and interested motives spoke against his going, their opposition was without effect On the 21st the advance camp was sent on By wondrous fate there was some rain on that day The Indian astrologers represented that whenever the sun was in one of the latter four signs and there was some rain, the despatch of the advance camp should be postponed to another hour After that there was heavy rain On the eve of the 27th the throne-occupant himself came out His idea was that if the rain lessened he would proceed on On that day, after hunting, he alighted in the village of Bahāi Khan Rain and hail increased every day Though the clouds did not cease to send down rain, he every day enjoyed hunting He turned back near Ram Tīrtha when thirteen *kos* off On the 5th Isfandārmaz he by one march reached Lahore

[1] Cf Badāyūnī, Lowe, 391

CHAPTER CXXV.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE VICTORIOUS SOLDIERS IN THE DECCAN, AND THE SIEGE OF THE FORT OF AHMADNAGAR

When [1] an order was given for the conquest of this country, the Prince made preparations for the expedition The Khān khānān was delayed by men's not having assembled Before he joined, there arose some dust of dissension The Prince's idea was that the leaders of the troops should join him (in Gujarāt) and proceed from there to the Deccan The Commander-in chief's idea was that he should march by himself by the route of Mālwa When [2] they had settled their plans, the Prince left Ahmadābād on 20th Ābān of the previous year (about 30th Oct 1594), and stayed for some time in Broach, waiting for troops [3] On 22nd Khurdād (beginning of June 699
1595), he left that place. The Khān-khānān, after collecting his men, spent some time in Bhilsa (in Gwālyār), which was his fief, and on 9th Amardād (19 July, 1595), proceeded towards Ujjain The Prince was angry at this and sent him an indignant letter The Khān-khānān represented that the ruler of Khāndesh was using the language of concord, and that, apparently he would join the imperial army. His (the Rājah's) mind was somewhat disturbed, and it would be proper (for the prince) to spend some time in Gujarāt in the enjoyment of hunting. The Prince from anxiety about the expedition, became somewhat angry, and tale-bearers and interested

---

1 Partially translated in Elliot VI 29

2 Elliot has "As their opinions did not agree," and this seems to make better sense But text and I O. MS 236 have "When their ideas became of one colour" Either a negative has been omitted, or the clause refers to the generals having both agreed to march

3 According to the Iqbāl nāma, the troops that Murād was waiting for were the Khān-khānān's It says Rajah 'Alī joined the K K 30 kos from Burhanpūr, but Murād waited in Broach, thinking the K K would join him there When he found they had gone by another route, he became very angry When Akbar heard of this he sent Ram Chand to reprove both of them, and dispatched a lac of mohars for the soldiers' pay

persons widened the breach. He proceeded to Ahmadnagar with the Gujarāt army. While the imperial servants and Rajah 'Alī K. were marching to join the Prince, news (of his departure) came and filled them with sorrow. The Khān-khānān left his army, his artillery, and his elephants with Shahrukh and the other officers, and went off rapidly with Rājah 'Ali On 19th Azar (29th Nov 1595), he joined the Prince near the fortress of Cāndor[1] 30 *kos* from Ahmadnagar From want of experience, and evil teaching, the Prince did not admit them to pay their respects He went off[2] to a distance and only after much discussion granted an audience. When the army came up afterwards it was not treated in a soothing way. The Khān-khānān and many of the auxiliary troops (*kumaki*) became disgusted and he withdrew his hand from the work Sādiq K. quarrelled with[3] Shahbāz K on account of the old grudge and he (Shahbaz), out of apprehension, seldom went to the *darbār*. On 7th Dai the troops assembled half a *kos* from the city Many soldiers and peasants received comforting messages (i e. safe-conducts) On that day the K.K. and Shahbaz went to the city, and owing to their neglect some soldiers committed plunder.[4] With great difficulty they were restrained, but the citizens lost heart on beholding the breach of promises On the 8th (18 December 1595), the fort was invested, and Cānd Bibi, the sister of Burhan undertook the defence When Ahmad was raised to the sovereignty, Ikhlās came to Ahmadnagar to support Moti He was defeated and fled to Pattan[5] When the victorious troops joined[6] together, Manju took Ahmad and proceeded with some money and elephants to Bijāpur He was nearly

[1] Cand in text

[2] There is the variant *rāī*, instead of *rāhī*, and perhaps the meaning is he assumed a distant manner '

[3] Elliot VI 93 makes Sadiq the one who rarely went to the *darbār*, but the text, as pointed, makes the statement refer to Shahbaz and this seems right Sadiq belonged to the *darbār*, being Murad s guardian and Shahbaz came from Malwa The Iqbālnāma says it was Shahbaz who kept away The Iqbālnāma calls Sadiq the make bate who stirred up Murad against the K K and says that the first day the latter was not allowed to pay his respects, and that next day the prince received him "with a thousand frowns '

[4] Firishta lays the blame of this on Shahbaz Text has *rezah sipāhi*, but probably this is a misreading

[5] On the Godavery

[6] Text, *ba ikbar*, as if it were a place but probably it only means "gathering together '

being made prisoner, but escaped owing to the neglect of the generals The siege of the fort, which from that day commenced, became a tedious affair Cānd Bibi, who was afraid of the fort's being taken, resolved, on hearing of the news (of the dissensions?), upon resisting On the 9th Shāh 'Ali and Abhang K with a large body of men made a night attack on the Khan Khanan's entrenchments There was a great fight, and many of the enemy were killed They returned to the fort, unsuccessful If the success had been a little prosecuted, they would have been taken, or active men would have entered the fort along with them Things became difficult on account of the dissensions in the army, the closing of the roads, and the want of food Though ingenious and right thinking persons represented that three great armies had assembled, and that each 700 should take upon itself one of three things 1st, to take the fort, 2nd, *to conquer the country, 3rd, to guard the roads, not one was done* On the 13th a party of scoundrels did injury to the camp and the animals, but retreated without accomplishing their object Saiyid[1] Rajah and several of his brethren died bravely and H M left his fief to his sons On the 16th Sa'adat K[2] plundered a Gujarat caravan which had almost arrived and Saiyid 'Ālam and some others were killed Shaikh M'aruf and a party moved quickly and made their escape, and Sadiq K took Rajah 'Ali K and others with him and set about chastising him (i e Sa'adat K), but was not successful He only made himself and the ruler of Khāndesh too trivial The thread of proper appreciation should not be cast aside and a tiger should not be sent to fight a jackal On the 19th Sher Khwāja, Sh Daulat, Kāmran Beg, Daulat K and some other brave men were sent to Pattan After a severe engagement they defeated Ikhlās K, and obtained much plunder As there was no leader to stop oppression, *the inhabitants of Pattan—who held writings guarding their* quarters—were plundered to the uttermost,[3] and high and low

---

[1] The Iqbalnama says he went out on a foraging expedition He belonged to the Sayyids of Barha See B 452

[2] Sa'adat K is probably the person mentioned in B 478 and note, who afterwards entered Akbar's service Shaikh Ma'arūf may be the Sadr of Bhakkar (B 471) He was in the caravan, and fought his way out

[3] Cf Firishta who says the inhabitants men and women were stripped naked

were terrified by seeing the bad faith On the 11th Isfandarmaz (21 February, 1596), the wall of the fort was somewhat broken In the prince's entrenchment the foundations of the fort were made empty by extensive excavations These were filled with gunpowder and set on fire Thirty yards of wall were thrown down Active men were ready to enter, but as the mine in Sādiq's battery had been discovered,[1] and emptied, the besiegers delayed till it should explode, being apprehensive that what had happened at Chitor might occur So long did they delay that the garrison replaced the wall Next[2] day some brave men ran to that quarter but gained nothing except their own loss The end of the day shone upon failure, and the darkness of the night prevented success The garrison who—seeing the dissensions among the besiegers—had recovered their courage, became somewhat bewildered and proposed a peace They represented that they would take Bahadur Burhan's grandson out of prison and give this child the title of Nizam ul mulki and would make him a servant of the sublime court that the territory of Ahmadnagar should be made his fief, and that as a thankoffering the country of Berār would be made over to the victorious army and that jewels, choice elephants, and other varieties, would be given as presents A party of men, owing to ignorance, and some, from interested motives, accepted these improper proposals Though able men represented the want of food, the dismay and the trickery of the garrison, it was of no avail Owing to the influence of bribes, and the listening to idle tales, the peace proposals were accepted on 13 Isfandārmaz (23 February, 1596), and fighting was laid[3] aside

701 On the 15th the lunar weighment of H M took place and there was a great feast The holy frame was weighed against eight articles, and the wishful had their desires gratified

---

[1] Firishta says a Persian in the Moghul army gave information of the mine to the garrison and so they destroyed it without the besiegers knowing that this had been done

[2] *Digar roz*

[3] Khāfī K's account of the siege is unusually detailed and he does justice to the heroism of Chand Bībī

CHAPTER CXXVI

BEGINNING OF THE 41ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR AMARDĀD OF THE FOURTH CYCLE

On Wednesday 20th Rajab, 1004 (11th March, 1596), after 9 hours, 22 minutes the world warming sun shed his rays upon Aries The world received glory, and the fifth year of the fourth cycle began and conveyed the news of splendour to the world Up to the day of culmination there were grand banquets, and the period of prosperity became more active

Verse

Joy once more came into movement,
Princely delights abounded,
Pearls and rubies cast such lustre
That ocean and mine became mingled

Zain K Koka and Sādiq K were raised to the rank of Panjhazari, Shāh Quli Mahram was made a Cār hazari (4000), and many received the reward of good service On the 26th a blind[1] man came to court and astonished great and small In consequence of much study he talked quietly about things and discussed on every subject without exception Some simple-minded persons thought it was jugglery, and some thought he was helped by a *jinn* On the 28th H M went to the gardens, and enjoyed himself with the new beauties of the Dilamez and Rambari pleasure-grounds

---

[1] The text is not quite intelligible to me Chalmers translates At this time also a blind man appeared at the court who undertook to tell all things that should be asked of him The author of the Iqbālnama refers to the incident and says he saw the man but the precise nature of the marvel is left by him obscure The text has *ba dū dast-u baghal sakhan saraide* Lit He spoke with two hands and with his armpit ' The Iqbalnama has placing his hands under his armpit According to Vullers this is a phrase for standing quietly and not moving

CHAPTER CXXVII

Increase of the Shahinshah's Dominion

Inasmuch as H M regards the issue of every event to be dependent on supplication to God, the degree of eternal dominion continually increases, and the strifemongers and the rebellious sit down in the black day of failure, and evil minded descend into the pit of shame Accordingly, at this time, of untimely disturbance, dissension and disgust of the army of the Deccan, and of the success of the foe, the country of Berār was conquered, and the wicked were put to silence As the story of the peace was credited, they for a time looked to the fulfilment of the engagements, but before talk had become action, they (the imperial armies), on 10 Farwardīn (20th March, 1596), on a false report about the army of Bījāpur,
72 and from the destructive action of some of the leaders, retired from the investment of Aḥmadnagar[1] Vagabonds followed them, and, stage by stage, laid hold of the baggage On account of the dissensions there was no remedy for these things. On 14 Ardibihisht they reached the town of Mahkar[2] in Berār By great good fortune the enemy had left the territory, and a council was held about keeping it Many thought that to guard it was beyond their power Sādiq, under a happy star, took upon himself the guarding of the marches, and Mir Murtaza became security for the cultivation of the country At first he (Murtaẓa) made his residence in that city—which adjoins the territory of Ahmadnagar M 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī, Sh Daulat, Sh Mir Mozaffar, Muhammad K Sh Sikandar, and many servants joined him, while others went to Ilchpūr —which is the capital of Berār Hasan K of Miana, Abū l fath, Qalb 'Alī, 'Abdu r rahman Beg and other servants were appointed to assist

One of the occurrences was the coming of the victorious troops

---

[1] An obscure clause beginning u lakhte badan su is left untranslated

[2] Bhakkar in text but the variant Mahkar is right see J II 237

to Tirāh. When Qāsim K. was killed, the Tārīkīs rebelled and the Khaibar route became unsafe. Qulij K. went off to administer Zābulistān (Afghanistan) and to punish them Mubārak K, Jalāl K, Sher K., Naṣr K, Mir 'Abdu-r-razzāq Mu'mari and many others followed him When he had settled Kābul he proceeded towards Tirāh. He crossed difficult passes from Bārārak and approached that country The Afridi leaders renewed their promises of loyalty, and on the allegation that their cultivation would be destroyed by the imperial troops, he (Qulij), out of his simplicity, went to Begrām He wished to enter the country (of Tirāh) by the Ilam[1] pass, but on account of the difficulty of the ravine he could not do so. From there he proceeded to Kohat, thinking that he would attain his object in that way The difficulty of the route kept him back, and he thought of going by Bangash He came to Kharmāba. There was a slight engagement, and after being victorious, he laid the foundation of a fort The Tārīkīs erected a stockade (shākh-band) and prepared for battle Owing to the wondrous fortune (of H M) the inhabitants pointed out a secret path The general left Mubārik K, Shāh Muḥammad, M 'Ali Islāmābādi and others there and went on rapidly by this route During the whole night and till midday horse and foot traversed difficult passes and arrived in the country. When Jalāla became aware of this, he exerted himself to close the road, but could not come up He failed and without a struggle retired to difficult defiles. The army destroyed the stockade and passed by this route with the baggage On account of the insecurity of the routes, and the deficiency of provisions the victorious troops were put to trouble Takhta Beg, Mir 'Abdu-r razzāq Mu'- 703
mari and other heroes were sent to Begram to bring provisions On 3rd Khurdād, Āhanposh—which is a central and strong place in Tirah —was made the site of the camp As there was delay in the coming of the persons who had been sent, return was made to Kabul This going from side to side and this returning were not approved of by H M On the 20th it was reported to H M that Mathurā Dās[2] Qūrbegī had died Honesty and valour had brightened his forehead,

[1] *Ilam gazr* perhaps the Ailum of Elphinstone I 129 Or it may be a ferry on the Kabul river as Shah Alam is another name for that river

[2] B 523 He was a Khatri

when the misconduct of the army of the Deccan became known, an order of censure had been issued and instructions given, Mathurā Das was sent by relays of horses, and many verbal messages were entrusted to him Near Mulkāpur robbers attacked his baggage He engaged with them, when the robbers dispersed, he attacked them on foot, and was killed by a spear One day before this, at the time of eating, when a shoulder blade was brought before H M, he said "The bone shows that one of our favourites has been killed" Next morning, a new proof was given of his knowledge of hidden things At this time Shahpur became founded When Prince Sultan Murād's mind was relieved somewhat of the guarding of Berar he, together with M Shāhrukh, the Khan khanan, Rājah Ali K, Shahbaz K, Jagannath, Rai Durga and other officers made an expedition to the centre of the territory He established himself on the 25th[1] six *kos* from Balāpur In a short time a choice city was constructed and it became known to the world by that name (Shahpur) At this time a wicked man who had given himself out as Burhan was executed When his fraud was discovered, the landowners put him into prison When he showed signs of repentance he was released by H M, and treated with favour The base fellow took to the same crooked courses and fled The landowners in the northern hills seized him and he met with his deserts

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to Turān In the year when H M came to the bank of the Indus and an order was given for levelling the Khaibar road a great commotion arose in Turan, and 'Abdullah K wisely sent Mir Qoresh with a supplicatory letter and presents and made promises of peace and friendship The gracious sovereign received these, and by sending Hakim Hamam delivered him from his consternation When Ahmad 'Ali Atāliq and Mulla Husaini, who came, one after the other, with conciliatory letters, died of sickness, the Tūrānians again became uneasy On the 26th Khwaja Ashraf Naqshbandī was sent
704 with choice presents and Sh Husaini of Lucknow was appointed as custodian (*tahwildari*) and a friendly letter was written It is here given without addition or diminution

[1] Eight miles south of Balāpur | Balāp [illegible]

CHAPTER CXXVIII

Letter[1] of the Shahinshah to 'Abdullah K Uzbeg the King of Turan

Boundless thanksgivings are due to the Initiator who, by the marvels of His eternal power, has by so many glorious sciences, that is, the categories of His Wisdom, brought forth the varied universe from the privy chamber of secrecy to the Court of manifestation, and has subdued, disciplined, and soothed the tribes of mankind and bestowed on them unity[2] of sentiment, at one time, by spiritual rulers, that is, the holy spirits of prophets and of our great apostles—upon whom be peace—and at another, has by the dread power of temporal monarchs, who are the princely pillars of the courts of His Majesty, given them the adornment of external unity Therefore, let worlds of blessings be given to the spirits of the caravan-leaders on the highway of purpose who have conveyed spiritual travellers and worldly pilgrims from the desert of misery and the wilderness of contrariety to the metropolis of right direction and friendship, and have then departed to the privy chamber of eternity And may universes of sublime aids and celestial succours attend those great men who preserve the present time from the disturbance of strife and the accidents of fortune and expend all their lofty genius in keeping the whole of mankind, whether home or foreign, in peace and tranquillity, and in improving this evil dwelling place (the world)

At the time of enjoyment when the season was auspicious and our heart glad and we were in the pleasant country of Kabul, we read with delight those choice pages of friendship, which were

---

[1] This letter is the first in the letters (Insha) of A. F. though in point of time it is not the first letter to Abdullah K The letter also appears in Gladwin's Classic Selections I Calcutta 1828

[2] *Wahdat i rah* The word *wahdat* is used both to express Unity and Unitarianism

the masterpiece of the pinacothek of concord, (Here follows a string of compliments about 'Abdullah's letter and his expression of amity They occupy about seven lines)

705 What you have written with a pen perfumed with brotherhood on the subject of our mutually exerting ourselves to strengthen the foundations of Peace and to purify the fountains of concord, and of making this Hindu[1] Koh the boundary between us, has most fully commended itself to us Clearly, there is no nobler thing in the outward universe and social state than Love and Harmony, for the due ordering of the classes of human beings is linked and bound up therewith Whenever this idea is manifested in the ranks of sovereigns—who are pillars of the courts of Majesty—it shall assuredly be fruitful of blessings, and procreant of beauties here and hereafter By it thousands of souls and tribes shall take their rest in the cradles of safety! It[2] would have been fitting for us to begin the exposition of the ways of peace, and the demonstration of the rights of friendship seeing that since the commencement of the unfolding of the morning of auspiciousness the whole of our righteous practice has been—contrary to the ways of most of former rulers —to follow the path of amity and association with the various nations of mankind As[3] your Highness has entered upon this subject, it

---

[1] According to Bayazid Biyat (I O MS 216 p 59*a*) Akbar changed the name of these mountains from Hindu kush to Hindu Koh in 994 (1586) but it would appear from this letter that Abdullah used the term in his letter and it is not likely that he would borrow it from Akbar

[2] I am indebted to the commentator whose notes are given in the Newal Kishor edition of the Insha for an explanation of this passage Evidently 'Abdullah K had read Akbar a lecture about friendship and pacific dispositions and Akbar replies by hinting that such remarks were unnecessary as he had always been peaceful The remarks therefore should rather have emanated from him (Akbar)

[3] I am not sure if I have understood this sentence But I think that the recurrence of the word *bādi* seems to show that the clause refers to Abdullah I should have begun the subject but as you have done so, then I beg to draw your attention to the following acts of mine The pronoun *mā* 'our in the tenth line does not occur in the I O MSS or in the Lucknow ed and is, I think, wrong The Lucknow commentator says *wādi* in the phrase *bādē īn wādi* refers to the path of peace and it may be that it refers to this as well as to the subject of

is proper that at this time you should give your attention to instances of such conduct. For example, when at this time the ruler of Īrān, relying upon former ties, sent Yādgār Sulṭān Shāmlū to us and asked for help, we did not consent. Also, when Shāhrukh M. petitioned that he might have a fief in Kābul, or Kashmīr, or Sawād, Bajaur and Tīrāh—which are cold [1] countries—we did not grant his request, having taken into consideration the proximity (of 'Abdullah), but gave him a fief in the province of Mālwa. Also we summoned the Mīrzās of Qandahār to court and committed the charge of that country—which belonged from of old to the imperial territories—to old servants of ours, lest the Tūrān troops should attack that quarter under the idea that it appertained to Persia, and also [2] that there might be a great commingling of your territories and ours. Also a wicked vagabond raised the head of disturbance in the hill-country of Badakhshān and claimed to be the son of Shāhrukh M. and was joined by the landholders there. Though he sent petitions and asked for help, we did not attend to him, and at last he became a vagabond in the desert of ruin.

As the keeping of one's word is indispensable to a great mind, we desired that when proposals of peace had once been made, they should be carried into effect. In fact, if the cordial expressions conveyed by messengers and letters be acted upon, what could be better? Or let a place be fixed and let us there have a feast of concord, and let us there discuss, without the intervention of any go-between, matters of religion and state, and things temporal and spiritual! It has come to our hearing that a number of fly like creatures have made our being in the Panjāb their text and have spoken things contrary to the foundations of friendship. Alas, that things which never entered into our minds, should have been mentioned! or that actions should be contrary to one's avowals!

'Abdullāh's remarks I have taken *ān wālā qadr* to mean 'Abdullāh, but possibly it refers to the princes of past times who trod the path of peace. I.O. MS. 236 has *bāshand* and I.O. MS. 275 has *bāshad*, and lower down Akbar refers to 'Abdullah as '*ān wālā shaukat*.'

[1] This is put in because naturally Shāhrukh would have preferred a cold country.

[2] The word *nīz* occurs in the MSS. though not in the text. Possibly the word *khallat* has to be taken here in the sense of confusion.

Although the climate and the hunting in this country are agreeable to us, we have determined [1] to proceed to Agra the capital, in order that the mouths of praters may be closed What you have written about there being a cloud on your heart with reference to the matter of Shāhrukh M is a thing which gives rise to medication, for if in the souls of great rulers who are the contemplators of divine lights, and the exponents of the ways of purity, the dust of rivalry settle, what can be the case with other classes of mankind? Especially when the cause of them is his (Shāhrukh's) youth and ignorance Why should these not be obliterated by the waters of pardon? He by his self will had committed faults against our family, and in retribution therefor became a bewildered one in the desert of exile When he took refuge with us, and signs of repentance were visible on his forehead we passed over (his offences) As to what you have hinted, seeing that the coming of Shahrukh M and the sons of Muhammad Hakim to our court are merely instances of our love for the noble family, why should you regard their approach in this light? What, on account of love and friendship, you have detailed about your victories has pleased us for we have considered these successes as the result of your good qualities As to what you have written in the letter brought by Maulānā Husaini to the effect that your son in consequence of tender years had made improper requests, and about your being vexed at this lest it should cast dust on the skirt of our friendship, and with reference to your lengthy apologising on his account—the courier was drowned on the way before his arrival and so the purport of the letter did not become known We were sorry for the catastrophe The ties of ancient relationship and the associations of renewed love are not such that, if it be granted that something should occur, any dust of vexation should settle on the skirt of friendship Children are sportive with their real fathers, especially with your Majesty, if they behave in the same way to those who stand towards them in a similar relation, what marvel is it? Auspicious children who make the pleasing of their father their object, exert themselves to preserve the relationship The glorious compacts and agreements—which

---

1 Akbar did not abandon Lahore for Agra till the 43rd year of his reign and after 'Abdullāh's death

have been ratified by skilful ambassadors, one after the other, are fixed in our mind In the code of Islām and the rules of generosity one-hundredth part of them would be sufficient for making permanent the pillars of friendship and concord, and still more in the case of the liberal and the choosers of truth What you have written about certain expeditions having been postponed till the arrival 707
of Ahmad 'Alī Atālıq has been understood You will have heard of his death which occurred after we had given him leave to return He was intelligent and active minded If he had returned to you, you would have heard from him many secrets of affection May every desire of your heart be accomplished! Every assistance that is due from friendship shall be shown (by us), so that praiseworthy endeavours may be manifested

God be praised that from the beginning of our ascending the throne of rule till now, which is the tenth year of the second[1] cycle, and is the dawning of the morning of fortune, and the opening smile of the spring of dominion and glory, the whole righteous aim of this suppliant at the Divine court has been to disregard his own interests, and to work always for the healing and ordering of mankind By the blessing of God, the vast territory of Hindustan,[2]

* * * * * * *

When Maulānā Ḥusaini presented himself, an order was given to the officers to allow him to depart quickly Meanwhile some ill fated wretches in Kashmir began strife and sedition (*fitna u fasad*) and contended against God given dominion The army 710
of fortune assembled, together with a number of courtiers, under the guise of hunting, when the eyes of instruction of the beholders of the Divine power were opened, and the report of the disturbances was heard In spite of the violence of the rains, we hastened thither, and before the holy warriors had passed through the defiles,

---

[1] *Qaran* Here it means a period of thirty years the letter having been written shortly after the completion of the fortieth year The reference to the dawning of the morning of fortune etc seems to be to the circumstance that the letter was written in the early spring

[2] 'Abdullāh's letter is very long As it has already been published (in part) in Mrs Beveridge's translation of the *Life of Akbar* (Vol II, page 227), the reader is referred to that book from page 228 line 6 to page 231

some right-thinking persons who, out of necessity, had become involved in the tempest of indiscretion, obtained their opportunity and brought the head of their leader As the army had nearly arrived, we went on to that autumnless garden, and tasted spiritual and temporal abundance in that bounteous rose garden The dis patch of the ambassador was delayed, and when the royal army returned, news was received by the way of the catastrophe of Maulânâ Husainî, who had passed away owing to a stomach attack This was a cause of much sorrow Accordingly, we sent some loving words by means of that high officer Khwâja Ashraf,[1] who is an old servant of our family, in order that he might show the matter to your Highness, and also confirm the friendly ties which are based on correspondence We hope that tidings of love and unity may ever refresh the garden of the heart The end

On the 30th[2] the privy chamber of wisdom was illuminated by a ray from the Shâhinshâh s glory and some special intimates received joy Suddenly there arose the noise of a marriage and H M ordered that the music should be stopped, as a foreign sound did not suit the banquet of enlightenment The spectators re ceived collyrium on beholding his mildness, farsight fewness of words, and acceptance of remark

At this time the Prince Royal became violently enamoured of the daughter of Zain K Koka, and meditated marrying[3] her H M was displeased at the impropriety, but when he saw that his heart was immoderately affected, he, of necessity, gave his consent There was a great feast, and a new law for joy

Verse

They set up a spacious tent.
They made the ground a star spangled heaven
On all sides they put screens round the courtyard
They gave to the curtain new moonlight

---

[1] Son of Khwâjah 'Abd ul bârî B 512

[2] This is a rather mysterious para graph and there are different read ings Instead of *khilwat kada i-danish* I O MS 236 has *khilwat kada-i-uns* the privy-chamber of friendship and instead of *farmūdabudand* it has *farmūdand*

[3] It would seem from B 345 that

On the eve of 8 Tīr (18 June, 1596) the nuptials were celebrated in the dwelling of Miriam Makānī, and the jewel of chastity was conveyed to the harem.

One of the occurrences was the capture of the fort of Busna. 7 Owing to the neglect of the custodians it had again fallen into the hands of the Afghans, and become a source of increased presumption. Rajah Mān Singh sent a chosen force thither under the charge of Durjan Singh. Sulaimān and Kedar[1] Rai strengthened the fort and set themselves to fight. The victorious troops invested the fort, and every day there were great combats. On the 10th (Tīr) a gun burst inside the fort, and Sulaimān and many others were killed. Kedār was wounded, and fell. As he was helpless, he fled and took shelter with 'Isā.

On this day Bikramājīt the grandson of Rajah Rām Cand was exalted by doing homage. When his father died, wicked men made this youth the instrument of their own ends, and thinking that they would be sheltered at Bāndhū,[2] set about evil schemes. When Rai Patr Dās was sent, he by ability and courage took possession of much territory. The garrison craftily asked that one of the great men of the court should take them by the hand and bring them to court. H.M. consented and by his orders Ism'aīl Qulī K. brought them, and they received suitable favours.

One of the occurrences was the victory of the army of the Deccan. When Sādiq K. took up his quarters in Mahkar, and Berār recovered somewhat from its distracted state, Azhdar K., 'Ain K., Ḥabib K. and other Deccarīs rose up to make a disturbance. A chosen force under the command of M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī went to put matters right. On the 12th he suddenly fell upon 'Ain K.'s camp and inflicted chastisement. He escaped with a few companions in a bewildered state, and much plunder was obtained. Some unquiet spirits came by a secret path upon them, but were

---

Akbar objected to the marriage, because the Prince was already married to Zain K.'s niece. Akbar objected to marriages between near relations. It appears from Saiyid Aḥmad's Aṣār Ṣanādīd, p. 48 of Lucknow ed. of 1895, that the lady was known by the name of Khās Maḥal, and that she was alive in Shāh Jahan's reign in 1042, 1632-33.

[1] Text Kedā.

[2] B. 407, etc.

defeated after a short struggle Dancing[1] and singing women elephants, etc, were obtained On the 16th Tolak K died in Bengal He was an old servant On the 20th S'aid K was sent off to Behar after receiving many instructive advices On the eve of the 22nd there was a feast of reason Suddenly there were clouds and it came on to rain H M said, " Be gentle, O rain, and do not cause the dispersion of this spiritual banquet Soon the air became clear, and there was wonderful stillness Everywhere else it rained heavily, but it kept away from the palace

At this time H M had compassion on the simplicity of M Mozaffar Ḥusain Qandahāri He from self indulgence and carelessness left his work to greedy oppressors Several times the tenants of his fiefs and some traders came to obtain redress Ad
12 vice had no effect on him. He got disgusted with daily administration and begged permission to go to the Hijāz It was granted, and after some time he repented and sate down in bewilderment On the 24th H M recognised his dignity and recalled him and granted him new favours On the 27th M Koka produced a plank to H M and said that at the time of splitting it a green animal came out from the middle of it Shortly afterwards it died In order that it might show how it was he had put it back again H M said, when things come to life in an elephant's tusks, and on stones, what is wonderful in their doing so in a plank which is somewhat softer, but men are astonished at nothing except what they seldom see On the 31st M Rustum was sent to the northern hills As Bāsu and some landholders had wickedly raised the head of disobedience, the Mirzā was given Pathān (Pathānkot) and its neighbourhood in fief and sent off there Āṣaf K, Hāshim Beg and many others went to help him On the 11th Amardād Rām Cand was sent to Berār When the misbehaviour of the soldiers of the south was represented to H M, and it also appeared that Shahbāz K. with the Mālwa army had gone off to his fief without the Prince's permission and that one lakh of *muhars* which had been sent for the equipment of the army had remained in Gwaliyar on

---

[1] The text has *ramān* but it should be *sanān* The words are *ramān akhāra* For akhara see J III 258 The word means a palaestra or theatre The Iqbālnāma has ' singing and playing girls

account of the insecurity of the roads, that good servant was sent off in order to convey the treasure under a proper guard, and also to recall the Mâlwa troops, and to give them counsels At this rainy season, high and low were disquieted by the small amount of rain On the 12th rain fell at the intercession of H M and withered hearts were refreshed On this day Muhammad Beg and his son Ṭâhir Beg arrived from Persia, and had an audience They claimed to be descended from the oet Khwaja Shamsu d din Muhammad (Hâfiẓ) They also knew something about divii ation (*jafar*) H M thought of the expedition to the Deccan and asked (them ?) for an augury

This verse came out

Verse

March march, march away
March for you ll be victorious

One [1] of the occurrences was the mishap of an accident to the holy personality By the divine protection it ended well On the night of the 18th (Amardâd, 28th July, 1596) H M had a deer-fight Men looked on from a distance [2] Suddenly a deer ran and butted him with his horns That athlete seized the horns, and though he fell, he did not relinquish his hold One of the testicles was lacerated, and blood flowed That strong souled one did not regard it but continued to attend to the work of government On the 7th day the injury [3] became serious, and the swelling increased On

---

[1] See about deer fights B 218 The Iqbâlnâma puts the occurrence into the 40th year and says it occurred on a moonlight night Cf B 221 and 212 about nocturnal combats The special night for such sport was the 14th of the Muhammadan month i.e the full moon night, and the 18th Amardad 1596 corresponded to about the m ddle of Ẕi l hajjah 1004 Fa zl Sirhindî Elliot VI 131 says the occurrence was on 15 Ẕi l-q ada This was 1004 and corresponds to 1 July 1596 Faizî (Elliot VI. 131) seems to put the occurrence into the 39th year 1002, but this is an error as is also the use of the words stag I unt In the original Fa zi speaks of a deer fight The word night *shab* does i ot occur on the text but it is in the B M MS 27 247 and in the I O MS 236 and so I have in serted it espec ally as it is supported by the statement in the Iqbalnama

[2] *Az dur nazzaragi* But perhaps it should be *az daur* and the meaning be that the spectators sate round in a c rcle

[3] Text *asib i aftaba* *Âftaba* means a water bottle and surely can have no applicat on here On referr ng to B M MS 27 247 and to I O

account of the diversity of opinion among the physicians, the treatment was not decided upon, and the pain momentarily increased After much discussion the case was left to Ḥakīm Miṣrī and Ḥakīm ʻAli. The application of the medicine was left to the writer of the
13 book of fortune Shaikh Bīnā[1] and Shaikh Hansū his son did good service in putting on the plasters and in opening and tying the bandages Though the illness lasted one month[2] and twenty-two days, yet there were twenty nine days which passed with difficulty Though out of prudence he every day held public audiences, there arose great commotion, and the market of strifemongers and busy bodies became brisk High and low were in a state of consternation For seven days he did not go to the privy, and small and great became still more discomposed On the eleventh day leeches were applied, and there were signs of improvement On 24th Shahriyūr M Yūsuf K arrived from Jaunpur, and was exalted by royal favours On this day Fath Ullah the sharbatdar (butler) was sent to the Deccan, and 500 Ahadis went with him On 7th Mihr the holy form bathed, and there was a great festival

Verse

There was a feast such as
The young had not beheld in dreams
'Twas not a feast, but a picture of sky and stars—
An assemblage of the beauties of the seven worlds

There were various forms of liberality and the world had new joy Many prisoners were released, and ancient desires were gratified The attainment of desires increased the thankfulness of every one Misfortune did not cause him to abandon graciousness, and he civilised the world by justice and liberality, and took into

---

MS 236 it appears to me that the true reading is *āfatā* or *āfatāna* and that the *ba* if there be such a letter belongs to the word *rasid* *Āfat* is an Arabic word meaning a calamity, and *āfatāna* might be formed from it Or the word may be *uftā* falling or occurring Possibly however *āftāba* is A F s euphemism for the urethra

[1] B 543 The Iqbālnāma calls him S Bihīnāi (?) and refers to Hansur s afterwards receiving the title of Muqarrab K See B 543, and Tūzuk J 12, etc.

[2] That is, from 18 Amardad to 7 Mihr on which day Akbar bathed, this being always considered by the orientals as the day of recovery

consideration the happiness of every one Such an inquiry cannot be considered as a retribution, nor as a message of warning, though this may not appear so wonderful to those who believe that after the body has decayed, the soul assumes fresh forms As the changes in the method of Divine Government are not understood by every farseeing one—what can be the case with the superficial?— the searchings of heart diminished somewhat Apparently (the cause of the accident) was to increase men's devotion and love The illness disconcerted small and great, and they wished to give their lives and property in exchange for the world's lord

On the 15th Qāzi Nur Ullah was sent to make inquiries into the tenures (*sayurghal*)[1] of the province of Agra, and an order was given that new land should be given to the necessitous On the 26th H M mounted on horseback and gathered delight in Bāgh Dilāwez He spent the night with pleasure in the Deer house At the end of that day the great lady of the family of chastity, the mother of Prince Sultān Daniel, died Next day an old servant of the harem of fortune died H M after making his supplications to God adopted resignation, and begged forgiveness for them On the 28th he returned to his palace On this day the wife of the Prince Royal, who was the daughter of the ruler of Khāndes, died

One of the occurrences was the failure of 'Īsāk When Rajah **714**
Mān Singh took up his quarters in Ghorāghāt after the commencement of the rains he fell very ill, and experienced physicians began to despair of his life 'Isā and M asum K Kābuli and other scoundrels came out to fight They had come to within twelve *kos*, and the imperialists were prepared to give battle By the wondrous working of fortune there was little rain and the river fell With a great deal of difficulty they got away and had much trouble in moving their boats When the Rajah got well, he sent a choice army under Himmat Singh to punish them The scoundrels got away from the interior of the country and came to Kīnārā Sindur, and there rested When the victorious troops approached, some in their confusion lost their lives, and much plunder was taken

In this year[2] kitchens were established in every city There

---

[1] Rent-free B 268

[2] Cf Elliot VI 94 The word rice is used there but the word is not *birinj* but *ba-ranj*, The

was a deficiency of rain this year, and high prices threw a world into distress In the beginning of the year a comet (zūzūaba) appeared, and astrologers predicted that there would be dryness and scarcity The gracious sovereign appointed able men to every place to give food duly to the necessitous Petitioners constantly came before H M, and had their desires gratified Similarly numbers of beggars were made over to rich people (khwastadaran) (?)

On 2 Ābān the solar weighment took place and H M was weighed against twelve articles Numbers of men had their desires gratified On the 10th, which was a feast day, a Turānī farāsh (carpet sweeper, etc) lifted up (barkashid) two camels with their loads and astonished the spectators On this day Shaham came from his fief and was exalted by royal favours

The idea was that Rustum M should be sent to guard Gujarat and that Shāham should accompany him as guardian (ataliq) so that Prince Murād might gather enjoyment by the royal favour, and the near neighbourhood of his son (Rustum) But the idea was not carried out At this time saffron flowered in Begrām [1] H M recognized that that country was suitable for this crop, and sent seeds to Takhta Beg On the 11th he learnt that they had sprouted and bloomed On this day M Yusuf obtained leave to go to Gujarat He obtained a fief in that quarter and was sent there in order that he might assist the army of the Deccan

---

famine seems to have been a very severe one and to have even led to cannibalism See Elliot id 193 The extract there given speaks of its lasting 3 or 4 years The Iqbal nāma, writing of the 40th year says it lasted for six months and that many persons died of hunger It certainly lasted longer than that in some places for it was very bad in Kashmir in 1597 when Xavier and Benedict Goes visited that country along with Akbar in the summer

[1] Near Kabul For Takhta Beg see B 469

CHAPTER CXXIX.

Ṣādiq K. is victorious with the help of the Shāhinshāh's fortune.

When M. 'Alī Beg Akbar Shāhī prevailed, the Niẓāmu-l-Mulkīyān made in revenge a new plan (paimān) Khudāwand K., Hamīd K., 'Abdu-l-fattāḥ, Aẓhdar K., Jamāl K., Dastūr K., and others collected 10,000 men and nearly eighty elephants, and re- 715
solved upon battle Though the imperial troops did not amount to 3000, yet, on the encouraging words of their general, they set their hearts on fighting In the centre were Ṣādiq K., Sanwal Dās, Muhammad Jān Beg, Maulānā Mahmūdī, and other brave men. In the right wing were M Khān, Saiyid Bāyazīd, 'Izzat K., Malik Rādhan and others Shāh Qulī and Ṭāhir Aurganjī were on the flank, and on the left wing were I'tibār and others In the vanguard were M 'Alī Beg, Dost (s Ṣādiq) and others. Mīr Husainī and others were the archers (uqcigarī)[1] They prepared for battle, 40 *kos* from Mahkar, and halted 8 *kos* from Pāthrī on the bank of the Bān[2] Ganga. Having that river in front, and a stream behind, they had a strong position for their camp On 7 Āzar, 17 November, 1596, they drew up their forces and set their hearts on fighting First, Khudāwand K with 5,000 horse and 40 elephants fought in the van M. 'Alī Beg displayed masterpieces of battle with a few men, and defeated them Dost,[3] and Saiyid Lād and Hasan[4] showed valour and fell wounded The right wing[5] on account of

---

[1] Though this word properly means archery, it probably here stands for skirmishers See Irvine's A of M 226 and 91 See also Timur's Institutes, p 389

[2] That is, the Godavery But there is also a tributary of the Godavery known as Penganga

[3] Ṣādiq's son, says the Iqbālnāma See B 357

[4] Text Aḥsan I follow the Iqbālnāma

[5] The Iqbālnāma seems to make it the enemy's right wing that fled, but this does not seem to be correct

the numbers of foe turned back without fighting Sādiq K was keeping the stream in front of him, and observing the jugglery of the heavens A large body of the enemy attacked him He stood firm and used guns and muskets By the Divine aid victory showed her countenance Many of the wicked (enemy) were killed, and much plunder was obtained Among this were forty chosen elephants Of the victorious army none were killed except some obscure men

On the 18th Qulij K came to court He came to make his excuses as he had not managed well in Tīrāh, and H M had not approved of him On the 23rd Husain Beg S 'Umrī was sent off to Bangash, and the development of that country and the punishment of the Tārīkis were made over to him At this time a choice ship was made. On the first[1] occasion there had been much difficulty in launching on account of the deficiency of water It occurred to H M that it should be built on the top of a large boat which could carry 15,000 *mans* and more, and it was easily brought to the station It was begun on 24 Tīr and finished on the 28th Āzar Its length was 37 yards Rs 16,338 were spent on it It was safely conveyed to Bandar Lāhāri The spectators were astonished

On 5 Dai Māmā Aghā[2] died She was the widow of Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad K, and had led a good life As she was related to Miriam Makānī H M went in the morning to her (Miriam Makānī his mother) holy abode and administered consolation From hence he crossed the Rāvi and came to the Ahukhāna (Deer-Park) He intended to spend the night there He[3] hurt his hand somewhat, and returned to the city On the 11th he sent Shāham K back to Qanauj and gave him valuable instructions

One of the occurrences was the submission of Lacsmī[4] Narain

---

[1] I think this must refer to the ship that was previously built See *ante*.

[2] The Maaṣir calls her Bāba not Bābā as in B 333 Aghā I O MS 236 has Pāpā Aghā We know that Shihābu-d-dīn was related to Māham Anaga. Apparently he was her son in law and Māmā Aghā may have been her daughter

[3] Text *dast i mubārik* his blessed arm but the word *mubārik* does not occur in the MSS

[4] Cf Gait's Koc kings of Kāmarūpa J A S B for 1893 p 284 and Blochmann's contributions In the Āīn J II 117 it is said that the ruler of Kūc has 1 000 horse and 100 000 infantry

He was the ruler of Kuc (Bihar) It has 4,000 horse, 200,000 infantry, 700 elephants, and one thousand war boats It is a populous country its length is 200 *kos*, and its breadth 40 to 100 *kos* On the east is the river Brahmaputra, on the north is Lower Tibet and Assam, and on the south Ghoraghat On the west is Tirhut A hundred [1] years before this a pious woman was praying in the temple of Jalpesh [2]—which is dedicated to Mahadev—and prayed for a son who should become a ruler By God s help she became pregnant and bore a son He received the name of Bisa [3] and obtained the government of that country His grandson Mal Gosain possessed much enlightenment, and was adorned with excellent qualities By virtue of spiritual senses he got some idea of the greatness of H M and composed an address in praise of the Shahinshāh and sent it together with choice goods to the sacred court He always gathered auspiciousness by supplications (to Akbar) He lived in a disengaged manner, and refrained from marriage At fifty years of age he nominated his brother's son the Patkunwar as his successor His eldest [4] brother Shukl gosain expressed a wish that he (Māl Gosain) should marry, and the latter out of love to him consented He had a son to whom he gave the name of Lacmi Narain When he

---

[1] B M MSS 27247 and Or 1116 have 500 years, and the Lucknow ed has 151 The B M MSS also have a different reading after the word Jalpesh to the effect that Jalpesh or Jales is the same as Mahadeo in India.

[2] Jales in text See I G s v Jalpesh

[3] Bashnu in text The variant Bisū is preferable See the story in Ga t, l c 284 who writes the name as Bisū The Gaur Pasha referred to at pp 291 and 297 seems to be Isā K and not Dīnd

[4] So A F says but the local authorities say that Shukl gosain or Sukladhvaj was the younger brother and had the title of Sīrarāī A F s words might be taken to mean that it was Shukl gosain who married and had a son but probably this is not the meaning The Patkumar was Raghu Deva Perhaps we should read *babuzurg* and translate he showed to his elder brother a desire to marry and the latter consented. The B M MSS and the I O 236 call the son Lacmī Narain Māl Gosain seems to be another name for Narain With reference to the suggestion above about A F s meaning it should be observed that the words used are ' *Khwahish-i kankhudāī namud* and that these words are used at p 732 line eleven to mean that another person should do a thing e g Prince Salīm invit *khwāhish namūd* Ganga Bīsh visit Akbar

died, the kingdom came to him (Lacmī Narain). The Pātkunwar raised the head of rebellion, and by the help of 'Isā had some success At this time Lacmi Narain petitioned H.M. and through Rajah Man Singh requested that he might be associated with eternal dominion The Rajah (Man Singh) hastened from Salimnagar to Anandapur (?) Lacmi Narain received him at a distance of forty *kos* On 13 Dai they embraced on horseback [1] (?) and there was a banquet of friendship Afterwards the Rajah went to his quarters, thinking that he would then treat the chief with honour On the way he observed that the latter was distressed and so he dismissed him with respect After some time he (the chief) gave [2] his sister to the Rajah

717 The ruler of Kuc did not pay his respects to the Ḥākim (governor) of Bengal, and Sulaiman Kararānī proceeded to make war upon him, and returned after failure

At this time Multan was given in fief to the Khān A'ẓim As he wanted to make amends for his former misconduct (in going to Mecca) he asked to have a fief near the court His request was granted. On the 26th Rai Rai Singh was admitted to an audience One of his favourite servants practised [3] oppression H M called for an explanation That wicked one was for some time excluded from performing the *kornish* as he kept the matter concealed and reported that the servant had fled H M now remembered his former graciousness to him and sent him to the Deccan Sorath was included in his fief with the idea that he might awake from his somnolence and redeem his misconduct That slumbrous witted one remained some time in his home in Bikanir, and some time he spent on the road Though counsels were given to him, they were not effectual Salahu d din was sent to him to tell him that if he did not hasten to his employment, he should return to court He was obliged to come, and as he had no proper answer to give for his waywardness,

---

[1] *Suwāra* but B.M MS 27247 has *dar suwari* in an equipage and Or 1116 has *suwārī*

[2] The Vamsāvali says the Kuc Bihar chief gave his daughter to Akbar A F does not expressly say that the sister was given in marriage to Mān Singh, and would a Rājput marry a Koch?

[3] See B 358 where it is said that the servant complained of Rai Rai Singh The text, however, does not, I think, say this nor does the Maagar II 152

he was for some time not granted permission to appear at court. On this day his bewilderment was forgiven, and he was allowed to perform the *kornish*. The star of his fortune shone anew. On the 29th the rank of M. Shāhrukh was increased. A grant of land (tankhwāh) was made to him on the scale[1] of 5,000 personality and half that number of (extra) troopers. Ujjain and other choice places of Mālwa were taken from Shahbāz K. and included in Shah rukh's fief. And as he was with the army of the Deccan, Amīr Kalān Badakhshī was sent (to Mālwa) to restrain the agents of the former jāgīrdār (Shahbāz K.)

At this time each day of the week was assigned to a particular task. The sovereign always walked warily and kept an account (awāranawīsī) of his life. In accordance with the increase of business he every now and then made a fresh division. On 4 Bahman he fixed Sunday for the inspection of horses, Monday for the inspection of the camels, mules and bullocks. Tuesday for inspecting soldiers, Wednesday for the business of the Viziership, Thursday for dispensing justice, Friday for receiving the good, Saturday for the elephant-stables. The works mentioned were first performed and then others were done. On the 5th Rai Rai Singh was sent to the Deccan. Perhaps he would make amends for his misconduct and get fresh honour. On the 7th Ranā Kīkā[2] died. Apparently Umra, his wicked son, poisoned his food. He had also hurt himself in bending a stiff bow.

---

[1] See Irvine A. of M., pp. 5, 6, and B. 238. As Shahrukh's extra troopers were half the number of his *mansab* he belonged to the second class of the 5,000 division. The jagirs were taken away from Shahbāz as a punishment for misbehaviour at Aḥmadnagar.

[2] Text Khankar, but it really is the famous Rana Pratāp or Kīkā of Udaipur. Tod says nothing about Umra's poisoning his father, and the story is probably quite untrue. The Iqbalnama also refers to the story. It gives his name as Ranā Kīkā. Perhaps Khankar is Kahnkār 'the old Rana'.

CHAPTER CXXX.

VICTORY OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND DEFEAT OF THE DECCANIS

On account of the affair of Ahmadnagar and the dissensions[1] (among the imperialists), the Deccanis fell into evil thoughts. They did not open their eyes to daily-increasing fortune, and set their hearts upon fighting Prince Sultān Murād formed the idea of giving battle, but the officers were critical and did not agree to this A confidential meeting was held, and they sate down to consider how
718 things should be remedied M Shahrukh was chosen as the leader, and the Khān khānān obtained leave to command many brave men Treasure, elephants and artillery were also properly arranged for. They relied on the Divine aid and drew up in battle array. In the centre were M Shahrukh, the Khan khānān, M 'Alī Beg, S Daulat, I'tibār K, Wafādār K, Afzal Tulakcī Sher Afkan, Mīr Sharīf Gīlānī, Muhammad K, 'Alī K, Mīr Nizām, Qādir Qulīkoka, Islām K., Mīr Quṭb-ud-dīn, Mīr Muhammad Amīn Mandudī, Hazāra Beg, Mīr Tūfān, Mīrak Beg, 'Alī Qulī, Sā'id Guālīyārī and others (Here follow long lists of names)

With devout hearts and high courage they marched from Shāhpūr towards the enemy and chose Ashtī 12 *kos* from Pāthrī as the battle-field The enemy also arranged their forces and sought for battle The Nizāmu-l Mulk's soldiers were in the centre 'Ādil khānīān on the right wing, the Qutbu-l-mulk army on the left
719 wing On the 28th Bahman, 8 (?) February 1597, when a watch of the day had passed, they crossed the river Ganges (the Godavery) and set their hearts on battle The battle began with the Ūqlīs (archers ?) on the right wing, and Sher Khwāja performed wonders The enemy had taken up a strong position and stood firm They used their firearms and did not move Active men came out on every side and fought At the close of the day there was a great

[1] The *iẓāfat* in text after *shorush* is wrong

engagement, and brave men became intermingled. On account of the numbers of the enemy and their abundant firearms many lost the foot of courage. Jagannāth with some men, and Rai Durgā and Rāj Singh and other Rājpūt leaders, drew their rein and kept their ground. The 'Ādilkhāniāns attacked the ruler of Khandes. He stood firm and bravely fell. Thirty-five noted men, and 500 servants, gave up their lives in his company. M. Shāhrukh, the Khān-khānān and M. 'Alī Beg drove off the enemy in front of them and became spectators of the jugglery of fortune. Saiyid Qāsim and other warriors also prevailed over their opponents. The enemy thought that the ruler of Khāndes was in the centre and that his death involved the defeat of M Shahrukh and the Khān khānān. On that dark night the opposing forces separated and stood still. Both thought[1] they had won and mounted their horses Many who had fled out of fear returned The leaders of the army thought that Rajah 'Ali K. had joined the enemy, or had retired. On this account they plundered his quarters Dwārikā Dās in the vanguard, and Saiyid Jalal on the right wing, nobly played away their brief lives. Ram Cand, who had fought strenuously on that day, received twenty wounds in Rajah 'Ali K.'s army and lay on the ground On that night he was mingled with the elect On the morning he was lifted up and taken to a house[2] After some days he died In the morning, although the victorious army was 7,000 strong, and the enemy 25,000, they gave their minds to battle As the whole night they had suffered from thirst they hurried towards[3] the river. The

[1] It would be better sense if the meaning were both sides doubted if they were victorious, and perhaps the words of the original will bear this meaning

[2] Rām Chand was a Chohan, and not a Deccanī so it could not be his own house that he was taken to There is a notice of him in Maaşir U II 138

[3] *Daryā sū gām bardāshtand* Professor Dowson Elliot's History of India VI 96, has made one word of *sū* and *gām* and calls the river—the Sūgām But I do not find this river in Hyderabad, and I think that *gām bardishtand* means "they hurried," literally "lifted their places" Blochmann, p 336, says, Ferishta has ' near Sūpā but the leading account of the battle of Āshtī is in Ferishta's description of Akbar's 41st year, and I do not find Sūpā mentioned there

H B

Daryā sū = *Sū-i Daryā* = towards the river (A SUHRAWARDY, *Phil Secy*)

enemy, who were in two minds, thought of fighting on seeing this inopportune movement, but after a short contest they took to flight. Many of them were slain Ankas K., Miān Zainu-d-dīn, Haibat K, Sharif K, Sarkash K., Bhilun K., Sarmast K., Rūmī and other leaders of the ʿĀdilkhanis were killed Shamsheru-l-Mulk, ʿĀziu l-Mulk, Dilpat Rai, Yāsin K, Azhdar K, of the Nizamu-l-Mulkis, were killed Ikhlāṣ K, Tahīr K and some others of the Qutbu-l Mulkis were killed As the victorious troops were wearied with the long fighting they did not pursue the enemy, but remained where they were and returned thanks Though the enemy were more than 60,000 horse, and the imperial servants 15,000, a great victory was obtained by God's help, and high and low [1] were astonished Forty chosen elephants and a park of artillery were taken
720 Next day Rajah ʿAli was recognised on the battle field, and his body was taken up The evil-thoughted and the foolish talkers were ashamed The understanding of the story of a battle is like that of the blind men and the elephant Every one relates it differently He who knows about both armies is not to be found, and each party has a confused knowledge It is better to stop contented with what has been said

---

[1] Text *gaurān* but the word should be kūrān The story of the elephants and the blind men is a well known apothegm, and is told in Mill's History of India A F's account of the battle should be compared with Ferishta and Faizī Sirhindī The battle lasted two days The account in Noer's Akbar II, trans II 337 *et seq*, should be consulted A F evidently has said as little as he could about the Khānkhānān's victory It was Suhail the Abyssinian who commanded the Deccanīs on the 2nd day, and it was his being wounded which decided the day See B 336 I do not know the source of the story about Daulat K.

Ferishta's account is that the imperialists broke the treaty that had been made on the retreat from Aḥmadnagar by plundering Pātrī and other places outside of Birār On this account Suhail, who was ʿĀdil Shāh of Bijapūr's general and was returning from Ahmadnagar—whither he had gone to help Chand Bībī—attacked the Moguls and fought the great battle of Ashtī On the first day he was victorious but on the second he was defeated by the Khan khanān After this Murād and his guardian Sādiq wanted the Khān khānan to proceed against Aḥmad nagar He objected on the ground that it was necessary to take other forts They complained to Akbar and he recalled him but afterwards was fain to reappoint him

At this time Zain Koka was sent off to Kabul. As Qulij K. had not managed Afghanistan well, this chosen servant was sent there after receiving valuable instructions. Kabul was made his fief, and the jāgirdārs there were enjoined to act under his orders. On the 6th (Isfāndarmaz) the festival of the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a time of rejoicing, and high and low enjoyed[1] themselves.

---

[1] Text has *'ashratnāma*, a letter of rejoicing, but I.O. MS. 236 has *'ashratmaya* which is more probable.

CHAPTER CXXXI

Beginning of the 42nd Year from the Accession, to wit, the Year Shahrīyūr of the Fourth Cycle

The sound of Spring took the world with delight, and the breeze of joy brought the disposition of youth The world's lord (the Sun) gave a new form to Divine worship, and by the call to prayer furnished ornamentation to the Spring

Verse

Time gave colour and fragrance to Spring
It put a nosegay into hand of wish
It made over the garden to the night-breeze
The plain [1] of Tibet and the Spring of Kashmir

On the eve of Friday, 2 Shaban 1005, 11 March 1597, after the passing of 3 hours, 12 minutes, the light giver of creation arrived at the house of his exaltation The sky rose up to paint and the earth sate to be painted On 6 Farwardin Himmat Singh, the son of Raja Mān Singh, died He was distinguished for courage and management He died of diarrhoea, and the Kachwāha tribe fell into grief The affectionateness of H M administered balm and produced some resignation in them On the 9th, Sādiq K died After the victory he was with Prince Sultān Murād in Shāhpūr The latter commanded, and ruled well with the help of his service In [2] everything he did he never ceased to do what was proper Diarrhoea ended in dysentery, and he yielded up his breath with gaspings A remarkable thing was that some time before this the Khan Ā'zim saw him in this condition in a dream On the 17th H M enjoyed a banquet at Khwājahgi Fath Ullah's Suddenly some rue was burnt in

---

[1] Apparently the allusion is to Tibet as the fragrant land of musk

[2] The author of the Iqbālnāma praises him for his abilities but says he was unequalled for hypocrisy and trickery

the face of fortune Fire seized the preparations for the New Year feast and the flames went from the court yard to the holy mansion Apparently, a spark from the royal bedchambers set fire to an awning,[1] and then there arose a conflagration Efforts were made for several days to extinguish the fire [2] H M had no mind this year for such a feast His whole idea was to visit Kashmir A remarkable thing was that there was a similar fire in the quarters of Prince Murad (in the Deccan)

---

[1] *Tanabī* = *tanbı*. See Vullers and Bihar Ajam s.v Apparently, the tanābı was a large temporary build ing open on all sides (Elliot VII 204). The Iqbālnāma calls it *bāngāh*. The Jesuit fathers have the word "*tentorium* and describe it as belonging to Prince Selīm They say the fire extended from it to the Palace, and destroyed brick buildings and Akbar s throne

[2] The fire is described by Faiẓī Sirhindī He says it began on Sun day 17 Shābān at one watch of the day remaining (26 March 1597) in the great tents in the courtyard The *farāshes* were atop and flung them selves down Akbar was then ac cording to custom visiting Khwājā gī Fath Ullah Maclagan J A S B for 1896 says the Jesuits account is that the fire came from heaven But the Annual Letter for 1597 (Naples 1607) which seems to be the General s source does not say what was the origin of the fire though there is a refer-nce to the Divine Providence. The words for which I am indebted to my brother are— Cum sacro re surgentis Christi die in area quaeest ante Regiam magnâ procerum manu stipatus inambularet, repentino in cendio, Principis filii tentorium quod pretiosissimâ gazâ instructum juxta Regiam obtendabatur correptum est Easter Day, 1597 seems to have been on 6 April whereas A F seems to give the date of 26 or 27 March. Perhaps a difference of styles explains the discrepancy General Maclagan says the bad news that came was of Murad s defeat at Aḥmadnagar but the original letter does not mention Murād and his re pulse belongs to the 40th year, up to February 1596 or more than a year before the fire What the letter must refer to is the bloody battle called a victory by A F of Ashtī of 27 January 1597 in which Rajah Alī K. and many distinguished officers were slain A F refers to the fire as rue *sipand* meaning that it was a means of averting the evil eye Faiẓī Sirhindī speaks of the fire as lasting two days and a night He speaks of it as a very great fire and says nothing like it had occurred before except once when in M. Kām rān s time a fire was caused by the anger of a darvesh Here it may be noted that Maclagan speaks of the church at Lahore s having been opened in September 1597 but what the letter says is that Divine service was held in it four years previously, viz on 7 September 1593

Next day there was an illumination on the same place, and the feast of the Sharf (culmination) took place. Qulij K. was raised to the rank of 4,500, and Ism'ail Quli to 4,000. M. Jānī Beg and Shāh Beg were raised to 3,500. Far and near, high and low received suitable favours.

CHAPTER CXXXII

THIRD EXPEDITION OF H M TO KASHMIR

H M's idea was that, before[1] proceeding to Agra, he should first offer up prayers in that land of abundance to the Incomparable Creator As on every other occasion, great and small sought to restrain him from this Some represented that the victorious troops were contending with the Deccanis How then could it be suitable for the Shāhinshāh to march to Kashmir? Though the inward vision of the world adorner had tested them, yet from conventional motives he remained silent until, suddenly, the news came of victory This gave support to his design, but still, in order to respect their feelings, there was some delay in his departure, and orders were given for the celebrations (of the New Year) Those illuminations enkindled his wishes, and on the eve of the 21st (Farwardin[2]) after two hours of the evening he set off, and reposed in the Dilawez[3] Garden The brows of the foreheads of the hearts of the conventional were wrinkled, while the farsighted sate in expectation of the appearance of hidden knowledge

One of the occurrences was the sending of Prince Sultān Daniel to Allahābad Inasmuch as the exaltation of dutiful children waters the rose-garden of sovereignty, this jewel of the Caliphate was sent off on this night He received the rank of Hafthazari (7,000) both personal (*zat*) and in troopers (*suwar*) He also received fiefs there Qulij K, Ism'ail Quli, Mir Sharif Āmuli and many others accompanied him The first of them was made Atāliq They were presented with robes of honour, choice horses, and had their rank

---

[1] That is before removing his capital to Agra

[2] About 1 April 1597 Xavier and Benedict Goes must have left after Akbar, for Xavier says they left Lahore on 13 May

[3] Faizī Sirhindī describes this garden Akbar had it made by Khwājahgī Muhammad Husain

increased The weak in that quarter had new tidings of tranquillity Many valuable counsels were bestowed A few of them are here written down

723 First men should try to clarify their thoughts, and should reduce them into action In eating, clothing, sleeping, and walking, they should seek to increase wisdom, and not the fattening of the body, or pleasure In governing, the idea should be to protect the feeble from the strong arm of oppression The improvement of the country and the army should be advanced Company should always be kept with the good, for this supplies the material of propriety The showy but inwardly bad should be avoided, for they are the fountain head of everything that is disagreeable Do not associate with praters, loquacious persons, drunkards, foulmouthed persons, buffoons, bad hearted men, base people hot-headed persons, the envious, the censorious, fluent and ignorant sellers of wisdom, handsome youths and young women For man easily assumes the manners of his associates There are some who though they regard this principle in the matter of their companions do not account of it with regard to their servants They forget that the evil disposition of this class is the most extensive in its effects, and that it is from them that an evil report rises high Much inspection is necessary for appreciating men One is life giving, another is poison Some are like food, and some like medicine Many wicked, by craft and flattery, obtain a place in the rank of the good Many right thinking ones, on account of their silence, their honest speaking, reserve and retirement, get the name of evil doing Do not turn away from the bitter disposition of the truthful, and be not angry with them Nor be vexed on account of the superior enlightenment of the well intentioned Consider abundance of well wishing as an ornament of dominion, not as a reason for neglect Judge[1] nobility of caste and high birth from the personality, and not goodness from grandfathers, (*az niyag neki*) or greatness from (the size of) the seed You can attain the truth by considering that smoke is the child of fire, but has no portion of light ' Look up with same eyes as you look

[1] The meaning is that he should reverse the process and when he finds a man to be of high character he should presume him to be of noble lineage and not infer from high birth nobility of character

down and speak of the past as of the present"[1] Be slow and profound in inquiries, and be not satisfied with writings, witnesses and oaths Let varied investigations be made, and consider the lines of the forehead Study the daily doings and manners of your companions Be instant in prayer Do not let reprisals pass beyond bounds, and do not attend to such matters when angry or hungry Be not offended by diversity of religion Struggle hard to sit in the shade of "peace with all" Do not stain your soul with revenge Do not take the path of deceit when inflicting retribution Keep secrets to yourself, and except to one or two right-thinking and profound persons do not reveal your thoughts Do not refer deliberation to an unsuitable assemblage First, inquire separately, and then in full meeting consider what you have investigated Do not indicate your (private) adviser Do not distress the relation, the intimate and the neighbour by angry glances If a thing can be remedied by kindness, do not have recourse to terror Do not seek the destruction of the fallen, nor follow up the flying Do[2] not open the lips to utter oaths Receive warning[3] from others, not from oneself Whoever gathers wisdom from the teaching of the world learns without the learner's pain Forget not any one who does you ser 723
vice, and strive to recompense it Postpone not to the morrow the work of to day Reckon a good name as eternal life Keep aloof from jesting, and toying, especially with one who is higher (or older) than yourself Though our ancestors practised this somewhat in order to drive away melancholy, yet they did not indulge in it so as to make the heart cold, and to neglect duties Be not arrogant to any one, and do not affront any one Regard the shining sword and the pen as the two arms of power Commit the first to the brave and frank-hearted, and the second to the contented and right acting Soldiers get a great name by four things 1st, Loyalty to their master, 2nd, Love to their comrades, 3rd, Obedience, 4th, Experience The general is famed who always looks after the pay, the arms and the cattle of his followers, and who is always prepared And he

---

[1] The passage is very obscure

[2] Cf J II 37 "Refrain from the use of oaths' Perhaps *saugand* oath is here used in the sense of ordeal See A.N III. 672 (text), line 11

[3] That is, instead of learning from your own mistakes, do so from those of others

wins their hearts by gifts and honours, and looks after the survivors of deceased soldiers Nor does he lay hands on their properties He is not lulled to sleep by success, and does not cast away caution at the time of action He spends less than he receives He consumes one portion, distributes another, and something he accumulates He does not give himself up to intoxicants, nor is he devoted to hunting He does not neglect secret inquiries Especially does he seek information about those near to him and [1] about the thoughts of enemies In every [2] business he employs some men who are unknown to one another, and he himself weighs their reports If he cannot do so, he refers it to a truthful and abstinent master of peace with all Otherwise he prosecutes his inquiries still further

On 1 Ardībihisht S Ziya ullah [3] left the world He was the son of S Muhammad Ghaus and had gathered some traditionary knowledge He was familiar with Ṣufi language On the 6th the august retinue arrived at Amnābād, and the hidden knowledge of H M became again impressed on high and low Inasmuch as the mountain air of Kashmir, and the difficulty and delay in crossing into it excite the tranquil,—not to speak of the base and light headed,—a low born [4] person by name Jamil mixed himself up in that country with the Aimaqs of Badakhshan and passed himself off as 'Umr S, the son of M Sulaimān The Mirzā when he was in distress in Hissar had a son by a girl and gave him this name When he (the son) came away from there, he passed to Uzbeg K, the cousin of 'Abdullah K, and died It is said that narrow minded, envious people put him to death, while others say that he died of smallpox Others said that he was still alive That trickster resolved on making a commotion and secretly engaged in binding men by promises so

[1] I have inserted the conjunction because it occurs in the I O MSS and in the Cawnpore edition The passage is illustrated by the remark at p 736, line 10 to the effect that rulers should first of all make inquiries about the dispositions of their sons and intimates (*nazdikān*) as people are slow to complain against them

[2] Cf Jarrett II 38 In every affair he should associate several who are unknown to each other etc

[3] Called Ziya ud din by Badayūnī, Lowe 123 See B 457 at p 204 Lowe Badayunī calls him Ẓiya-ullah

[4] Text غوری زادہ *ghorīzāda* which may mean one born in low estate The Iqbālnāma seems to have "az *mardam gharībī* of poor people

that a thousand Badakhshīs and many Kashmīrīs joined him The veil had not been removed from over his actions when the reports 72 of the august standards rose high Some of those who knew the secret, arrested him and brought him to Muhammad Qulī Beg, and he was conveyed to this stage (Amnābād) There he received his deserts If H M had not made his expedition there would have been a great commotion, and many would have suffered The eyes of vision of the superficial but well intentioned were opened, and they who had controverted the expedition sank their heads in the collar of shame On the 9th Khudāwand K Deccanī, from his own self will, retired When in the fight with Sadiq K he was disgraced and failed, he thought of entering into service, and joined Sher Khwāja Soon afterwards he separated from him Then a star of guidance, through the instrumentality of M ʿAlī Beg Akbarshāhī, brought him into the service of the prince Inasmuch as he had not a strong thread of moderation, and his arrogance increased daily, he, in the same year and month took to flight On the 16th, Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Man Singh was sent to the northern hills Owing to the mismanagement of Rustum M and Āṣaf K there was delay in the work, and Bāsu made Mau strong, and became presumptuous H M summoned the Mirza to his side when he was at the Cināb, and sent that choice servant in charge of the soldiers On the 18th he arrived, hunting by the way, at the town of Gujrat—which had been recently founded by his orders He rested for a while in this pleasant city On the 19th M Yusuf K was appointed Atālīq of Prince Sultan Murad The mystery seeing sovereign had given him a fief in Gujarāt (the province) in the previous year, and had sent him there When Sadiq K died, he was raised to this high position, and an order was given that he should join the Prince quickly, and do what was necessary for the times

One of the occurrences was the defeat of the Pātkunwar[1] When Lacsmī Narain, the ruler of Koc, submitted himself, and was exalted, envy made his competitor mad He collected an army and took possession of some territory Lacsmī Narain retired into a fortress and begged the help of Rajah Mān Singh A chosen force

[1] The Raghū Rai of Mr Gait's paper (J A S B for 1893) and Raghu Deva of the Hayagrīva temple-inscription Gait 29.

under the command of Jajhār K and Fath K Sūr hastened to the spot On the 22nd Ardibihisht (3 May 1597) they arrived there and after a great contest defeated (the Patkunwar) Many were killed, and many were made prisoners, and much plunder was obtained On the 23rd the august standards reached Bhimbhar, and the quarters of Mir Murād the local fief holder were brightened by the advent of H M The victorious troops were divided into ten sections 1st, H M with some special men 2nd, the ladies of the harem, and the writer was, with some men, put in charge of this
725 party 3rd, the Prince Royal and his men The other seven were the guards for each day (of the week) On 1st Khurdād, 11 May 1597, the first defile was surmounted On the 6th (Khurdād), which was the day of Jashn [1] the halt was made at Rajauri, and the Prince came to the presence without permission On the route some impropriety [2] occurred, and for a while he was in disgrace and not allowed to pay his respects The writer of the jewelled book was sent for in order that he might inquire into the matter On account of the exceeding love of the world's lord and the contrition of the nursling of dominion he (Salim) was pardoned

On this day it was represented to H M that Khwājagi [3] Fath Ullah had misbehaved in the matter of guarding the road, and that one of the Prince Royal s servants had been killed H M sent him (Fath Ullah) to the Prince in order that he might be punished The latter was delighted at this graciousness and treated him with favour and sent him back to service On the 8th the Prince obtained permission to proceed [4] as before, and the writer was also appointed

---

[1] The 6th Khurdad is called Jashn The Iqbalnama seems to take the word as meaning a feast and says Akbar s weighment took place on this day but apparently this is a mistake

[2] Apparently this was not the affray between the Prince s servants and Fath Ullah but something that had occurred previously

[3] Khwajagī Fath Ullah was Bakhshī see B 499 and 528 and the Iqbālnāma says he was placed by Akbar on the top of the Bhimbar Pass and told to let nobody through without orders the object being to prevent men crowding into Kashmir and the consequent occurrence of a famine In executing these orders an affray occurred and one of Salīm s servants was killed But apparently this occurred after the Prince had fallen into disgrace for some unexplained cause

[4] Apparently Salīm and A F were sent back to the charge of their respective divisions

to this service On the 11th H M marched from Pastiāna, and crossed the Pir Panjāl, cutting and treading down the snow A halt was made in Nari Barāri at the lodging which Muhammad Quli Beg had prepared

In this year the commotion of Bahādur ceased He was the son of Mozaffar Gujrati When the latter died in failure, his son took shelter with Tiwāri,[1] and he hid him and supported him At the time when many of the fief-holders were serving the Prince in the South, Bahadur raised the head of sedition Base fly like creatures joined him and the town of Danduqa was plundered Rajah Suraj Singh and some men took the resolution of fighting On this day the troops were drawn up on both sides and there was some fighting among the skirmishers By the good fortune of the Shāhinshah that rebel was put to flight

On the 14th, great Passes were traversed and H M halted at Hirapur From this stage he went on to behold the spectacle of the Spring in Jamal Nagari,[2] and an order was given that the camp should keep the high road and enter the city In old times this was a capital, and its ruin told an instructive tale The plain expanded the melancholy heart According to orders this humblest of individuals came to this pleasant place from Hirapur, and was exalted by performing the prostration at the holy threshold On the 19th H M spread out his tent in Punj Brara[3] (Bij Behara) The ladies joined him here Near this place M Yusuf K had thought of making a city on the top of a ridge H M went to the spot, and gave it the name of Akbarnagar, and made over the estab-

[1] The Iqbālnama has Tarwarī the ruler of Rajpipla and says Mozaffar left in his charge a son and two daughters Bahadur lived into Jahangir s reign and died a natural death in 1614 Elliott VI 340 Tuzuk J translation 274

[2] This is the name of a place but I do not find the name in Stein or elsewhere The Iqbālnama has Jamālnagarī as the name of a place and it is mentioned as such by Faizī Sirhindī who says Akbar arrived there on the 17th (Shawal) He adds that many men suffered from asthma here Perhaps it is the burned city of Narapura referred to by Stein p 172 J A S B Akbar nagar may have been built on the Cakradhara ' Udar

[3] The Vijayesvara or Vijabror of Stein It is a famous place of pilgrimage

tishing of it to Muhammad Quli Beg At this stage the Prince-Royal performed the *kornish* On the 23rd he proceeded with some intimates up the river and first halted at Anca[1] From there he
126 went to Machi[2] Bhavan and enjoyed himself and then took boat near Khānpul[3] On both banks there were delightful meadows H M enjoyed the pleasures of hunting

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Mau Rajah Bāsu, on account of ill fortune and the strength of the position, took the road of ingratitude He won over many proprietors to his side When the victorious troops proceeded there, some landholders separated (from Bāsu) and joined them That turbulent one entered the difficult fortress The victorious troops invested it, but interested motives withheld them from prosecuting the task When, by orders, M Rustum set off for the court, the other servants made a compact of concord and addressed the foot of resolution to service For two months great valour was displayed In one place was Āsaf K with a number of strenuous men, on another was Tāsh Beg K with some brave men Hashim Beg was there with some noted men and Muhammad K with a party of servants On the 24th that slumbrous witted one came out and took shelter in another strong place The imperial servants took the fort and plundered the dwellings. They burnt his house and home On the 26th M Rustum did homage near Pampur[4] and was exalted by princely favours On the 27th H M encamped near Koh i Sohman, and he went to visit the Dall Lake From there he went to see Amartasar[5] which is a famous temple in that country Near it is a delightful fountain H M travelled 105 *kos* in 34 days He halted on the way one month and five days On the 28th he cast

[1] I think this is the famous fountain of Accbal or Acabal which A F in Aīn J II 358 calls Acl b Dal See Stein J A S B for 1899 p 99

[2] Martand or Matan See Stein J A S B for 1899 pp 176 177 where Matsyabhavna i e abode of fish is given as one of its names The place is famous for its temple of the Sun J II 358 Faizī Sirhindī describes Macī Bhawan

[3] Kanbal the port of Islāmābad the Khan*bal of Stein

[4] Banpūr in text

[5] So in text امرتسر I O MS 236 has مراسر Apparently it is the Amaresvara of Stein 164 N N W. of Srīnagar now Ambarhar but it may be Amartabhavana Stein id

the shadow of his fortune on the city of Nāgarnagar[1] Near Srinagar there is a high hill, and there is a large reservoir (*abgiri*) near it The far-seeing prince had chosen this place as the site of a city, and M Yusuf K had, under his orders, peopled it He built some residences and laid the foundation of an earthen wall Suitable quarters were also provided for the soldiers H M took up his abode in the quarters of Muhammad Quli Beg on the banks of the lake An order was given that the fort should be made of stone Every portion of the work was assigned to an officer On this day it was shown how the commotion of that native of Ghor (*ghorizada*)[2] had arisen, and how it had been quelled by the report of the august expedition He who had delivered him up received the reward of his good service It also appeared that much evil had been caused by the tyrrany of the fief holders In their ignorance of affairs they demanded the whole rent in money and sought for gold and silver from that country which was regulated by the division of crops H M made remittances to crowds of men, and established choice regulations The oppressors received their punishment And kindness was shown to the injured cultivators The whole country was divided into fourteen portions, and to each of these two *bitikcis* (accountants), one an Indian and the other a Persian, were sent so that they might study the settlement papers (*kham kaghaz*) of 727
every[3] village and might ascertain the extent of the cultivated and

[1] The Haraparvat and the hill Sārikā of Stein pp 147 148 the Hari Parbat or "Fort Hill" of the I G The hill is on the northern outskirts of the city and about 250 feet high, and crowned by the fort The date given in the I G is wrong The wall was built in 1597 apparently and the Fort still later according to Stein At all events the stone buildings of the Fort appear to have been erected in 1597 though evidently something had been done in M Yūsuf K's time, and we find from p 618 that Husain Beg and Qāzi Ali took refuge in the fort of Nāgarnagar in July 1592

[2] Perhaps it means low born or it may mean untimely born and be connected with *ghaura* See Badayūni s II 379 where the word *ghaura*, an immature grape is used with reference to Murad

[3] Text *har dū* ' of both but the I O MSS have *har dih* and I think that the reading must be *har dih* or *har dih* and not *har du* Evidently Chalmers also read *har dih* for he translates to read all the documents of each village The two bitikcis were appointed to be a check on one another, or in order to get through the work but I dont think they were to make out two sets

uncultivated land, and of the collections, and might reckon one half of the produce as the share of the ruler,[1] and return any excess. Though they (the fief-holders?) always spoke about three heaps[2] (of produce) yet they claimed the third share of the tenant's uncultivated land An arrangement was made for cultivated and uncultivated land. When the settlement was for more than ten years, one-sixth share was taken for the first year, one-fourth for the second, one-third for the third, and one-half for the fourth. When the settlement was for from ten to four years, one-fifth was the share for the first year, one-third for the second, and the usual rate (one-

---

of papers, and the *khām kāghas* must, I think, have been the settlement-papers already drawn up, and not those which the two accountants were to prepare

[1] *Farmāndihī* (Here I suppose it would mean the fief-holder to whom Government had transferred its rights

[2] The word "three" does not occur in text nor in the MSS In text the words are *hamwāra toda nām bar nihand* I O MS 276 and Mr Irvine's MS have *būda* for *toda* and perhaps this is the true reading I have inserted the word "three" because I think that the passage is explained by p 570, Vol I of the Āīn, Jarrett's translation II 366 The lit translation of that passage seems to be, "Though they from of old used the name of one-third share yet they took more than two thirds H M's justice has made it one-half" Jarret translates, "Although one third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares was actually taken, but through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one-half" Gladwin's translation is to the same effect If *būda* be the true reading, then the meaning would seem to be, "Though they professed to go by 'actuals' yet they wanted to take even the one third of the husbandman when nothing had been produced" Perhaps *hamwāra* does not mean here "continually" but "even, equal," and the translation of *hamwāra* *būda* should be "equal heaps" The author of the Iqbāl-nāma avoids going into particulars, and says it was Abul Fazl who, under orders from Akbar, put matters to rights Apparently the settlement in force in the 42nd year was the one made by Āsaf K. in the 39th year See ante, p 661 A N III. 548, and B 346, and Maasar I 110 should be consulted Blochmann has made a curious slip He says, p 411, Āṣaf K only stayed three days in Kashmīr He could not have made a settlement in that time, and what A F says, A N. III 661, line nine, is that Āṣaf made the journey from Kashmīr to Lahore in three days. Āṣaf was made governor of Kashmīr in the 42nd year see infra, p. 732

half) for the third (When the settlement was) for from four to two years the share was one third for the first year, and for the second one-half In a short time great comfort was produced

On account[1] of the deficiency of rain and the dispersal of the husbandmen, prices became somewhat high Though by the coming of the victorious army the scarcity was increased, yet the Shāhinshah's graciousness provided a remedy By his orders twelve places were prepared in the city for the feeding of great and small (i e young and old) Every Sunday a general proclamation was made in the 'Idgāh, and some went from the palace and bestowed food and presents on the applicants Eighty thousand necessitous persons—more or less—received their hearts' desires A great many persons also got their livelihood by the building of the fort By means of the pay for their labour they were brought out from the straits of want At this time some attention was paid to miscellaneous imposts Fifty-five censurable customs were abolished The husbandmen for a long time paid[2] these, and until the order of remission took effect they did not believe in it (the abolition) The case[3] of the saffron is one of these The Government share of the produce was divided among the bazaar people and the husbandmen to be cleaned Though out

[1] From the accounts of Xavier and others it appears that the famine was very severe

[2] Text *basān i sābiq* but the MSS have *basān i mal*

[3] A F as usual, writes obscurely Fortunately the passage is elucidated by the account of the saffron cultivation in the Āīn, B 84 and J II 357 See also Elliot VI 375 the Tuzuk Jahangīrī 315 and the Iqbāl nāma Jahangīrī 168 It would appear from Jahāngīr s account that the practice of paying for the labour in cleaning the saffron by barter, viz by salt was still in force in his time After the words *khushk i zaf ran* we have the words *u tarah* ترهٔ, which I do not understand I O MS 236 seems to have *tarhā* buds and I have adopted this But what we should expect to find would be *khālis* pure which occurs in the Āīn B 84 I now suggest the Arabic word *wafarat* instead of *utarah* This would mean choicest (saffron) At p 734 A F says that owing to Akbar s abolition of forced labour two *sīrs* of dried saffron were obtained from seven or eight *traks* instead of from eleven or thirteen as formerly Possibly the text is wrongly punctuated, and the hyphen or stop should come after *jahānbāni rā* The sentence would then be the case of the Government share of the saffron is an instance of this The saffron, etc

of eleven *traks*, one was given as wages, yet two *sirs* of dried saffron and buds (?) were exacted, and there was great loss, especially in the time of rain It was also an old custom that the cultivator should cut and bring some wood from a distance Otherwise they lost their pay Similarly they took money from the carpenter, the weaver and other workmen On 2 Tīr H M went to see the new quarters M Yusuf K had put up beautiful buildings on the top of a small hill near Nāgarnagar for the repose of H M On the 6th he went to Shihābū-d-din pur, and from there he proceeded to Lain Lankā [1] When he came to the lake there, were high waves, the boat was taken to the bank and he rested by the skirt of the mountain In the morning he went to that charming spot, and got new enlightenment. On the 9th something improper happened on the part of the Prince Royal while he was traversing that great lake Khwāja Bhūl got angry [2] and conveyed a message from the Shāhinshāh The Prince was angry at his rude words, and the gracious sovereign consoled him by cutting the tip of his (the Khwāja's) tongue
728 Meanwhile, by orders of the Shāhinshāh, a ghrīb [3] (vessel) such as those used at sea, was prepared High and low were astonished, and on the 20th he sate in it and witnessed the spectacle of the river Behat (Jhelam)

One of the occurrences was the taking of Bāndhū [4] As increase of territory and wealth augments H M 's devotions and he makes success an instrument for developing the spiritual world, all kinds of difficult tasks, which have not been accomplished by former rulers in spite of abundant efforts, are easily effected by his servants The conquests of this formidable fortress speaks eloquently of this Pannah is a populous country, and has a separate ruler This fortress (Bāndhu) is the seat of his government The territory extends to

[1] In Lake Wular J II 364 It is described by Xavier in a letter published by L de Dieu

[2] Or perhaps, conveyed an angry message from the Shāhinshāh

[3] Cf B 280 It was a model

[4] Bāndhū is now in the Rewah State, and is the Bāndhogarh of I G VI. 358 Apparently, it was regarded in A F s time as belonging to Panna State See also B 407, 469 and Elliot IV 463 n A minor Bikramajit by name had taken possession of the fort See I G XXI 281, and also VI 359 Can the local legend about Akbars having been born at Bāndhogarh be connected with his alleged re birth at Allahabad?

the east of it for sixty *kos*, and then comes the land of other Rajahs who are to some extent submissive to him. Then comes the territories of Sarguja and Rohtās. On the west it extends for twelve *kos* and there are the lands of other zamindars who are in a manner subject to him. After that comes the land of Gadha. On the north are the Ganges and the Jumna. The territory extends in this direction for sixty *kos* and joins the province of Allahabad. On the south it extends for sixteen *kos*, and then comes the territory of Gadha. Between the south and east (i.e. to the S.E.) is Rantambhūr after 45 *kos*. To the N.E. it extends for 70 *kos* and then comes the province of Allahabad. To the N.W. it extends for 50 *kos* and adjoins Fort Kālinjar. To the S.W. it extends for 25 *kos* and then is the territory of Gadha. The difficulties in the taking of this fort cannot be described. It is surrounded by low hills, whose vallies extend for eight *kos*, and whose high lands extend for more than 1½ *kos*. On three sides it has hills close to it. On the N. it is surrounded by a stone wall. The first gate is called Ganeshpūr. Near it is a large reservoir. The second gate is Hindalīpūr; the third, Kampūr; the fourth, Harharpūr. Inside are the Rajah's quarters. The fort is an ancient building and has four fine old walls, and a charming lake. Inside is a large temple. Round about are the houses of the kinsmen and dependents. No ruler had laid hands on it. Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn had the idea of doing so, and spent much treasure on the enterprise, and many lives were lost, but he was unsuccessful. At this time, by H.M.'s fortune, it was conquered with little trouble. When the garrison sent the young ruler to court, their idea was that they would put off an expedition against the fort by scattering gold. The acute sovereign did not accept the words of the bribetakers and issued *an order to the effect that the rule of service was* that the fort must once be delivered up in order that it might be given back. Owing to somnolence of intellect, and the strength of the fort, the good advice was not received and they resolved upon contumacy. Rai Patr Dās exerted himself, and liberality was made the key for delivering up the fort. After severe engagements the country was conquered and in an auspicious hour the fort was invested. After eight months twenty days the garrison, or 22 Tīr, 8 July 1597, came to terms on account of want of provisions, and the fort was taken. Much plunder was obtained.

729 On 4 Amardād a son was born in the harem of Prince Sultan Daniel by the daughter of Qilij K, and soon departed to the other world

One of the occurrences was the appearance of a rainbow (*qaus quzah*)[1] on the night of the the 5th (Amardād) On the night (*shab*) of 13 Zi l hajja, 18 July 1597, in the city of Srinagar there was a feast of enlightenment At the third *pahar* in the eastern heaven, a rainbow—which the Persians call the two-coloured bow—appeared The variety of its colours was less than that of one (rainbow) which appears in the day Though some think that the rainbow appertains solely to the day they are without special knowledge Some ancients allow that it is also produced by the rays of the moon, and that it does not acquire so many colours (as the solar rainbow) Maulānā S'aidu d din[2] Taftāzānī writes, "In the year 763 (1362) in Turkistan, on the opposite direction from the moon, I saw an appearance like a rainbow, but it had not the permanency and the bright colour of that" On the 8th,[3] in the same city, after a watch of the day had elapsed, a halo round the sun (*tufawa*) showed itself for two hours. The Indian sages did not think it auspicious, and directed the great towards kindness to the needy H M gave large bounties to the needy, and won over hearts

Though the present work does not deal with the causes of those two phenomena, and though it is treated of in cyclopaedias (*farhang namha*), yet the contention of intellect leads me nolens volens, to say something about them, and to enlighten the perception of the inquirer

The Peripatetics regard this glorious bow, this halo, and other solar phenomena (*shamsiyat*) as fantastic, unsubstantial appearances like the reflections in a mirror, while the Platonists (*ashraqiān*) regard them as real and substantial occurrences

[1] See Lane's Dict. 2520[b] Quzah is an angel who presides over the clouds The third *pahar* must mean the third watch of the night for A F goes on to say that it was a nocturnal phenomenon and depending on the moon

[2] An author who lived in the time of Timur and who is called Taftāzānī from his birth place See Beale s v Taftāzānī and D Herbelot s v Takhtazānī He died in 1390 As he was born in 1322 he was about 40 when he saw the lunar rainbow

[3] Faizī Sirhindī says the halo was seen round the sun at midday on 10 Zī l hajja, the day of the Id Qorbān

[Here follow about two pages of disquisition on the subject of rainbows and halos. They are probably borrowed from some astronomer, and are difficult of translation. I think, I may neglect them.]

On the 12th (Amardad) a piece of stone was shown to H. M. There appeared to be some water inside of it, and the spectators were astonished. Some Persians who were present represented that they had broken a stone in 'Iraq and that a frog[1] had come out of it.

Next morning a Turkish rope dancer appeared and gave a wonderful exhibition. On the 16th Sang[2] Panwār died. He was a noted Rājput. His survivors were comforted by royal favours.

At this time the ambassadors to Tibet were sent off. At the time that the royal standards came to Kas̲h̲mīr, it had been intended that an army should be sent to conquer that country. As, owing to the scarcity of the year, it was difficult to provide the soldiers with forty days' provisions, and as H. M. wished to convey counsels, the design was not carried out. Umed 'Alī Jolak, Tālib Isfahānī, and Muhammad Husain Kas̲h̲mīrī were sent to 'Alī Zād, the ruler of Little Tibet, and Ayub Beg, Salīm Kas̲h̲g̲h̲arī, 'Abdu-l Karīm Kas̲h̲-mīrī were sent to Kokaltās̲h̲ Kaliyu, the ruler of Great Tibet. Rāju Rai, the commander in chief of that kingdom, had on account of his wealth become somewhat rebellious, and the ruler of the country had collected an army and deprived him of his fiefs. That rebel had gone into vagabondage. At this time 'Alī Zād rose up to avenge him (?) and by his guidance and wickedness he was successful and made (the ruler of Great Tibet) prisoner, and proceeded to his dwelling place and gathered abundant moneys. He also took much territory. On hearing the report of the arrival of the sublime army he made the above-named (Kokaltās̲h̲)—who was descended from former rulers—ruler and returned. An ambassador was also sent to Kas̲h̲-
g̲h̲ar. When 'Abdu-l Karīm died, and Muhammad[3] K. (his brother) 732
became ruler of that country, it appeared that he wished to suppli-

---

[1] Waraqī. Text wrongly has waraq.

[2] Evidently this is the Sāngah Panwār (Powār) of the Āin B. 526. The text has Banwār.

[3] See ante p. 556.

cate the sublime court He had sent Shāh Muhammad[1] with valuable gifts On the way he was robbed, and out of simplicity and shame he went off to the Hijāz At this time he came and was exalted by paying homage He related his adventures On the 20th he was sent back after being treated with favours M Ibrāhīm Andijānī was sent with counsels, and some choice goods were made over to Fatta[2] Hā (?) H M 's idea was that the ambassador would proceed to Khatā (China) as for a long time there had been no news of that country, nor was it known who ruled it H M also wished to know with whom he was at war, and what degree of enlightenment and sense of justice he possessed, what kind of knowledge was current, who among the ascetics had a lamp of guidance, who was supreme for science? An order was given that these questions should be put to the ruler of Kashghar, and that an answer should be brought On the 21st Gangā Rishi presented himself at the assembly of the Justice of God (Akbar) He is one of the great Rishis, and the people of Kashmir regard him as a saint The Prince Royal invited him to come, and that seeker after God came from a wish to see the Shāhinshah On seeing him, he received fresh enlightenment At this time Shahbāz K came to court, and was not admitted to the *kornish* When Rām Cand was sent to recall the Malwa soldiers, he, of necessity, returned with M Shahrukh Near Burhānpūr he learnt that the Prince (Murād) had taken some of his fiefs and given them to others, and that there had been a fight with the agents and that some had fallen on both sides His distress increased, and he stopped going further He sent M Shahrukh and the rest of the soldiers to the Deccan with Rām Cand and turned back himself (?) For some time he remained in Malwā, waiting for Rām Cand When the latter died, he went off to Court He was kept in disgrace and not allowed an audience When it became clear that his coming was unavoidable, he was allowed, on the 26th, to make the *kornish* At this time Āṣaf K. got a *jagir* in Kashmir

[1] B 506 He was a son [illegible] Shīrāzī to his name The letter which Akbar wrote on this occasion appears in the first book of the Inshā. The name in the Newalkishore ed., is Fattā Hā as in text, and he is described as being a merchant and as wishing to go to China The questions in the text are inserted in the letter.

One of the chief causes of the ruin of this country was that among the fief holders there was no great officer whose opinion might be followed by all For this reason he was sent for from the northern hills On the 31st he was exalted by doing homage, and the charge of the country was entrusted to him On 2 Shahrīyūr there was a grand display of lamps It is an old custom in that country On the night of the 13th Bhādūn, according to the calculation of the bright[1] fortnight (*Shuklpacha*), high and low lighted lamps, and implored blessings They related that the river Behit—which flows through the city—was born on this day, and in thanks therefor they held a feast On this account an order was given that the royal servants should light lamps on boats[2] and on the bank of the lake and the top of the hill There was a glorious illumination and 733
men who had seen the world were astonished On this day a delightful palace was completed by the Shāhinshāh s orders In the Kashmiri tongue it was called Lari On the 6th H M had a feast there and there was rejoicing On the 13th it appeared that Ḥāfiẓ Qāsim had out of sensuality stained the skirt of the chastity of a woman He was castrated, and though he got a little better, he soon died

One of the occurrences was the death of Durjan Singh When Lacmī Narain became successful by the help of eternal fortune, 'Īsā K, proprietor (*bhumi*), collected an army and set out to help Pātkun war On hearing of this, Rajah Mān Singh sent off a force by land, and also sent some men by the river under command of his son Durjan Singh in order that the houses of the proprietors might be plundered Inasmuch as domestic broils produce great injury, one of the double faced and crooked ones gave information to those men On the 25th the river-detechment plundered many places, and made an expedition against Katrabu[3] Six *kos* from Bikrampūr 'Īsā and M'aṣum arrived with a large number of war boats They surrounded the river detachment and after a hard contest the leader (Durjan) and many soldiers delivered up the coin of their lives Some men were

[1] See J II 17 and Akbar s firmān about reckoning from the increase of the moon

[2] The text has ferāz i koh *kishtī* But B M MS Add. 27247 has u *kishtī* and boats which makes better sense

[3] Katarabū; and is mentioned as a Dacca estate by Mr Douglas in a report of 26 May 1790 See my history of Bākarganj p 417 App

made prisoners, and some escaped Though there was a disaster, yet the ruler of Koo was saved from injury. 'Isā, from farsightedness, had recourse to blandishments and sent back his prisoners

On 11 Mihr after 8 hours and 4 seconds a daughter was born in the harem of the Prince-Royal by the daughter of the Mota Rajah, It is hoped that she will become a great lady On the 20th H M entered the Behat through the Dal lake, and from thence proceeded to Shihābu-d-dinpūr, where he spent the night Next morning he hunted and crossed over to Zain Lankā, returning at night to Shihābu d-dinpur Next day he visited the Lār[1] valley where the wonders of autumn surprised the critical He received much pleasure and returned to Nāgnagar The varied colours of the season of the fall of the leaf in this country put to shame the Spring of many other places Especially the apple, the peach, the vine and the plane (*chinār*) tree

Verse

The beauty of decay was not seen save here
The pomp of Autumn was more full of colour than the Spring

[1] J. II 363 It is there described as bordering on Great Tibet

CHAPTER CXXXIII

Return of the august standards to India and the arrival at Lahore

H M enjoyed himself for three months and twenty-nine days in this country When the rainy season occurred, it rained here 734 also The sovereign had varied pleasures and accomplished his devotions to God His idea was to spend the winter in this delightful locality, but from the beginning of Mihr (10 September) it became very cold The inhabitants of hot countries became somewhat inconvenienced, and out of graciousness, H M announced that his design of remaining was abandoned He resolved on going to India by the old route of Pirpanjal, after he had seen the sight of the saffron[1] beds (in Pānpur) He gave money to the officers in order that they might make fitting preparations at every stage On the 25th (Mihr = about 5 October) he embarked in a boat and proceeded towards the exhibition, on his way to India Next morning he arrived at the saffron fields He stayed there seven days, and every day the flowers were harvested They[2] were divided among the officers in order that they might superintend the cleaning At the time when the peasants were impressed for this work, and when deficiency (in produce) was punished (?), two *sirs* were obtained from eleven, and occasionally, from thirteen *traks* Owing to the great remission (by Akbar) the same quantity was obtained from seven or eight *traks* The gathering was done quickly and well owing to the numerous gatherers and the supervision, nor did the rain do any harm When H M had enjoyed the sight, he resumed his journey on 3 Ābān and halted at Khānpur Next morning the solar weighment took place, and he was weighed against twelve articles There was proclamation of liberality, and a world enjoyed success

[1] Stein J A S B 1899, p 122 and 167

[2] Cf the account given by Faiẓī Sirhindī

At this stage the troops were divided, and the rules for traversing the mountains laid down The Prince-Royal took leave as he was to be the last this time Up to Pushtāna[1] the ladies accompanied On the 9th H M himself set out, and on this day Āṣaf K returned On the way there fell some snow and rain, but afterwards it became fine On the 15th he descended from Bhimbhar to Akbarābād and crowds of men enjoyed themselves On the 19th at Gujrāt, Maqṣud Beg, the paternal uncle of Āsaf K, arrived from Persia and was admitted to an audience On the 22nd he mounted an elephant and crossed the Chinab while the army crossed by a bridge He hunted[2] at Gujrāt Daulatabād and Hafizabād On 3 Āzar, 13th or 14th November 1597, he arrived at Lahore He spent one month and ten days on the road, and there were 27 marches He reposed in the new palace and engaged in returning thanks to God By his orders the *Daulatkhana* (hall of audience) and some sacred buildings which had been injured by the fire had been rebuilt

735 One grievous occurrence was the death of Sultān Rustum, the son of Prince Sultān Murad The affectionate sovereign loved grand children more than sons, and he (Rustum) was habituated to exalted love so that the counsels[3] of father or mother did not become the vesture of his heart From the beginning of discretion he was indignant at anything improper and any excess of anger made him ill Great endeavours were made to guard his soul, and the noble[4] lady of the auspicious family cherished him with much affection Though his age was (only) nine years, three months and five days by the solar calendar, yet he possessed the wisdom of mature

[1] Stein J A S B 1896 p 78

[2] Faizī has 13 Rabī uṣ ṣanī = 14 November

[3] The word *dīd* here does not I think mean beholding but counsel or opinion as in p 811 line 18 The meaning is that the boy was not influenced by his parents counsels but by his grandfather s

[4] Text Mahīn Bānūī dūdmān i saādat There is a word in the MSS like Bīca or Pīca after s aādat and they have not the word *bacand* as in text A reference to Faiẓī Sirhindī I O MS 192 p 215[b] shows that the person meant is Jījī Anaga mother of M Koka Rustum s mother was a daughter of M Koka and consequently Rustum was Jījī s great-grandson Faizī Sirhindī says she brought him up He says Rustum died on 29 Rabī uṣ ṣānī = 29 November

men The light of intelligence shone from his brow, and his behaviour showed nobility of nature On the night of the 7th (Azar = November) after one watch, his stomach became disordered, and he grew delirious On the 9th, at the third watch of Sunday, this nosegay of intelligence faded, and a world was plunged into sorrow

Verse

The worthless, love severing world is for the base,
Yea, 'tis so that you may not cleave to it or be oblivious
Many musky tresses has it laid in the navel[1] of the dust,
Many rose like (*gul*) faces has it veiled in clay (*gil*)

Small and great uttered cries of grief and there was universal weeping What can be written of the faithlessness of fortune, and the jugglery of the spheres? And why should anything be written? For this is to measure water in a sieve and to catch wind in a net In this sorrow the wisdom of great and small becomes foolishness H M by the Divine strength hasted to the pleasant abode of resignation, and from abundant wisdom applied balm to the inner wounds If Time were really in confusion as some say, this great one would not have attained to the government of the world!

They say that Kai Khasru out of grief for his son became recalcitrant to wisdom and fell into perturbation One of the enthusiasts and free of heart had friendship with him and had always access to him Every now and then he would come from the desert to the city and go to the king s private chamber On this occasion he went according to his custom to his private chamber and opened his lips in order to strengthen him Why, he asked, was the king disturbed, and his heart sorrowful The king told of the death of the darling of his heart (lit. the corner of his liver) The other said, "Did[2] you not expect him to die?" The king replied, "How

[1] The conceit refers to musk being obtained from the deer s navel

[2] The story is obscurely told and the darvish seems to have been but a poor adept at consolation. I am indebted to Maulvi Abdul Haq Abid for a translation of the passage The point of the darvish s remark is says the Maulvī that whether a man live long or shortly it is all the same seeing that he cannot carry away with him the fruit on of his desires I do not find any mention in Firdūsī of Kai Khusrū s son He was succeeded by his son in law

can such a thought be regarded as wise? but I wished him to get some benefit from the world (to taste some of its pleasures)" The other said, "Did he take with him any of the benefits which he had received?" "No," replied the king "Then," said the other, "Reckon that he got all that he desired seeing that he did not carry anything away with him"

Likewise Alexander the two horned with all his insight and fortune became confused on the occurrence of a catastrophe of this kind The tongue of comfort of his intimates became dumb Aristotle, who knew the condition of the world went into his private
736 chamber and said, "Do not think that I have come to console you My sole idea was that at this time which is one of distress for the tranquil and the wise I might obtain a regulation about patience from you who are the assemblage of excellent qualities" He awoke on hearing this and had a meeting of instruction

On 5 Bahman they let loose a *cita* against a clever stag The latter turned and so smote the cita with his horns that he ran away The spectators were astonished Next morning a letter came from the Prince from the Deccan Some elephants, swords, hawks and wrestlers were sent, and H M had some pleasure in their skill

One of the occurrences was the death of the ruler of Turān, 'Abdullah K He spent some portion of his life in doing justice, but on account of his worship of his son he could not put down his tyranny The latter, from the idea that he was Regent, hunted the lives of many innocent people, and ruined families Unmeasured kindness intoxicated that wicked one He stretched out his arm against the lives the property and the honour of men The first duty of a ruler is to inquire from time to time into the characters of his sons his relatives and his intimates,—for complaints against them are not soon preferred—and in the administration of justice, to make no difference between them and others He must not slumber over his kingly duties He ('Abdullah) from excess of affection could not give him paternal counsel, and after a long time he gave him the advices of a mother Consequently that slumbrous witted one increased his insolence The old age of the ruler and the vogue of flatterers withheld him from acting rightly[1] He regarded the remon

[1] Probably A F was in this sentence referring to the father

strances of the right thinking and honest-speaking—who were not afraid for themselves—as prompted by self interest At last he (the son) gradually conceived the thought of attempting his father's life He lay in wait for an opportunity One day he ('Abdullah) was enjoying the pleasure of hunting along with some friends That wicked one quickly proceeded to execute his project (of killing his father) A good man gave information to the Khan, and he speedily came to Bokhara. The wretch was ashamed of his failure and set himself to invest the city Honest servants and sincere friends soon gathered together, and the worthless fellow withdrew with failure The Khan set out to punish him The latter did not find himself able to resist and crossed the Āmu and destroyed the boats At this time Toqal[1] Qazzaq came out of the desert (dasht) and attacked The Khan returned to oppose him, and the latter returned without having plundered Samarkand 'Abdullah fell very ill in that city and Muhammad Baqi Beg and some double faced intimates (of 'Abdullah) sent for that wicked one ('Abdu l Mumin) He came quickly from Balkh When the Khan got a little better, he sent him a message to go back He did not accept it, but came on slowly Muhammad Baqi—who was the prime minister (vakil)— invited the Khan to an entertainment, and in that house of hypocrisy he died on 14 Bahman, 24 January[2] 1598 Probably that ingrate administered poison in his food and so garnered everlasting disgrace In order to refresh the fountain of my words I here record his genealogy 737

By sixteen generations he was descended—through Juji—from the great Qaān Cingiz K Abdullah K was the son of Sikandar K s. Jani Beg s Muhammad Sultan s Abu l Khair K s J Daulat Oghlān, s. Ibrahim, s Pulad, s Surāi ca Sultan, s Mahmud Khwaja K, s Qāan Bāi, s Rabil Bāk, s Mangu[3] Taimur, s. Badaqul, s Juji

[1] Text Noqal but MSS have Toqal or Tawaqal See also Vambéry Hist of Bokhara 298 where we have Tokel see his note id

[2] See Noer s Akbar, translation II 340 note Vambéry in his Hist of Bokhara, p 294 gives the date 2 Rajab 1006 and then puts in brackets (February 6 1597) but 2 Rajab 1006 =30 January 1598 Fazl Sirhindī has 5 Rajab 1006 = 2 February 1598 Elliot VI 132

[3] Cf S Lane Poole s Muhammadan Dynasties table of the house of Jūjī I have altered the spelling of the names in text in one or two places

Buqā, s Shaiban, s Jujī, s Cingīz K. Jūjı died before the Qāān (Cıngız), and no great sovereign sprang from him, though some were rulers of Dasht Qıpcāq Among these Abū ul-Khair attained some distinction Sultān Abū S'aid M with his help took, after a battle, Samarkand from M 'Abdullah s of Ibrāhim M, s of the great ruler Shahrukh M When he died, there was a great confusion in the Uzbeg tribe After some time Shaibak K, s Budaq K, s Abu l-khair, took shelter at the court of Sultān Ahmad M, s Sultān Abū S'aid M, and was rescued from the hardship of fate

When Sultān Abū S'aid M died, he raised up the head[1] of independence in Turān and after Sultān Ḥusain M's time Shaibak K came to Khurāsan, and fought with his sons and took the country Near Merv he fought with Shāh Ism'ail Safvī and was killed along with many others The rule of Transoxiana then fell to Kotchkimji K, s Abu l khair, who is also called Kocam K When he died, his son Abu S'aid K succeeded him After him came Ubayd Ullah K, s Mahmud K, s Shah Budāq, s Abu l khair K, and Turān became somewhat civilised He had two sons, 'Abdu l-'aziz K, and Muhammad Rahim Sultān But the sovereignty went to Ubaid K, the son of Kocam K Afterwards his brother 'Abdu l-latīf mounted the throne When he died,[2] Borak K, s Soncak K, s Abu l khair K, became ruler He prevailed over Turkistan, Transoxiana, and some parts of Khurāsan When his destiny was accomplished, there were provincial kings (Muluk Tawāif) Darvesh K and Baba K, his
738 sons, ruled in Turkistān, and Burhān, grandson of 'Abdullah K, in Bokhārā In Samarkand there was Sultān S'aid K, s Abu S'aīd K, s Kocam K In Balkh there was Pir Muhammad K, s Jānī Beg K 'Abdullah K (his brother's son) was spending his days in his service By skill and courage he prevailed over his kindred, and he said to Pīr Muḥammad K 'As there is no one in the tribe older than my father, it is fitting that in accordance with the ancestral laws, the proclamation and the coinage (*khutba u-sikka*) should be in his name Pīr Muhammad was obliged to agree, and for a while the government was in his (Iskandar's) name while the real power was with

1 Text *sir i-āmbāsī* but the MSS have *sir-i-be-ambāzi*

2 His real name was Nūrūz Aḥmad and Vambéry says he was a son of Mahmūd K (the son of Yūnas)

'Abdullah K. In the 27th Divine year Sikandar K. died and his son 'Abdullah K. had the proclamation and the coinage made in his own name. When he died, his son Abdul-Mūmīn succeeded him.

On the 28th Bahman the lunar weighment took place, and there was a great feast in the quarters of Miriam Makānī. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and various conditions of men obtained their desires.

CHAPTER CXXXIV

Beginning of the 43rd year from the Accession, to wit, the year Mihr of the fourth cycle

On the night of Saturday, 13 Shābān 1006, 11 March 1598, after 9 hours, 1 minute, and 37 seconds, the sun entered Aries, and the old world renewed its youth The seventh year of the fourth cycle began For 19 days there was great feasting, and small and great received the material of enjoyment

(Verse)

Omitted

On New Year's day the news of the death of the ruler of Turan arrived, and many rejoiced H M was indignant[1] and said that such rejoicing spoke of shortness of vision He ('Abdullah) always showed himself well inclined, and never dropped from his hand the thread of management Even if this had not been the case, rejoicing was unseemly From the time that H M came to the Panjab, his idea was to make an expedition for the conquest of Turan When the ruler of that country had the dexterity to adopt submissiveness, the sovereign who loved to respect honour withheld himself from that purpose When the tyranny of his son exceeded
739 bounds, for some time the former idea revived, but out of regard to dignity he desired that the expedition should march under the command of the Prince Royal That pleasure loving youth, on account of the foolishness of flatterers, could not wean his heart from India When the news came of 'Abdullah K's death, some leaders were eager for an expedition to Turān, but H M said, "Now that Turan is a seat of turmoil, how does an expedition there agree with our

[1] Cf the enigmatical remark at J III 387 Probably the meaning there is that Akbar would rather have Abdullah alive than see him succeeded by his brutal son Abdul Mumin If therefore the darvish was one whose prayers were heard his prayer for Abdullah's death would be injurious to Akbar

humanity? It is far better that an able ambassador should be sent to offer condolences, and to speak words of counsel On the 5th Fort Rāhutara[1] a dependency of Daulatābād in the Deccan, was taken M 'Ali Beg Akbar Shāhi invested it and after a month the garrison capitulated from want of water,[2] and delivered up the keys On the 7th Mukhtar Beg had an audience He was the Bakhshi of the province of Bihar When that appointment was given back to Ulugh Beg Kabūli, he was called to court On the 14th Mir Sharif Āmuli and M Faridun arrived from their fiefs and performed the *kornish* On the 25th Sālbāhan was sent to the Deccan When it became known that Prince Sultān Murād regarded the winning of people's affections an easy matter, and went somewhat aside from propriety, and that the Khānkhānān, owing to the ill success of his evil wishes, had gone back to his *jagir*, that conscientious servant was sent off to bring the Prince to court, in order that H M might send him back again with good counsels Rup Khwāş was appointed to rebuke the Khānkhānān and to make him return in order that he might take charge of the army and the country until the Prince arrived On the 31st 'Ibad Ullah, the son of 'Ahdul'ah K, was released from prison In the eastern districts he behaved rebelliously, and after that he was captured and placed in the school of the prison of Kālinjar As Husain, the governor thereof, reported his penitence he was pardoned and treated with favour On the 10th Ardibihisht, Khwaja Āshraf and S Husain came from Turān and did homage The ruler thereof was pleased by their coming and by reading the weighty letter of the Shahinshah, and regarded their advent as a mark of concord He sent Mir Qoresh with them with valuable presents He (Abdullah K) had sent them back on 10 Amardad, 20 July 1597, of the previous year On hearing of the misbehaviour of his son (Abdu l Mumin) they had turned back in the middle of the road On 29 Shahriyur, 9 September 1597, they met in with the Khān ('Abdullah) in Qursi, and took leave to return via Herat and Qandahar Near Herat they heard of his death The ambassadors by celerity and courage reached Qandahār but Mir Qoresh was not

---

[1] Text Akbara but the variant Rahutara is supported by I O 236 and by B 482 and the Maasir U III 306

[2] Cf B 482 for remark of Maasir

able to accompany them On 14 Ardibihisht Abu-l Qāsim, the son of Mir 'Ādil, and on the 15th Sher K, the son in law of the Khān Kilān, died Their survivors had the balm of princely favours applied to their hearts On the 27th Rai Patr Dās came to court
740 from Bāndhu, and was exalted by princely kindness From the time that he took that fort, he strove to develop the country When the territory was given to Prince Daniel, he returned and performed the prostration On this day Zain K Koka came to Āhanposh[1] and conquered Tīrāh once more By skill and courage he punished the wicked, and established forts in several places and located soldiers The Tariki tribe retired into the ravines and their leader crept off to Koh Safed The roads became safe

One of the occurrences was the increasing of the vision of the writer His idea was that he held a choice abode in the pleasant land of "Peace with all" and that he would not become agitated by troubles In his simplicity (*khamkari*, rawness) he gathered pleasure from time to time and the hand of favour was stretched over the head of zeal By good fortune he was awakened by a heart lacerating blow and took up anew the task of spiritual amendment Inasmuch as the world's lord kept him much employed, he was unable to attend to other matters On this account he was unable to perform fully the outward service of attending upon the Prince Royal and awkward explanations were not successful From not fully considering the matter he (Selim) became somewhat angry, and base and envious people had their opportunity The anger of that hot-tempered one blazed forth, and meetings were held for troubling his heart Many untrue reports were (sold) as truths

Verse

The painter is bold, for without fear of God
He limns Phoenix in full when he has never seen one

Owing to the jugglery of the heavens the enlightened Shāhinshāh gave some heed (to these speeches) On 11 Khurdād, 21 May 1598, my soul was vexed by perceiving this and I withdrew my hand from everything and tucked my foot into my shirt I shut my door in the face of both stranger and acquaintance What the ancients

[1] See *ante*, p 703

used to say, viz that "Service[1] quickly leads to high dignity, but owing to the triumph of envy even friends[2] rise up as antagonists" and what has not been said, becomes credited Whenever he (Akbar) summoned me to court, and endeavoured to make me carry on my former duties I replied, "Since by the wondrous working of fortune, his (Akbar's) mystery knowing heart has become somewhat loaded by the speeches of my old enemies, it is fitting that he leave me to myself, so that I may be lightened of the weight of life If he[3] hold me captive, willing or unwilling, he will obtain (only) formal service From the beginning of my years of discretion my mind was not turned to the world, it was princely kindness which bound me to it, whether I wished or not If he look for the old zeal, let the lord of the world sit in judgment Let him make a thorough inquiry so that my honesty may be made manifest, and the envious be put to shame If he forget[4] the enmity of crowds of men and take not into account the old commotion and the new hostility, and base his inquiry upon witnesses, time servers[5] shall regard telling lies in order to injure me as Divine worship The proper course is that like Siyā-wash[6] I and my accuser[7] enter the furnace so that proof's countenance may shine forth Enviers by profession and the fabricators of stories withdraw from this and set their hearts upon witnesses[7] After this 74

---

[1] *Gitau-perustāri* Perhaps it also means here "betting or "gambling B.M 112, 1116 has *gird perustarī* the following of service

[2] All the MSS seem to insert *daulat* after *dostan* ' friends of one s fortune

[3] Apparently this obscure sentence means that if Akbar keep him attached to the court whether he will or no, he will get outward service i.e I will do my duty but there will be no spiritual zeal on my part

[4] The text is ' having swept from his mind, and evidently this does not mean to disregard or dismiss from one s mind in a good sense but means if he forget or take not into account The MSS have connection after *rufta*

[5] *Nekwān i zamāna* lit good men of the age but here used ironically or as equivalent to the expression *zamanasāz* i e a time-server or opportunist Possibly A F wrote *nakūhān* slanderers though all the MSS seem to have *nekwan*

[6] His story is told in the Shāh nāma He is the Hippolytus of Persia having been falsely accused by his step mother Sūdāba He was thrown into the fire but escaped scatheless He was the son of Kai Kaus

[7] *Badgohar* ' wicked one but I O MSS have *badgo* and so have B.M MSS 1116 and 27247

discussion, though H M came to understand somewhat their wicked ness, yet my levity of mind (my folly) increased Suddenly, the Divine aid cured my internal commotion. The idea was suggested to me (by the Divine influence, apparently) "If there is a place of repose for mortals, and you can always retire there, why are you so much troubled, and why do you cast away the thread of know ledge? The tongues of ill-wishers cannot be stopped Do you take the right path so far as you know it Your choice is to do God's work, what matters it about this man or that man" I came somewhat to myself, and intelligence returned (But) because my eyes were not opened to my deliverance[1] and the farsightedness of the world's lord, feeling prevailed over wisdom, and sometimes I meditated my own destruction,[1] and sometimes I thought of becoming a vagabond Suddenly[2] I passed to freedom and enlightenment, my condition changed unconsciously, and I reposed in calm I said (to myself), "Do not suspect the farsighted sovereign of shortness of view Your acuteness and steadiness have been impressed on his mind Win over the hearts of ill wishers. What are you thinking of that you should go headlong, and trouble yourself unnecessarily Should you in a dream behold your sovereign and perceive him not to be vexed (with you) accept my (the internal monitor's) statement, and confess your own misunderstanding" The saying came true that very night, and my mental disturbance diminished At this time I read in my horoscope "In this year the world's lord became somewhat alienated owing to the false speeches of cotemporaries, but soon the veil over the face of affairs was removed" My distress entirely subsided, and when I read[3] that my sovereign was appreci-

[1] Text *rāstkārī* 'honesty, but I O MS 236 has *rastkārī* deliverance and this seems a much better reading The text has *darbazīde* "played with or staked and so has the Newal Kishore edition Probably this is the true reading

[2] The sentence is obscure Possibly the meaning is that A F referred the matter to some independent and enlightened soul, and that the result was the advice given in the text

[3] Ordinarily the words would mean that Akbar sent for him and perhaps this is the meaning here but as apparently Akbar had done so before and A F did not go I have thought that the meaning here is that A F saw from his dream that Akbar was favourably disposed to wards him

ative, the image of my former desire was erased, I went to court and was cheered by various favours [1]

Verse

You heard how he urged on the steed of love's surcease
And how no dust of reproach rose from under the heel

---

[1] Presumably it was about this time that Prince Salīm showed to his father what he regarded as a proof of A F's hypocrisy viz that he was employing forty clerks to make copies of the Qoran and a commentary thereon while he was professing to Akbar to be a believer in the Divine Faith See the Maasīr II 610 The same authority says that the courtiers induced Akbar to send A F to the Deccan in order that they might get him away from the emperor The Iqbalnama says the same thing and A F mentions infra p 749 top line that his enemies procured that he should be sent to the Deccan to bring away Prince Murad The Iqbalnama version of A F s disgrace seems to be different from that in the Maaṣīr The latter seems to say that A F s offence as revealed by Salīm was his privately reverencing the Qoran while to Akbar he professed to be a follower of the Divine Faith What the Iqbālnama says (under the 43rd year) is that Akbar was displeased on account of A F s having made numerous copies of his father s commentary and sent them to foreign potentates Akbar had been displeased with Mubārik for writing the commentary without reference to him or perhaps for not dedicating it to him and he was again displeased when A F sent out copies without permission Cf the Darbarī Akbarī p 471 If what Badayūnī says be true B XI and Badayūnī III 74 viz that the preface to the commentary contained a claim by Mubarik to be the reformer of the Age Akbar would naturally be displeased at the circulation of the work The Iqbālnama says that A F was guilty of many acts of presumption against the Prince and that Akbar excluded A F from the *kornish* for some days It adds that Akbar finally had compassion on one whom he had himself cherished, and restored him to his old position of boundless favour

Apparently A F resolved to take an omen i e he said to himself that if he saw Akbar s countenance in a dream and perceived him to be well inclined towards him he would be satisfied The word *namudar* in the text p 741 l 11 has the technical sense of the scheme of a horoscope It occurs also at p 114 line 9 where A F describes another dream that he had See also II 297 where the word *namudār* is used with reference to a religious exercise undertaken by his father Mubarik in order to ascertain the future

On the 17th Rai Patr Das was made Diwān An order was given that as in the case of Mozaffar K and Rajah Todar Mal, he and Khwāja Shamsu d din should help one another in carrying on the work In a short time the affairs of the Panjab were left to the Khwaja Apparently interested motives prevailed and prevented the sovereign from looking closely into the matter On the 27th Kaliyar Bahadur did homage, and was exalted by royal favours, and received the title of Bahādur K He was one of the army-leaders of Turan 'Abdullah K gave Herat to him When 'Abdullah K died, and the old servants became dispersed on account of
742 his son s improper conduct, Kaliyar quickly came to Qandahār, and from there to court, and obtained his heart's desire On 1 Tir, Hasan K —who was an old servant—died of illness, and Khwājagi Muhammad Salih, the grandson of Khwaja 'Abdullah Marwārid—who was for some time Sadr—died in Delhi H M's kindness took care of the survivors On the 5th Jagat Singh, Hashim Beg, and other soldiers from the northern mountains, obtained audiences, and were rewarded for their good service They brought Maluk Cand, the Rajah of Nagarkot, to court, and he was exalted by gifts and forgiveness

One of the occurrences was a fresh proof of H M 's knowledge of mysteries During the lifetime of Abdullah K, the ruler of Turān, when news came of his son's indecent conduct, H M said "If he does not refrain from evil deeds, he will not have any share of youth or of dominion, but will soon go down into the pit of annihilation." When he took to troubling his father, H M said, "It is strange that his death is being delayed" At this time that man of crooked ways did die and heaped up everlasting disgust (for himself) When 'Abdullah K died, Usbeg K. his cousin, invested Samarkand, and Muhammad Baqi defended it He failed and returned to Akhsi Tawakal came to besiege Bokhara and he, on hearing of the coming of 'Abdu l Mumin, retired without effecting his purpose The garrison came out and fought and he was wounded and went off, and died of the wound Ten days afterwards 'Abdu l Mumin came with

---

[1] There is a variant and from the MSS it would appear that the name Kulbad Bahadur Kulbad is a Turanian hero mentioned in the Shāhnāma

a large force and sate on the throne in Samarkand, and made Muhammad Bāqī his *Vakīl* Qul Bābā, who was his father's *Vakīl*, and whom the son disliked for his honest speech, was seized by his faithless servants and brought from Herat In consequence of an old grudge he put him to death He also sent after him (i e killed) those who had brought him Many lost their lives in these disturbances From there he went to Tāshkend, and put to death Dastam[1] Sultān his own uncle with his two sons, who had long been living in retirement Then he invested Akhsī in order to attack Uzbeg Sultān After three days the latter died of illness Then he returned to Samarkand and Bokhāra On account of the heat he marched at night Some lay in wait for him, and on the 9th (Tīr = 19 June, 1598) they shot him with arrows near Zāmin, and Transoxiana became subject to provincial rulers On the 10th Āṣaf K. arrived When H.M was somewhat satisfied about the administration of Kashmīr he summoned him to come post In three days he traversed hills and plains, and arrived at court, and was received with royal favour On the 24th Bhāwal[2] Anaga died. She was the daughter of Rai Jogā Parhār In the time of Firdus Makanī (Bābur) her father sent her to serve Jinnat Ashiyanī when he was in the eastern districts Her form and manners were approved, and for some time she was exalted by being in the harem When

---

[1] Faiẓī Sirhindī has Dostam and speaks of three sons

[2] See translation I p 130, and Errata and Addenda p vi Here A F says that she was the first to suckle Akbar, though at p 130 he makes her third Cf Darbarī Akbarī 749 Bhawal's husband is there called Jalal Koka but Goīnda seems to be the correct title It is also said there that it was Bābur who sent her to Humāyun but it now seems to me that it was her own father who sent her Would it not be *firistadand* if Bābur were meant, and why should it be said that she was sent in the time of Bābur if it was Babur himself who sent her Parihār is a Rājput caste Tod has given an account of them and states that they belong to the Agnicula section and that they are scattered over Rajasthan He calls them Pritihara or Purihara Their capital was at Mandawar, 5 m N Jodhpūr Perhaps Bhāwal means Bhāwal in the Dacca district, and means that she lived there, or that she was sent to Humāyun when he was in that neighbourhood But most probably the name is Bahāwal, a contraction for Baha Ullah the value, or the gift of God

Mıriam-Makānı was married (to Humāyūn) she was united to Jalal Goında (singer or reciter) She was the first to give milk to the world's lord She spent her life in propriety H M was grieved at her departure, and begged forgiveness for her from God On the 32nd Jagannath did homage He took leave from Prince Sulṭān Murād and went to his own home, and came to court without orders. For some time he was not admitted to an audience On this day compassion was taken on his simplicity and he was received with favour In this year Pattan of the Deccan was taken It is an ancient city on the banks of the Godavery M 'Alı Beg Akbarshāhı took it The enemy fought and then fled At this time great favour was shown to the cultivators in Afghanistan On 25 Amardād ⅙th of the rental of Kabul and its dependencies was remitted for eight years, and many men rejoiced On 31st M Kaiqubād had a son He was the elder son of M Hakım H M married him to the daughter of 'Āqıl Husain M , the brother of Muhammad Ḥusain M At this time she brought forth a son H M had a feast of joy, and gave him the name of Hormuz On 1 Shahrıyur Āṣaf K returned to Kashmır, after receiving many instructions On the 9th Maulanā[1] Shah Muhammad of Shahābād died He possessed a knowledge of rational and traditional sciences He obtained his heart's desire by becoming a disciple[2] of H M On the 18th Sarmast, the son of Dastam K died He passed away in his youth from drinking On the 31st Sher Beg Yasawalbāshı was sent to Bengal in order to get information about that country He was also to

[1] See B 106 and 209 He appears to have translated the Rajah Tarangınī from Sanskrit into Persian and Badayunı was employed to revise it Lowe, 380 See also Rieu Cat I 296 The text has some words to indicate what disease Shah Muḥammad died of But unfortunately I do not understand them nor does the variant nor the readings in the MSS clear up the difficulty The text has بعدم فلونی ba adam falūnī? and the variant is falaghmunī I think that ādam should be warm as in an I O MS and that the second word should be balgham or balghamīya and that the disease meant is what the dictionaries call morbus phlegmaticus or in Arabic امراض بلغمي Meninski says warm baghalmak means phthisis The Newal Kishore ed has a useful note explaining that the disease is zahrbād i e quinsey The word falaghmūnī is evidently the Greek word phlegmone meaning inflammation under the skin

[2] Cf B 208 209 and Badayūnı Lowe 386

choose some of the choice elephants of the officers as presents this year and month the folly of Mozaffar Husain M of Qanda was again pardoned As improper Turks opened the hand oppression it was arranged that he should have a money-allowa instead of administrative power, and his fiefs were made cro lands. He took leave to go to Mecca and went off At the f stage he got bewildered by the hardships and his own feeblen and was ashamed of his volatility H M recognised his rank a recalled him On 1 Mihr he was exalted by doing homage On 11th the fort of Pūna[1] was taken It is one of the famous forts Berar, and is situated on a hill It has a river on three sides whic never fordable Bahadur al Mulk and some brave men surrounded Nasib al Mulk was aroused by want of food and surrendered the k and submitted On the 26th October 1598, Khwaja[2] Ashraf d He was the son of Khwaja 'Abdu l bāri, and by the interval of generations he is the son of Khwāja Ahrār After delivering[3] message from Turān he fell ill, and died On the 29th Salbahān a Rūp had the honour of an audience Prince Sultan Murād desig to come to court when he was summoned, but the leaders did abandon their interested views and petitioned to the effect t the departure of the prince would cause confusion After t whatever order was issued would be obeyed, and the Khān-khā represented that he would return and that the Prince would co H M did not approve and was displeased On the 30th the so weighment took place. H M was weighed against twelve articl The world rejoiced, and the empty handed had happy times this day Shāh Quli K. Mahram came from Agra, and was exalted favours In this year and month Partab Singh, the son of Ra Bhagwant Dās, became mad and tried to kill himself He put dagger to his throat, and his condition became critical By H M orders skilful men sewed up the wound and he recovered

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Gāw There is not a stronger fort in Berar. It has abundance of go

[1] Panār of the Āin, J II 229 and 233

[2] B 512 He returned from Turan in April 1598 see p 739 Probably the meaning is that he was Khw Ahrār's great grandson Khw Ahrar died in February 1490

water and inside are the quarters of the governor From the time that this country had been added to the empire, it had not been taken owing to the perversity of the generals At this time Mir Martazā[1] took upon himself to take it by craft He made his quarters in the neighbourhood and assumed some of the majesty of eternal dominion Owing to scarcity of food, his pleasing speeches were accepted, and on the 9th Ābār Wajāu d dīn and Biswās Rai delivered up the keys They received dignities, fiefs and presents and entered on service On the 10th, near Pathri, 35 wild female elephants appeared Sher Khwāja assembled soldiers and captured them all The strange thing was that their ordinary feeding grounds were 150 *kos* away On 11th Ajmere was given in fief to Mir Sharif Āmuli, and he went off to it On the 12th the Khān khanān came to court and was exalted by doing homage The gracious sovereign forgave his crooked ways and summoned him to his presence Perhaps counsels might make him straight Next day Qulij K had the bliss of doing homage He had been somewhat displeased while serving Sultān Daniel and had left him From a desire of justice he was admitted to an audience

745 One of the occurrences was the arrival of the Persian ambassadors It was[2] reported that when Ziya al Mulk, and Abu Nāsir arrived there, Shāh 'Abbās behaved like a dutiful child and made the Shāhinshāh's slipper—which the ambassadors had with them—the diadem of good fortune He accepted the regulations (*dasturnama*) of the world's commander and gathered bliss by acting in accordance therewith He sent Minūcihr[3] Beg, who was one of his special servants, with a submissive letter, and despatched choice presents On the 23rd he had the bliss of an audience, and was exalted by princely favours

[1] B 449

[2] *Guzarada āmid* This expression would seem to imply that A F had already mentioned this circumstance but the passage does not occur in the text The statement about Akbar's slipper seems extraordinary Perhaps it is metaphorical Perhaps *guzarada amid* only means that it was now reported (by those who came with Minucar) what 'Abbas had done The letter which Shāh Abbās sent with Minuchr appears in I O MS 2067, old No 379 p 41 It is very long, very obscure and uninteresting

[3] We learn from Du Jarric p 77 that he was a Georgian Christian and that the Jesuits baptised his children

There were 101 choice 'Irāq horses, and among them was a horse which was five years old and had come from the sea of Gīlān (the Caspian). It had only two or three hairs on the mane and tail. It was very choice, and its performances were unrivalled, but it died on the way. There were choice mares (*qisrāq*), one of which was valued at 5,000 rupīs. There were 300 pieces of brocade—all woven by the hands of noted weavers—and fifty masterpieces of Ghīās[1] Naqshband, and wonderful carpets, which cost in Persia 300 *tumāns* a pair; also choice coverlets (*takyanamad*), splendid *pāīncas*, also, turkish pavilions, embroidered mattresses, various seeds, and 9 goats (Murgaz) whose fleeces yield wool (*ṣūf*) and silk (*khārā*), as well as other rarities, and 500 Turkamans in rich dresses. There were also numerous 'Irāqī horses in the caravan.

On this day the Prince-Royal introduced Rajah Bāsu, and his wavering was pardoned.

---

[1] B 88

CHAPTER CXXXV

Expedition for the taking of Ahmadnagar

The intention of the Shāhinshāh was to send the victorious troops under the command of the Prince Royal to Tūrān, and to include that ancestral territory within the empire As that nursling[1] of dominion, owing to the intrigues of some worshippers of India, did not give his mind to this enterprise, H M 's idea was that when his other sons should come to do homage, he would send whichever of them showed an inclination for the task At this time foolish and envious talkers represented that Prince Sultān Murād had no intention of coming to court, and they quoted the unbecoming speeches of this and that person They also pointed out improper behaviour on the part of Prince Daniel, who had already hastened off from Allahabad H M resolved on making an expedition to the south by the route of Agra If the reports were true, he would first give his mind to remedying matters there, and afterwards would conquer the Deccan, for the troops had long gone there, and the work had been protracted on account of interested motives Afterwards, if fortune favoured him, he would make an expedition to Turan As it was the
746 fourteenth year since his advent to the Panjab, and numbers of men had become attached to the place, they did not approve of this xpedition (to the Deccan) While they made the disturbance of he homeless Tarikis a pretext for abstaining from it, and sometimes hey brought forward the commotion of the rebels in the northern hills From the activity of the market of dissimulation, there was some delay, but as Almighty God did not permit what was proper for eternal dominion's being passed over, H M 's first design grew stronger, and on 26 Ābān (about 6 November, 1598), after one hour twelve minutes of the night of Thursday, he set off on an elephant

[1] Cf Jahangir's remarks Price's Jahangir p 31, where he says that he den[illegible]d from his father his inclination to make an expedition to Samarkand

Maryam Makānī, and the other Begams, and Sultān Khurram, were left in Lahore. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was appointed to look after the court and the province. Mīr Murād was Mīr Bakhshī, and Malik Khair Ullah was appointed to be Kotwāl. On the 30th Abu-l-qāsim Namakīn[1] arrived from Kashmir at the first stage, and had the honour of an audience. On 13 Āzar H.M. crossed the river Biāh (Beas) on an elephant at Gobindwāl, while the troops crossed by a bridge. On this day the house of Arjun Kur (Kuru) received fresh lustre by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. His forefathers had been, one after the other, the leaders of the Brahman caste. He entreated much, and, as his desire sprang from devotion, it was gratified. At this time the fort of Melgarha[2] in Berār was taken. Mas'ūd K. Habshī held it. He also took Sika[3] (?) Jalgāon by craft. First he sent his family inside, and by that pretence conveyed some people thither, and so prevailed over it. Prince Sultān Murād sent Sundar Das with some men. He invested it. On the 19th the garrison capitulated, and delivered up the keys. In this year Walī[4] Beg, the son of Payinda K., came from Bengal, and was exalted by doing homage. Part of his *pīshkash* (offering) was twenty-two choice elephants.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Narnāla.[5] Harān,[6] a native of Zanzibar, held it. He did not accept the persuasions of the enlightened. By the exertions of Rai Gopāl, Dungar[7] K. Gond took the side of concord, and some members of the families of the garrison, who had come out, were seized. He became helpless and made his submission. When the prince came out to see the spectacle of Gāwil, he passed by that fort (Narnāla) and the governor came out and paid his respects. On the 20th he made it over to the imperial servants. It has few equals for height, strength, capacious-

[1] Should be Namakīn, see B. 470.

[2] Silgarha in text, but Melgarha in MSS. See J. II. 229 and 234.

[3] There is a doubtful word here. Jalgaon appears to be the place in Sarkār Narnālah in Berar mentioned at J. II. 234. For "and Sika" the text has Wasika. There is also a variant.

[4] B. 518.

[5] Farnāla in text. It is the Narnala of J. II. 229 and 234.

[6] Or Sarik. Zanjīr [illegible].

[7] Dungar means a forest, see B. 494 2 l. Dongar K. is mentioned at J. II. 229.

ness and quantity of buildings The Prince went to the top of it, and from there returned to S͟hahpur *On this day the fort of* Manpur was taken Mirzā K (the K͟hān-k͟hānān) had invested it for some time, but as he made no special efforts, the Prince recalled him, and sent Nazar K with some men Zangu Nānu, Haibat Rāo, 'Ali K, Garz Rai and others, several times came out and fought,
7 but from want of provisions they capitulated

On the 21st H M crossed the Sutlej at Ludhiāna on an elephant, and the troops crossed by a bridge Next day M S͟hāhruk͟h did homage *An order had been sent, summoning him, and on* 1 S͟hāhriyur he took leave from Prince Sultān Murād On the 26th H M halted at Sirhind Abū S'aīd the collector there had long since built[1] some houses there He begged for H M's visit, and he accepted and came there at the close of the day When it became known that he had built them with oppression, H M did not remain there long, and though his tents had not been set up, and the night was dark, he went off, and reposed in the fields[2] Next morning he visited the delightful gardens, and practised both pleasure and piety (*'ishrat u 'ibadat*) On this day Calabi[3] Beg paid his respects, and was favourably received His ancestors were the chief men of Tabriz In early youth he devoted himself to learning In Qazwin he studied with K͟hwāja Afzal Turk, who was the unique of the age for intellect—in Shiraz he studied with M Jān, who had few equals in philosophy and acquired much knowledge When his abilities and his princely lineage were made known to H M, an order was sent for him to come, together with many presents He obtained his desires at this seat of dominion, but afterwards old age and love for his home took him back again

One of the occurrences was the remitting of [the increase of] the ten to twelve to the Panjab When Lahore was for some time the seat of government, the imperial officers increased the government share[4] in the proportion of ten to twelve on account of

---

[1] The *Iqbālnama says the houses* were built under *Akbar's orders and* the labourers complained that they had not been paid etc

[2] Fazl Sirhindī tells the story with a little more detail

[3] The Iqbalnāma seems to call him Jagatī Beg The text has Calpī A letter of Akbar's sending for him to his court is the last letter of the first book of the Inshā

[4] The MS lithographed and

the high prices When it appeared that by the departure of the auspicious standards, prices returned to their former level, the just sovereign remitted the increase, and small and great were much relieved On 4 Dai Haidari the son of the Khān khānān[1] was burnt He fell asleep in the serai after drinking, a fire arose and on account of insensibility he could not get out On the 5th M Mozaffar[2] Husain (Akbar's son in law) came from Qanauj and obtained his wish by doing homage As it appeared that from drinking he did not follow the path of justice, he was summoned to the presence to be warned On the 7th Māh Bānu the sister of the Khān Ā'zim M Koka died She was wife of the Khān khanān, and was distinguished for intellect and purity Her illness increased in Ambala and she was left behind there The two officers took leave for some days and in that month and year she died H M was grieved and interceded for her pardon. On the 8th Rustum M was wounded while hunting The hawk[3] belonging to the son of Rai Sāl sate on a tree The Mirzā's companions seized it and some Rajputs fought The Mirzā went there to quiet matters Suddenly he was struck on the arm with a sword He had the 748
intelligence to send the misconducted ones to Rai Sāl The far seeing sovereign praised him for his endurance and humanity On the 19th Abu l Qāsim Namakīn received Bhakkar[4] in fief and was

---

printed copies of the Akbarnāma have *dah doa-dah* In the Board of Examiner s MS copy the word *sala* appears to have been interpolated between *dah-doazdah* and the following word *Panjab* but it makes no sense. The original tax was increased by two i e from ten to twelve which means that the increase was by two ten i e ⅕ or 20% (*Note by Phil Secretary*)

[1] There is the variant Khān Jahān Haidarī is not mentioned by Blochmann as one of K K s sons nor does the Maasir Umarā name him But see Darbārī A, pp 620 and 645

[2] This Mozaffar Husain is called Khwesh in the text to distinguish him from Mozaffar Husain Safavī The Mozaffar H of the text was a Timuride and his mother was Gulrukh Begam d M Kāmran Akbar gave him his eldest daughter Sultan Khānam in marriage

[3] *Basha*. The text prints the word without any *'izafat* as if bāsha was the name of Rai Sāl Darbārī s son. But I think it must here mean a hawk See the Maasir III 440 where the story is told and where *bāsha* is printed with an *'izafat*

[4] Text wrongly has Bihār See MSS and B 471

sent off to guard it On this day S Sultān[1] was hanged He was one of the learned The desire of a collectorship made him mad. Thaneswar, which was his home, was made over to him. Owing to the intoxication of the world, he renewed his old grudges and set himself to hurt the good When H M came there, the circumstance was mentioned, and some of his tyranny was proved He obtained the punishment of his deeds On the 19th H M. encamped at Delhi Next day the desire[2] of S Farīd Bakhshī Begī was granted There was an offering of *pés̱ẖkas̱ẖ* and scattering of money Some of them were accepted (by H M) From thence he went by boat to the tomb of Jannat (Humāyun) Āshiyānī, and paid the tribute of respect to the jewel of greatness At this time the government of Delhi was made over to Mir 'Abdu-l-Wahhab Bokhārī As it appeared that S̱ẖaham K had made over the city to some avaricious people, and lived himself at his ease, while the weak were subjected to injustice, he was removed and censured The Saiyid[3] was brought out from retirement and appointed to this service, and raised to the rank of 500.

---

[1] B 104 The Iqbalnama calls him a *krorī* and says the ryots petitioned against him Badayunī also says he was a *krorī* He spent four years in translating the Mahabharat

[2] Apparently he was admitted to an interview. He is the Murtaza K of Jahangir's Memoirs

[3] 'Abdu l Wahhāb He was a learned man, B 546 Jahangir removed him on account of the misconduct of his subordinates Tūzuk J 35 p 75 of translation For Shaham K (Jalāir) see B 410

CHAPTER CXXXVI

Agra, the capital, receives glory by the coming of the Shāhinshāh

H M marched and administered justice for two months, twenty-one days From every place he received new grandeur Three days he halted in order to give men repose Crowds of men obtained varied joys, and gifts were showered The appreciative sovereign won the heart of every one by special consideration He alighted in the august fortress Everywhere there was feasting and banqueting

Verse

See how the victorious standards arrive
The news of victory and joy have reached the sun and moon
The sphere circle rejoices for the moon has come
The world has got its desire now that the Shāh has come

His intention[1] was not to enter the city but to proceed on southwards But as his heart was uneasy on account of the delay in the arrival of the princes, and as praters continually wove new tales, he drew his rein and stopped to reflect Fresh summons were issued to the princes Inasmuch as the writer of the noble volume always held to his own opinion without respect of persons, and represented in an eloquent manner what was good for the State, those 74
who sought for an opportunity and were crooked in their ways represented their own interested views In consequence of their intrigues I was sent off on the 25th[2] (Dai about 5th January, 1599) to bring Prince Sulṭān Murād An order was given that if the officers of the Deccan should take upon themselves the supervision of the country, I was to come to court with the Prince Otherwise I was to send him off and to work in harmony with the others, and to act

[1] Cf translation in Elliot VI 96

[2] In the Āīn J II 191, A F speaks of being at Ujjain on his way to the Deccan on 23rd Farwardin of the 43rd year being a week after the Sipra had flowed with milk I think this must be a mistake for the 44th year

according to the opinion of M Shāhrukh On this account the Mirzā received a flag and a drum and was sent to Mālwa in order that in his own fiefs he might equip the soldiers When he was recalled to the Deccan he was to go quickly On this day M Rustum received Raisin and its territory in fief and was sent off there Shāhbāz K was sent to Ajmere in order that he might chastise the Rānā s officers Every one of the servants got a choice horse and a special *khil at* The writer of the noble volume received in addition a warlike (*mast*) elephant On the 28th the ambassador of Kashghar arrived The sovereign (Akbar) had sent skilful men with some presents, but on account of the insecurity of the roads they could not proceed Muhammad K on hearing of this became (lit grew big) exultant and remembered to return thanks He sent off Mir Imām to the court with presents, but on the way he was plundered He arrived with the letter and was favourably received On the day S'aid K arrived from Behar and did homage On 1st Isfandārmaz[1] the fort of Lohagarha belonging to Daulatābād was taken M 'Ali Beg Akbarshāhi invested it for about a month, and the garrison being in want of food and water, capitulated and de livered up the keys On the 3rd Mir 'Ātrif Ardibili died in Agra They said he was the son of Sām M Safavi He was an ascetic and a solitary Wonderful tales are told of him On the 11th the quarters of M Koka were glorified (by Akbar s arrival), and H M, by sympathetic words, soothed his mother who was in grief for Māh Bānu and was nearly dying She had been detained for a while at the place where her daughter died, and now arrived By the life giving medicine of kindness she obtained existence

At this time the Persian ambassador arrived When the ruler of Turān died Shāh Abbas conceived the idea of making an expedition to Khurāsan He defeated Atam[2] Sultān, a relation of 'Abdullah K, in a great battle and took that country M 'Ali Beg Yuzbāshi was sent by him to court with a humble letter and some choice horses and other presents He regarded this victory as the result of the amity of H M, and recited his thanks On the 25th he was exalted by performing the prostration, and was gratified by princely favours

[1] Cf translation in Elliot VI 97 [2] Or Tatam Sultān

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

Beginning of the 44th Divine Year from the Accession, viz. the Year Ābān of the 4th cycle.

On Sunday, 23rd Shābān 1007, 11th March, 1599, after the passing of 3 hours, 13 minutes, the world-lighting sun cast his rays on Aries. Now, Divine bounty took possession of the old world, and the withered-up earth assumed a new countenance. H.M. adorned the throne with thanksgiving, and sate on the summit of justice and liberality.

Verse.

The old world became young again.
It assumed violet tresses and tulip-cheek.
The ground seemed from the abundance of flowers and verdure
Such that it might be called a sky full of stars.

There was joy upon joy till the day of the culmination (*sharaf*). The hearts of high and low expanded. On the New Year's day Prince Sulṭān Daniel had an audience, and glorified his brow by performing the prostration. He civilised the province of Allahabad by justice and activity, and in accordance with the Shāhinshāh's orders he abandoned drinking, in which he had exceeded. When Fort Bāndhū had been assigned to that nursling of fortune, and he had gone there to see it, and had come from there to Hājīpūr, Dalpat Ujjainiya—who had become rebellious on account of the strength of his place and of his abundant equipment—came forward and paid his respects to him. He presented choice elephants. Then out of smallness of wisdom he took the resolution to fly, but was arrested and brought to court. After this landowner had been put straight, he (Daniel) went on some way to hunt and to put down the rebels. When he heard of the stories fabricated by interested persons, he left off everything and returned and came to court. On 27th Isfandārmaz he sent a petition from the other side of the Jumna and did not obtain leave to have an audience. On the beginning of the august

feast he was summoned and treated with favour Among the choice presents were 206 noted elephants, nine of which obtained the special rank H M was delighted to see his son and the praters and strife mongers withdrew their heads into the pocket of shame Kicak Khwājah, Iftikhar Beg, Hasan Quli, Wali Beg, and many companions, performed the *kornish* On this day Lāla, the son of Rajah Birbar, came from Bengal. He had been sent to advise some officers and to bring elephants if he found any remarkable ones He presented 16 choice elephants On the 6th Rām Singh, the son of Madhkar, glorified his brow by doing homage He had long been uproarious, but on the arrival of the august standards he awoke and took the path of service, and was treated with favour On the

751 11th Āṣaf K was exalted by performing the prostration In compliance with the august orders he arrived within eight[1] days from Kashmir and was exalted by princely favours On this day Rajah Raj Singh had an audience He was in the Deccan army He was sent for, and he obeyed Also Catar Bhuj obtained this favour His father Jagman was one of the proprietors of Mālwa When he died, Catar Bhuj applied to the court and obtained the rajahship in his room

At this time Kheilah[2] was taken It is one of the renowned forts of Berār, and is on the border between it and Gondwana Prince Sultan Murad sent some people under the charge of S Ibrāhim, and it was invested There were great fights When provisions became somewhat scarce, Saiyid Husain, Biswās Rai, and others of the garrison, awoke from the slumber of presumptuousness On the 13th (Farwardin) they capitulated and surrendered the keys In return they received dignities and estates On the 14th Samānji K, Mir Sharif Āmuli, and 'Ab lu-r Rahim, came from their fiefs On the 19th Jagat Singh came to court from Nagor, and was received with favour On the 23rd Qāsim Beg Tabrizi died He had undergone great sufferings in spiritual contemplation, and many delightful Sufic expressions

[1] The text has twenty but the variant eight is supported by the I O MS 236 and the Iqbālnāma and is no doubt right Āṣaf K seems to have been famed for his rapid travelling and twice came from Cashmere to Lahore in three days

[2] J II 229 Cf translation in Elliot VI 97

fell from his lips. On the 25th the Badakhshān ambassador arrived. When Transoxiana became held by provincial kings, a base fellow of that hill country gave out that he was Muḥammad Zamān, a son of M. Shāhrukh, while another called himself Humāyūn, the son of M. Sulaimān. They interviewed one another and divided the territory. The first sent a supplicatory letter to court by N'iamat Ullah. He struck Shahinshāh coins from Kabul[1] gold and sent them with some horses as a present. He explained how he had escaped from the tumult in Kabul and expressed his ashamedness for the catastrophe of Qāsim K. Though many did not believe him and regarded him as an impostor, he was received with favours. On 8th Ardībihisht Nūrāī (?) Aḥadī was executed. He drank wine with an Armenian[2] (?) in the portico of Sharīf. They quarrelled and he went to his house and killed him. He met with his deserts.

One of the occurrences was the taking of Nāsik, which belongs to Aḥmadnagar. Two months previously Prince Sulṭān Murād appointed Baharjeo and some Khāndesh soldiers to that quarter. Aẓmat K. was appointed the Amīn of the force. He knit together the hearts of the leaders. There were great combats and on the 10th the troops prevailed. On the 11th the writer arrived near Burhānpūr. Bahādur K., the ruler of Khāndesh, received him four *kos* from 75 Āsīr.[3] He received as a servant the holy *firmān* and the *khil'at*, and performed the prostration. Though he showed a desire that I should stay some days with him I did not agree. Next day I left Burhānpūr and halted after crossing the Taptī.[4] At the end of the day it blew hard, and there was much rain. Next day I was compelled to halt. Bahādur K. came and spent the day with me. When I[5] had spoken many bitter-seeming but sweetly intended words of guidance about the Deccan expedition, he from self-indulgence proceeded to offer excuses (for not personally taking part in it), and sent off Kabīr K., his son, with 2,000 horse. He wished to take me to his house, and to show me hospitality. I replied that I

---

[1] Text *Kāmil*. But the variant Kābul is supported by MSS.

[2] So the variant. Possibly however the name is Sharīf Armanī. Or *Sharīf* may here mean the royal portico.

[3] J. II. 223.

[4] The variant is supported by the MSS. See J. II. 223.

[5] Though I have used the first person, the text uses the third.

would accept it if he accompanied me When he saw that this avenue was closed, he sent me some presents I represented that I had made a vow to God that I would not take anything from any one unless four conditions were fulfilled "1st, Friendship, 2nd, That I should not over value the gift, 3rd, That I should not have been anxious to get a present, 4th, That I should be in need of it I grant that three conditions have been fulfilled But how can we get over the fourth? The Shāhinshāh's kindness has erased the figure of wish In[1] the market of enlightened action, silver and gold have become a burden" He was astonished at the nobleness of the language

[1] The sentence is very obscure but I think the meaning must be that money is an impediment to good service B in his life of A. F has translated part of the passage The text has *bār dar bar* but the MSS have bazārdar and this seems correct The reading in text may mean silver and gold have frequently detracted from good service

CHAPTER CXXXVIII

Death of Sulṭān Murād

It is a thousand pities that the wine of this tavern contains lees[1] and that the cane of this sugar plantation is a coating to deadly poison The intoxication of this joyous banquet is followed by the crapulousness of sorrow, and the wisdom of this feast ends in the vapours of failure Whose liver does not bleed for this fatal event? Whose eyes do not shed tears of blood? This heap of earth must pass away and be abandoned, and this dark abyss cannot be lighted up All the links that have been put together must be severed, and all must drink the bitter waters Shall I rehearse the jugglery of the old world, or the strong headedness of fate? He was good of action, and a lover of propriety He had an open heart, and a liberal hand, and had courage along with gravity He sought to win hearts and searched for inspiration from those who were outwardly dust-stained but were inwardly bright Owing to the wickedness of selfish and presumptuous men, some vexation arose, and some leaders[2] of the army set themselves to hamper work He returned unsuccessful from Ahmadnagar and fell into chronic grief The brightness of his discretion did not remain, and he gave up to some extent the task of conciliating hearts, and he could not distinguish hypocrisy from humility. When his son[3] died, the jewel of wisdom grew dim, and he set himself down to drink in company with foolish sensual- 75
ists Excessive drinking brought on epilepsy and he did not apply his mind to getting better He concealed his pains and did not digest his food On 13th Ābān of the previous year he went off to visit Gāwil, and after seeing it he went to Elichpur There he got fever, and this increased when he went to the height of Narnāla The abdominal pains also increased His strength and sense dimin-

---

[1] "Durd lees There is a play on the words *durd* and *dard* (pain) Cf Elliot VI 97

[2] An allusion to the Khān khānān

[3] Referring to the death of Rustum in November 1598

ished On 9th Dai he returned to Shāhpur, and physicians set themselves to treat him, and he got a little better When he heard of the arrival of the Shāhinshāh at Agra and of his being summoned to court, he became excessively melancholy, for out of shame for his drunkenness he could not make up his mind to kiss the threshold His officers suggested another course, and when news came of the approach of the writer of the book of fortune, he marched on 9th Isfandārmaz towards Aḥmadnagar His sole idea was to make this expedition a reason for not going (to Agra) The New Year's feast of this year he celebrated at Tamurni [1] On the 16th Ardibihisht he was seized with violent fits near Ḍihāri (or Dihbāri) on the banks of the Pūrnā, 20 *kos* from Ḍaulatābād, and on the 22nd he died in an unconscious state

Verse

Alas for this painful misfortune destructive of repose
Alas for the calamity of this worship of the bowl
A form that was destined for long life he himself destroyed
A jewel that might have threaded many years he himself broke

High and low grieved, and sorrow seized friend and stranger When news came of the illness, H M sent off Hakim Miṣri the Galen of the age, and he also appointed Āṣaf K in order that there might be no delay on the journey The envoys heard of the event on the road and returned I praise the world's lord for that with all his anguish he guarded against being distracted, and because he ministered to his inward grief By the might of the lordship of the spiritual world he achieved calm, and he administered medicine to the unintelligent Kaiqubad, on losing his liver lobe, played away his patience, and gave himself up to impatience Luqman the hakīm applied himself to medical treatment and compounded a medicine out of fortitude He wrote a letter of advice, and represented "The departure of a child from this dark dustbin to the holy realms is not a grief to the sage, and the severing of the connection should

[1] The Ṭamūrnī of J II 237, in Telingānah, or perhaps it is the Tamurnī on the same page, in Sarkār Mahkar B 309 says he died at Jalnāpūr See his preface, page xxii. Price has Khānpur and the Tuzuk Jalnāpūr 22nd Ardibihisht corresponds to about 2nd May 1599 Faiẓī Sirhindī says Murād died on Wednesday, 16th Shawwal 1007 i e on 2nd May 1599

not be regarded as sorrowful. The sorrow which has laid hold of me is lest wisdom's child, i.e. patience, should die, and the fulness of the cup of the earthly body cause the extinction of the celestial spirit." This message brought him out of the sleep of neglect. He set about what was proper for the time and exerted himself in self-culture. He spent his time in thanksgiving. H.M. was wont to act the part of the Teacher ḥakīm. Though chained to so many burdens he lived 754
a free man and at the time of sorrow admmistered medicine for the grieved.

CHAPTER CXXXIX

The arrangement of the army of the Deccan by means of the wonders of daily-increasing Fortune

When the writer of the noble volume was sent off, some grandees set themselves to destroy the work, and in consequence of their tales many old comrades separated from me. I was compelled to look out for new soldiers and by good fortune an abundant force was gathered together Though well-wishers spoke against the system of making loans,[1] I did not withhold my hand from making them. I kept my eyes open to the past disturbances When I arrived within thirty *kos* of the prince's camp, swift couriers brought letters from M Yusuf K and other officers These stated that the prince was very ill, and that I should go on to him post haste Perhaps, the confusion caused by wicked men could be remedied, and high and low be saved from distraction Their hearts had been chilled by the intrigues of the grandees of the court Though my companions told wonderful stories in order to keep me back, I hastened forward all the more My sole thought was that I might spend my life's coin in the service of my benefactor, and express something of my gratitude for favours by the tongue of action On the 19th I went on faster from Dewalgāon with a few men, and at evening, arrived There I saw what may no other person see ! Things were past remedy, and men were in a state of bewilderment Troops of them were going off The anxiety of the leaders was to bring back the prince to Shahpur I represented that in such a confusion, when high and low had lost heart, and there was a great commotion, when the enemy was near at hand, the country was foreign, to return was to cause one's own loss During this talk that nosegay (Murād) withered, and confusion rose high Some from wicked thoughts, some in order to protect their homes, and some in order to look after their children,

---

[1] *Wām* Cf III 249, 1 12 Apparently A F s friends warned him of the danger of making advances to soldiers

chose to separate By the help of God I did not take them into account but set myself to put the troops into order, and to do what was necessary for the time I sent off the body to Shāhpūr in the charge of the house servants, and it was deposited there Some Turanis left the camp and meditated sedition. In spite of advice their presumption increased At this time the troops who were behind, and who were more than 3,000 horse, came up My words had now fresh importance, and the crooked in their ways listened to counsel Still small and great wanted to return They described *the death of Mun'im K Khān khanan, the reversal of affairs in Bengal,* the coming of Shihabu d-din and Ahmad K from Gujarat, and the disturbance in that country and the like As my special reliance 755
was on God, and my eyes were full of light from the fortune of the Shāhinshah, their words had no effect A world became displeased and many got angry and went off I set myself to do what was proper, and the design of advancing occurred to me On the 27th (Ardibihisht) we marched to conquer the Deccan This advance gave new strength to hearts Some counsels were sent to the guardians of the frontiers and the other watchmen of the country The narrow-minded were succoured Whatever treasure the prince had, all the goods which were not fit to be sent (to court), and whatever I had myself or could collect by borrowing, were distributed In a short time those who had gone away returned, and business became active The whole of the prince's territory was guarded, except Nāsik which was far off, and the news of whose danger was later in coming The news of the prince's death and of the despair of the officers dispersed the guardians there Though, on account of the perfunctory conduct of the persons sent, that territory was not secured, yet much land was added to the imperial dominions Though the intriguers at court did not fully read my report (to Akbar) and with evil intentions concealed those events, yet as I continued in prayer to God, and the attention of H M, towards me increased daily, the management of the troops was carried on in an excellent way, and beyond the expectations of contemporaries There was astonishment among far and near It is beyond the power of mortals to return thanks to God What can a powerless person like me do?

Verse

I did not behave moodily in his service,
For he said "he is worthy of praise"

While indulging in thoughts I continued pious, and returned hearty thanks Sometimes this occurred to me "The secret knowledge of the world s lord has again been impressed on high and low Without my striving and without the recommendation of this one or that one, he took me from the dustheap of obscurity, and brought me out from the lane of knowledge-gathering and advanced me to high rank ' Sometimes I thought how without the favour of this or that man I had been promoted to high executive work, and how silence and repentance had taken possession of the tongues and hearts of the court witlings Sometimes it occurred to me that by the efforts of envious people the tongue of suspicion had been loosed against me who only had one object, and they had sent me far away from court, but the true Disposer (God) had made this a source of high promotion, and marked them with enduring shame The circumstance that without man's help this difficult task had been easily performed by me did not (unduly) elate me, and I prayed to God that this liking for difficulties might not darken my understanding, and that the efforts of private enemies might not work me injury

6 One of the occurrences was the death of Maṣum Kābulı From the time when he became mad from ingratitude and stirred up the dust of commotion in Bengal, he fell into distress As the heart-lacerating blows of fortune did not waken him from his slumbers he fell into sicknesses, and on the 30th (Ardibihisht, 10th May 1599) he died [1] The prosperity of the eastern rebels decayed On 3rd Khurdād (13th May) a great member [2] of the harem died The news arrived from Lahore on the 12th, and the royal ladies were seized

---

[1] A son of his by name Shujā, was thanadār of Ghaznī in Shah Jahan s time and had the title of Asad K Bādshāhnama I 451 See Maaṣiru l Umara III 295

[2] The name of the lady is not given but it appears from what follows that she was the mother of Shāhzada Khānim Farzandan in text should be farzand i ān as in I O MS 236 In Price s Jahangir p 46 the mother of Shahzada Khānim is described as Bibī Selīma Begam who of course is not the Selīma who had been Bairam s wife In the Tūzuk p 14 the name of Shahzada s mother is not given but she is described as one of the special concubines of Akbar

with grief, and Shāhzāda Khānim, the daughter of the lady, was much upset H M soothed her somewhat by sympathy and counsels At this time Situnda[1] was taken As after the death of Prince Sultān Murād the writer of the noble volume took charge of the arranging of the army, the guarding of the country, and the capturing of places that had not been taken, he appointed Sundar Das to take fort Laltum[2] He dexterously got some of the inhabitants to assist him One of them called the governor of the fort to his quarters and then informed Sundar Dās Active men set themselves to take the fort The garrison made some resistance and then capitulated On the 27th they delivered up the keys On the 30th Miriām-Makāni came to Agra As H M was going for some time to the South he sent a loving letter inviting her to come to see him At the same time he sent for Sultan Kharram and many of the ladies When they approached, the Prince Royal went forward with some grandees to welcome them On that day H M received them Up to this day no one had told him of the unavoidable event of Prince Sultān Murād The report of the writer had been represented in a different way That great lady (Miriām Makāni) conveyed the news to him and a world was plunged in sorrow H M, by dint of the strength of his lordship of the spiritual world restrained his feelings, and administered comfort to the mourning ladies The assistance of that God worshipper came into play, and the distressed acquired resignation

Verse

---

[1] About 50 m N E Aurangabad Elliot VII 25

[2] Laltam in Badshahnama I 370

CHAPTER CXL

The sending of Prince Sultān Daniel to govern the Deccan

The cherishing of the weak and the chastisement of the rebellious are the great acts of devotion of just monarchs The incomparable Creator wills that nothing should be greater for rulers than these two things. God be praised! H M holds high rank in the 75
recognition of those two duties Neither joy or sorrow withholds him from them In spite of his grief for his dear son and his sympathy for the troops of mourners, he gave his attention to the South in order to assuage the distressed His heart desired to send the Prince-Royal on this service, but he, at the time[1] for being sent there, was guided by evil-minded persons and did not come to court As the guarding of the country could not be delayed, he, in that happy hour, appointed Prince Sultān Daniel On the eve of 2nd Tir he was sent off after receiving weighty counsels H M accompanied him to the first halting place He spent the night there and occupied himself in fresh supplications and counsels He favoured the prince by granting him a red tent (*saraca*) which is only set up for the Shāhinshah A *firman* was sent to the writer of the noble volume to the effect that H M desired to summon me to his presence, but that as he was sending the Prince there, I must endure the apparent separation, and must point out to the prince the management of administrative and financial affairs From the beginning of my understanding I had had a daily-increasing longing for freedom, but by the strange working of the spheres my association with the world had increased At this time when the brightness[2] of the jewel had

[1] From what follows it appears that this refers to the astrological hour which was auspicious for sending off the Prince

[2] Text *roshni-i-gohar* But the expression does not seem intelligible and neither the I O MSS nor the Lucknow ed have *roshni* I O MS 236 has *guzashti* and so has the Lucknow ed, and perhaps the meaning of this is that A F had become older The whole passage is obscure

been augmented, I wished deliverance from the burden of existence on account of the intrigues of wicked men, and the currency of liars (At the same time) I acquired by God's help something of a great name, and my external workshop was raised to a higher rank During this contention between the spiritual and the temporal, the sublime order came and furnished material for both resolutions I was bewildered on account of absence from that fountain of intelligence, but I came to myself from thoughts of development (of the country) I resumed my work and waited in expectation of the advent of that jewel of sovereignty's mine

At this time Saiyid Qāsim Barha's days came to an end Prince Sultan Murad had previously sent him on this expedition and sent with him many brave and experienced men When the prince fell into disorder, he returned rapidly He entered into engagements with the writer of the noble volume and returned after gaining his desires He took possession of some cultivated tracts and on the 6th he died of dyspepsia at the town of Kunhar near Daulatabād On the 8th the writer sent M Khan with a number of men to Nāsik, and he wrote to M Yār, who had been sent there, to join quickly with his force Though on account of his illness he had not a proper equipment, yet no special harm accrued to him from the enemy On the 15th the mother of Prince Sultan Parvez died and the ladies were grieved H M comforted them On the 17th Rajah Mān Singh paid his respects and produced a choice set of presents Among them were fifty valuable diamonds Bengal had become more quiet and he had an order permitting him to come to court 758
whenever his mind was at ease about the country As there was some peace in that land he had the bliss (of attending the court) and received favours On the 28th Qulij K came from Jaunpur, and had an audience Prince Daniel had been left to take charge of that province As he was at ease about it he came to court On 2nd Amardād, Barkhurdar[1] the son of 'Abdu r rahmān, the son of Muayid Beg, was sent to prison Dalpat Ujjainiya had been released and had taken leave to go to his home after having obtained his desires Barkhurdar and some riotous ones fell upon him because his father had been killed in battle with that landholder The latter cleverly escaped H M censured Barkhurdār and sent him to prison

[1] B 512

H.M wished to bind him and send him to the landholder, but at the intercession of some persons he was released [1] On the 4th S 'Abdu-r-rahmān was sent to Daulatābād As God sent the writer of the noble volume to quiet the Deccan, there was activity everywhere so that by (Divine) help, liberality and bravery the contumacious were set to right. At this time the garrison of Daulatābād represented that if safe conducts were granted them, and a place assigned to them for a residence, they would surrender the keys and accept service But there were some Abyssinians and Deccanis in that neighbourhood, and an army should be sent to punish them On this account I sent off my son—whose forehead showed signs of propriety—and gave him 1,500 of my own horse and an equal number of other soldiers At this time Āṣaf K was exalted by being made Diwan i-kul H M always looked closely into the administration, and never neglected what was necessary As Rai Patr Dās opened the hand of bribe taking, and vexed people, he was on the 11th sent to Bandhu and Āṣaf K was raised to this high office Qulij K was made Mir Māl, but gradually he withdrew his hand from this On the 26th M Shahrukh joined the southern army As a great disturbance had arisen upon the death of Prince Sulṭān Murād, the writer called him to himself The Mirzā arranged to come quickly, but foolish talkers prevented him, and the general commotions,[2] which are got up at such times also interfered As it was the Divine will that this inexperienced and unassisted one (the author) should become known for ability and that the envious should be put to shame although I expected that the Mirza from his singleness of heart would come at this crisis even if there was not an order for his doing so, yet from the untrue speeches of this man and that man he did not come And though an order, which had an admixture of rebuke,

[1] Faiẓī Sirhindī says the affair happened on 2nd Muḥarram 1008 15th July 1599 Barkhurdār had gone out from Agra to hunt and came to hear that Dalpat was having his food on the river-bank Barkhūrdār and Ḥusain Beg s Shiroya and a number of servants drew their swords and went off to attack Dalpat The latter and his men had stripped and were eating They swam across the river Mān Singh, then on his way to court, reported the circumstance and H M put Barkhūrdār and Ḥusain in prison

[2] اَرجوفهای عامّه *arjufhā i ʿāmma* I presume this word is a derivative from *rajf*

followed, he made excuses and did not arrive At last Husain was sent as *sazāwal* and made him come, willing or unwilling He arrived 759
this year with the victorious troops, and I received him and brought him to my quarters I exulted at the arrival of so brave and pure minded a man

On 3rd Shahriyur[1] Malik Khair Ullah was killed He was the night watch (*'asas*) of Lahore, and he performed this duty satisfactorily One day he sent for a noted thief, who was in prison, and was examining him in his private room That wicked fellow brought in by pretexts some of his companions, and sent out Malik Khair Ullah's servants, and while the latter was alone, killed him as well as his son

One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the disturbance in Bir[2] An extensive country is attached to this city, and it contains 1 001 villages, every one of which is like a city A month before the death of the Prince, Sher[3] Khwāja had taken it with the help of some brave men When the Prince died, most of the pillars of the State tried to give it up As to give up a conquered territory without cause was to encourage the enemy, the proposal was not accepted (by A F) When things were going on well, envy made many persons mad, and they urged the enemy—who were more than 15,000 in number—to drive off Sher Khwāja during the rains when the river would be full At the beginning of the rains the enemy assembled Their idea was that as the imperial troops were not more than 3,000, they would be victorious when the river was in flood and help could not come On receipt of this information, letters were written to the officers—who could easily join—and great

---

[1] Faizi S says the news came on 13th Muharram 26th July 1599 The thieves said they would give information in private and when they were taken in they killed Malik Khair Ullah and his son by striking them with the wooden clogs on their arms At p 746 Khair Ullah is called the Kotwāl of Lahore

[2] I G VIII 117 Probably it is the Bīragarh of J II 229 and 230 which is described as on the eastern part of Berār It is to the east of Ahmadnagar It is described in the Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Nizām s Dominions by Syed Hossain Bilgrāmī and C Willmott (Bombay 1884 p 207) where it is called Birh It lies on the left bank of the Bendsura river

[3] The text has the words *tarīshuda* which apparently means that Sher Khwāja was with the army, in the reserve

efforts were made to cause them to help Some from ignorance, and some from wickedness made delays so that the rains increased, and the river raged 15,000 Abyssinians and Deccanis with 60 elephants approached Bir Sher Khwāja who was unique for courage and skill, drew up his forces, and from ignorance and fieryness of disposition hastened[1] forward, passing over streams and broken ground Though experienced men represented the superiority of the enemy, the advantages of caution, and the existence of heights and hollows, they were not listened to Owing to this inconsiderate marching, the troops became somewhat disorganised, while the enemy were in good order The van, which was composed of Rājputs fought well, and performed prodigies of valour The centre and the right and left wings did not act well Meanwhile a force, which was in a hollow,[2] made a strong attack Jagrup,[3] son of Jagannāth, Gopāl Dās Rāthor, Sultān Bhāti, Muhammad Amin Culi, and many others, gave their lives in a worthy manner, and the troops were dispersed The
160 enemy followed them and came towards the city Sher Khwāja came forward and drove off the foe in front of him Wafadār K and a number of able men of the right wing joined Y'aqūb Beg, Kucak 'Ali Beg, and some others caused the jewel of courage to shine When Sher Khwaja returned he found the field full of the fallen Learning the success of the foe he became very sorrowful, and was compelled to proceed rapidly to the city Here a hot engagement took place, and Sher Khwaja entered the city, wounded Just then Bahādur al mulk arrived with some brave men and got into the city after performing prodigies of valour The defeated got fresh courage He had come instantly from a distance of ten or twelve *kos*, though the Khwāja was somewhat displeased with him Though he heard that the Khwāja was killed he did not turn back, but came on all the faster S'aid 'Arab and some companions showed great courage By good fortune the enemy were tired out and did not advance that day or the following day, but looked after their own

[1] The text has the words *tarh shuda* which apparently means that Sher Khwāja was with the army in the reserve

[2] Ghanjī said by Vullers to be a mistake for *ghafaci* a hollow a place where water collects

[3] Cagrūp in text This son is not mentioned by the Maasir in its biography of Jagannāth, who was a brother of Rajah Bhagwān Dās

wounded, and dispersed Had they pressed on with the same vigour as at first, things would have been very critical The garrison made a fence (*kocaband*) round the city, and on every side there was fighting

When the news came a council was held, and high and low were asked for their remedies There was a great confusion owing to evil thoughts and bad opinions I turned aside from the others and addressed myself to the True Disposer (God) On 4th Shahriyur I set out rapidly in heavy rain[1] I made over the camp, the artillery and the elephants to M Shāhrukh and Khwāja Abū l hasan to be brought after me to Jālnāpūr I sent for S 'Abdu r rahmān from Daulatābād My idea was to hasten on to the bank of the Ganges (Godavery) and to collect the troops If any one of the good servants *should have the courage to cross and fight I would send him*, and remain myself on the bank so that the work in front might go on, and that those behind might become composed Otherwise I would personally go to the relief As it was not believed that the expedition would take place, few even of the special men came forward I was obliged to form a camp after marching five *kos*, but went on rapidly myself with a few men to Āhubara My idea was that M Yusuf K would show energy in this work After travelling twenty *kos* I joined him in the first part of the night and stayed five days in his quarters Though on the first day I came to despair of him, yet M 'Ali Beg, and the army of Daulatābād, and other brave men, joined I engaged in borrowing money for equipping the soldiers, and sent a number to the bank of the river, and got possession of the ford M 'Ali Beg took upon himself the guarding and the fighting of the force, and I sent on with encouraging words every one who came up afterwards When my mind was somewhat at ease about the army I followed up quickly myself My idea was that as all were not of 761
one mind, possibly an engagement would not have a good result, and so it was better that I should myself come to the battlefield When the officers arrived, one after the other, on the bank of the river, they were unable to cross on account of the flood When S 'Abdu r-rahmān came to the bank, the Divine aid smote the waves and the river became at once fordable When the army heard of this, they returned thanks to God, and they crossed over on horse-

[1] Text *garmī u bārish* But I O MSS have *yazish*

back Old natives of the country were astonished, and thought that it was magic On the 20th I arrived at the bank of the river, and on hearing the news of the victory I halted On the 18th when the troops crossed, the enemy—who were near the bank—had fought slightly with the skirmishers and had then fled They lost heart on hearing that the tempestuous river had been crossed and that the writer had arrived On the 19th they broke up the siege and went off in a confused state to Ahmadnagar Thanksgivings were offered upon the receipt of this news, and there were joyful meetings The garrison had been in straits for nineteen days Though on the first day they did not display much courage, yet during the siege they showed great valour, though their condition was wretched, and they despaired of help Every day there were hot contests The men had to eat horse flesh, and the horses ate the reed thatching of the houses The heroes were nearly slaying their families and coming out by sacrificing their own lives In spite of the confusion of one's comrades, smallness of means and the difficulty of the work, the Incomparable Creator produced so delightful a picture, and a world fell into rejoicing My idea was that on this day when the Niẓāmu l mulki troops were disordered, and many brave men were collected, an expedition should march to take Ahmadnagar But the resolution of my companions did not rise to this Strange to say, they even wanted to abandon Bīr Some out of evil intentions separated themselves, and a new commotion arose It was remedied by endurance and forbearance As the Bīr soldiers had undergone hardships, and were depressed on account of men's foolish talk, I wished to make over the guarding of it to S 'Abdu r rahmān Sher Khwaja from the goodness of his disposition represented ' As I commenced the work, it is far better that I should finish it, but please place some men in Shahgarha to help me Though Bīr has a stone fort, an earthen wall shall also be put round the city ' On this account Bīr was left in his charge The chosen servants there received promotion as well as robes of honour and horses, and suitable presents I myself made my quarters on the bank of the river in order to encour
762 age them By the Divine favour a great disturbance subsided, and the rebels everywhere had recourse to entreaties There was new fervour in giving of thanks, and there was also acknowledgment of the Shāhinshāh's fortune There was a wonderful old *nīm* tree in the

fort of Shāhgarh. Its trunk had two branches, one sweet, and the other bitter The first was good for preserving health and in leprosy, etc I reported this to H M, and in accordance with orders I sent portions of both to court

At this time the arrival of treasure quickly brightened the face of dominion As many had not fiefs, and the *jagirs* of some others were not in good order, the hall of wishes was opened (i e petitions were made) When H M heard of this he gave orders that the Gujarat treasure should be gradually conveyed and that more than three *lakhs* of rupis should be sent from court by way of *hundi* In this country the rule is that when one desires to have money conveyed without the expense and trouble of transit to distant places, he makes it over to a man of means and he thereupon gives a writing This is conveyed to the desired place and the person there pays the money on seeing the document The singular thing is that seals and witnesses are not required The writing is called by this name (*hundi*), and in consequence of difference in place and circumstance sometimes it is met at par and sometimes there is profit (?) H M distributed the money to the officers and ordered that each should dispatch it according to this custom In a short time this was done and the soldiers got new support

On the 21st the daughter of Qulij K died This great lady was in the harem of Prince Sultān Daniel She died near Gwaliyār H M brought the mourners to patience by his exhortations On this day the fort of Taltum was taken It is one of the choice forts of Berar The writer sent Sundar Das to take it, and he planted there the foot of courage There were great fights One night the garrison was overtaken by the slumber of neglect The assailants mounted by ladders, Qatlu K the governor fled and the other rebels submitted

CHAPTER CXLI

Upreaing of the august standards in the direction of Mālwa

When Prince Sulṭān Daniel was sent off to conquer the South, and delayed somewhat on the road, H M. conceived the idea of hunting in Mālwa so that he might urge on his son to greater activity in the carrying out of orders On 6th Mihr, 16th September, 1599, he made over the charge of Agra to Qulij K, and after 4 hours, 24
763 minutes, mounted his rapid steed and went off on his expedition to the Deccan Sulṭān Khusru, Sulṭān Parviz, Sulṭān Kharram and many ladies accompanied him On this day the Prince Royal obtained leave to go to Ajmere The gracious sovereign was continually increasing his kindness to him, but he from drunkenness and bad companionship did not distinguish between his own good and evil On this account he was for some time not granted an audience [1] At the instance of Miriam-Makāni he was allowed to make the *kornish* He made fresh promises of discretion and of service H M sent him to chastise Umra the Rānā, and gave him many instructive counsels Rajah Mān Singh, Shāh Quli Mahram and many other officers accompanied him At the request of the Rajah, his son Jagat Singh was sent off to take charge of Bengal

One of the occurrences was the death of ʿĪsā He was a great landholder in Bengal He had some share of prudence, but from somnolence of fortune he did not come to court At the time when H.M was marching to the South Rajah Mān Singh thought in his ignorance that the guardianship of Bengal was an easy matter, and so took it upon himself while living in Ajmere By wondrous fate that turbulent landholder died, and the thornbush of commotion was extirpated On the 19th the Khān khānān was sent to Prince Sulṭān Daniel When the gracious sovereign learnt that the writer of the noble volume was very sad on account of his distance from the

---

[1] Possibly this refers to the Anarkali affair

sublime court, he distinguished that great officer—who on account of the occurrences in the Deccan had somewhat fallen out of favour—and the latter made fresh promises of good service He was allowed to leave at the second stage, and an order was given that when the prince arrived (in the Deccan), the writer should take the opportunity of coming to prostrate himself at the holy threshold He was delighted at this news, and submitted his humble thanks On the 22nd H M alighted, on the way, at the quarters of the Khān khānān, and enjoyed himself there till the close of the day Among the presents offered by the Khān khānān was a horse which fought with an elephant, and excited astonishment On the 26th Jagat Singh died When he was sent off to Bengal he near Agra engaged in preparations for the journey Suddenly he died, and the Kachwāha tribe was plunged into sorrow Princely sympathy administered balm to the mourners His son Mahā[1] Singh, who was of tender age, was favoured and sent off in his room The garden of a world's hope was irrigated At this time the capture of the fort of Narnala brought joy In old times the ruler of Berar made Taltum the seat of government The ruler of Ahmadnagar conquered it In the first place the son of Qatlu K —who held both forts—fell into the hands of Sundar Dās and thereafter conceived a desire to enter service On this day he through the intervention of 'I'tibār K chose service and delivered up the keys Dalpat Rāo, Daulat K. 764
and others of the garrison obtained their desires On 4th Ābān the solar weighment took place, and H M was weighed against twelve articles The court of liberality and of gifts was thrown open On the 5th the august retinue arrived near Dholpūr, and rested for a while in Sādiq K.'s garden Zāhid his son acquired bliss by distributing money, and by offering presents

At this time the writer sent to court the ladies of Prince Sulṭān Murād When he died, some of them, who were with him, were sent to Shāhpur They were now all collected and sent with honour under the charge of suitable persons The treasurer (*tahwildār*), the accountant, and the dārogha were sent with them, and a list was made of the properties On account of the insecurity of the roads,

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that though Mān Singh had other grown up sons, yet according to Hindu custom the son of the deceased got his appointment

and a shortness of money, there was some delay in the dispatch Now that their minds were at ease, they were sent off on the 15th The corpse was also sent As wicked men intended war, and there was a great report of a forthcoming battle I retained one half of the 400 elephants Rai Durgā, M Faridun and other officers and *ahadis* were appointed to escort the ladies I was relieved of a heavy responsibility They joined the court in Mālwa By H M's orders the body of the forgiven one was conveyed to Delhi On the 20th, H M halted at Gwaliyar, and he ascended the fort, and passed the night there Rāj Singh [1] the governor paid his respects, and received honour Next day he descended and visited the dwelling of S 'Abdullah K On the 26th Mir 'Abdu-l hai was sent to the Prince-Royal As it was reported that he was loitering on the way, Mir 'Abdu l-ḥai was sent to him with counsels As Rajah Mān Singh was discomposed by grief for his son, a horse and a robe of honour were sent to him, and consolatory messages addressed to him On 1st Āzar, 11th November, 1599, Shāhbāz K died He was addicted to the use of quicksilver When he was over seventy, he got pains in his arms and loins He got a little better, but in the city of Ajmere the illness returned, and the fever increased The remedies of the physicians restored him to health, but in this year and month he suddenly died He had few equals in every kind of service, and in the management of troops If he had given up bigotry and had controlled his tongue, he would have possessed the embroidery of wisdom [2]

At this time the writer proceeded towards Aḥmadnagar Cānd Bibi had raised Bahādur, the grandson of Burhān, to the throne and

[1] Cf Faiẓī Sirhindī's account He says that the governor spread carpets from the gate of the fort to the rooms which Humāyūn had occupied in the beginning of his reign He also says that H M visited the tomb of Muḥammad Ghauṣ

[2] There is a Shahbaz K mentioned by Jahangīr, Price 35 but though there is a resemblance in the characters of the two men this Shahbaz K can hardly be the man who died while Jahangīr was still only Prince Royal Faizī S says Shāhbāz died on a Friday in Jamada ṣanī The Maaṣir says Jahāngīr took possession of all Shahbaz's property and went off to Allahābad If the Shahbaz mentioned in Price's Memoirs be really the Shāhbāz of the Akbarnama the mistaken account of him in the former work is strong evidence of its spuriousness

was living there She thought it was a strong place, and a protection for herself Some soldiers were favourably disposed to her Outside, Abhang K the Abyssinian (zangi) was, along with many others, making a disturbance Though the boy was considered as the ruler yet secretly that chaste lady was ruler She continually 765
sent conciliatory messages to the army, and also at the same time affected friendship with the Deccanis She[1] practised the same methods towards the author of the precious volume He replied, "If from foresight and a happy star you bind yourself to the sublime court, what can be better! You must observe whatever agreement you make Otherwise it is improper to utter words to which acts do not correspond The path of sending and receiving messages is not clear" When the wickedness of those inside became patent to her, and she came to understand in some measure the good intentions of this person (A F) she sent well wishers and confirmed the relationship of friendship and in the treaty written with her own hand she inserted true oaths She represented that when Abhang K was punished she would surrender the keys of the fort but asked that Bir might be made her fief She also asked that she might be allowed to go there and take some repose, and said that thereafter she would go to court whenever it was wished, and would send Bahadur to wait upon H M From the upsetting of plans and the vexations of companions there would be some delay"

When the stay in Shahgarha had been somewhat prolonged, and some had gone away and the report of the coming of the Prince died down, evil thoughts came into the head of Abhang K He brought Sham sher ul mulk, the son of Miyan K—who was formerly the governor of Berar—out of prison and gave him position He also gave him an army in order that he might go from Daulatābad to that country (Berār) As the families of the soldiers were there, the imperial army got perturbed, lest at this time he might prevail As I knew for a long time of this evil intention, I sent M Yusuf K with a large force to remedy matters The Mirza treated the affair lightly

[1] In the first letter of the 2nd book of the Inshā A F reports the arrival of Cānd Bībī's messengers and of her expressing her regret at Prince Murād's death and of her describing her circumstances The messengers arrived on 14th Khurdād 1007=24th May 1599

and fell into the slumber of negligence He (Shamsher) came to Berar, and a great commotion arose Many of the defenders of the country took to flight and a number went off, without asking [1] leave, to comfort their families By the help of able men I formed the idea of proceeding to Ahmadnagar, of punishing the wicked who were inside, and of testing the words of Cānd Bibi I set off on the 12th, and summoned to myself the brave men from every quarter When I had advanced several stages, the enemy turned back from every place, and collected at Ahmadnagar At this time came the joyful news that Shamsher K had fallen The commotion awaked M. Yusuf K. and he followed him (Shamsher) quickly He also sent on in advance M Khān, M Lashkari, 'Aādil K, Sundar Dās and others Shamsher made an attempt on Elichpur The men sent in advance arrived, and he, on receiving this intelligence, became be
766 wildered and went off rapidly They at the guidance of some landholders loosed their rein (i e pursued him) On the night of 7th Āzar they fell upon his quarters from every side and poured in arrows There was a slight battle and suddenly he was killed by an arrow The success of the wicked departed, and the drum of joy beat high On the 27th the august standards reached Bhilsa, and M Rustum arrived from his fief, and did homage

At this time the writer abandoned his intention of proceeding to Ahmadnagar On 5th Dai he came to Mungī [2] Patan, and wished to cross the Ganges (Godavery) There he received the orders of Prince Sultān Daniel to this effect Your energy is impressed upon every one Your desire is to take Ahmadnagar before we arrive, but you must restrain yourself from such intention After this, there will be no delay on the road'

On the 9th H M mounted his horse, and a world rejoiced For some days he had pains in his stomach, and had proceeded in a litter From God s kindness to mortals, he got well near Sajawalpūr and returned thanks At this time a fresh disturbance broke out among the soldiery When the Prince arrived at Burhānpur, Bahādur K did not come down from his fort to meet him and refrained

[1] Text *na rasīda* But the variant *na parsīda* is supported by the I O MS 236

[2] A large town on the east bank of the Godavery forming the residence of Salivahan who defeated Vikramāditya (Tiefenthaler I 487)

from the auspiciousness of service. The Prince conceived the design of punishing him, and sent for M. Yûsuf K. who was about to go to Pattan. On seeing this, other men went to that quarter, and many left the writer. The enemy—who had been in trepidation—on seeing this inopportune delay and dispersion, made several night attacks, and failed. I continually exerted myself to put matters straight. Brave men set their hearts upon fighting, and fought well. Owing to the Divine protection, and one victory after another, the rebels dispersed, and Abhang K. took to supplications and flatteries. On 15th Bahman the lunar weighment took place at Ujjain, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a general proclamation of liberality, and crowds of men had their desires satisfied. On the 25th H.M.'s stomachic pains were somewhat troublesome, but after four days he recovered his health. High and low returned thanks, and there were joyful assemblages.

CHAPTER CXLII

Expedition of H M for the taking of Āsīr

On the 29th the great tent was erected at Ujjain H M 's intention was to remain for some days in Malwa and enjoy hunting, so that the soldiers might set themselves energetically to the conquest of Ahmadnagar When the news came that Bahadur K , the ruler of Khāndesh, had, in consequence of the strength of his fortress and the amount of his equipment, not paid his respects to the Prince, and that the latter thought of taking the fort and of punishing him, an order was issued that he should proceed with his expedition against Ahmadnagar " Perhaps Badadur's not paying his respects was not the result of rebelliousness Perhaps his intention was first to pay his respects to ourselves (Akbar) Otherwise the august standards will come to Burhānpur and get to the bottom of the affair " The Prince obeyed the order and went on Bahadur K offered choice presents, and sent his son Kabir K with some men to accompany him (Prince Daniel) First, Khwajah Mawadūd went from the court to give him advice He sent four unsuitable elephants and made false statements about not paying his respects Then Mir Sadar Jahān was sent to give advices, and after him Peshrau K Bahadur in his want of wisdom fell into absurd thoughts As his ancestor (his father) had ended his life in obedience and service, H M had favoured him from afar and had given him his kingdom From ill fatedness he did not march with the army of the South, and did not wait upon the princes H M was always making[1] allowances for him Now when the august standards had arrived near at hand, and Bahadur did not accept advice, he unavoidably proceeded to punish him and to take his country from him He marched by the route of Dipālpūr and Dhār to Burhānpur On the 11th 76

[1] Apparently the literal meaning of the original is "was always furnishing a support for his stumbling (feet)"

Isfandārmaz, Sālbāhan, the son of Mandı (?), S , Farīd[1] Bakhshı Begı, Hāshım Beg, Qarā Beg, Qāzī Hasan, M. Yūsuf, Baz Bahādur, Muqīm K , Bahādur K., Tolak[2] K , M. Barkhūrdār, 'Ulugh Beg Badakhshī, Rahīm Haravı, Mır Jalāl, Qazal Abdāl, 'Alāu-d-dın Husaın, Bıkramājıt, Lakhmān Sen, Bhangan (?) K , and some Saıyıds of Barha and many other brave men, were sent off to besıege Āsīr On the 21st Fath Ullah[3] Sharbatdār (butler) dıed He was a good servant and rıght-mınded He was placed ın a confidentıal posıtıon on account of hıs good servıce. He fell ınto habıts of drınkıng, and was sent to the Deccan ın the hope that the paın of separatıon mıght be medıcınal to hım He had the auspıcıousness to gıve up the habıt, but suffered severe paıns, so that physıcıans came to despaır of hım The gracıous sovereıgn called hım to hımself, and he got a lıttle better He went to vısıt Māndu, and suddenly dıed On the 23rd H M arrıved at the Narbada Next mornıng he enjoyed swımmıng[4] thereın On the 26th he crossed the rıver and arrıved at Bıjāgarha The New Year feast was celebrated ın that delıghtful place.

---

[1] Faızī Sırhındı gıves a lıst of names, but ıt does not agree altogether wıth A. F s He mentıons Gulbād, Bahadur Uzbeg, Hāshım who, he says, was the son of Qāsım K Mīr Bahar; Muqīm the son of Shujā'at

[2] Faızī has Bulaq the son of Tolak

[3] Faızī S also notıces Fath Ullah s death and says he was a pupıl of hıs father s and that when he came to Mandū and saw the tombs there he expressed a wısh to dıe there

[4] Text *ābbārı*, but I O MS 235 has *ābbāzī* whıch seems rıght It may mean swımmıng or any aquatıc amusement

CHAPTER CXLIII

Beginning of the 45th year from the Accession, to wit, the year Āzar of the 4th Cycle

On the night of Monday, 4th Ramzan 1008, 10th March 1600, after 8 hours 40 minutes the world lighting sun cast his rays upon Aries, and the 9th year of the 4th Cycle brought news of joy The world put on the joy of youth from the air of Spring and the breeze of the morning Thanks were rendered, and prayers offered up that there might be a new revolution of the heavens, and new delight to mortals

* * *

The wise sovereign gave his mind to embellishment He distinguished between Spring and Autumn and set himself to entertain the new arrivals As an expedition was contemplated, he attended less than usual to outward decorations On 5th Farwardin he marched, but as many endeavoured to keep him back he halted at Kargaon Bijāgarha On 10th Farwardin, 20th March 1600, the writer paid his respects at this place, and obtained the desire of his heart by beholding the Shāhinshāh When the Prince passed Burhanpur an order arrived that I should make over the soldiers to M Shāhrukh and proceed to court I was delighted I went to the Mirza and held a council, and read the order As on account of the proceeding of men to Burhanpur some dispersal had arisen, the Mirzā and the leaders of the army objected and represented that they could not manage this tumultuous place I went sorrowfully back to my quarters and remained in expectation. When some time had passed, and things had quieted, and the Prince had come nearer M Shahrukh, Mīr Martazā, Khwāja Abu l hasan and others took upon themselves the charge of the camp I made over the treasure, the artillery, etc , but by the royal orders I took with me the elephants I set out on the 12th Isfandārmaz and on the 17th I met the prince near Āhubara, and stayed there three days Meanwhile another

order came, viz. that when I came to Burhānpūr, if Bahādūr should 769
on my counsels choose to come with me, I should give him the news of pardon and bring him with me, otherwise I was to leave the troops and the elephants there, and to come on more quickly in order that he might consult me about advancing and about going to Gujrat When I came there (Burhānpūr) Bahādur came and saw me, and accepted my advice and became disposed to accompany me When he went back to his house he fell into crooked ways, and sent an improper reply. According to the royal order I left the troops and the elephants and hastened forward. In a fortunate hour I rubbed my forehead at the sublime courtyard, and was exalted by princely favours. He repeated this verse with his pearl-laden tongue.

Verse.

Serene be the night and pleasant the moonshine [1]
That I may talk with thee on every subject.

As the august standards had nearly come up, and an army had gone off to take Ahmadnagar, it seemed good to advance. On the 21st Burhānpūr was made illustrious by the holy advent. From Agra to this city there are 226 *kos* and they were traversed in 69 marches in the course of 195 days On the 22nd the Khān A'ẓim, Āṣaf K., S Farīd [2] and the author were sent to besiege Āsīr and to establish batteries. In a short time the orders were carried out, and many soldiers were left to carry on the siege (?) The army, which had been sent under the charge of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī to take Āsīr,

---

[1] Ramẓān, the day on which A. F arrived, would be a moonlight night The Iqbālnāma has a different reading For *Mahtābī*, moonlight, it has tabanāī, solitude The couplet is quoted in the story of the two pigeons in the introduction to the Anwārī Suhailī The reading there is somewhat different

[2] Apparently, this Farīd must be a different person from Farīd the Mīr Bakhshī, for the latter had been sent to Āsīr in the previous year, viz. 11th Isfandārmaz 1008, 22nd February 1600 See ante, p 76 We see too from the sentence that follows, that Farīd Mīr Bakhshī's force had not attempted to take Āsīr, but had halted some six miles away, and that on this account Akbar had been displeased till A. F. explained matters However the S Farīd mentioned as now accompanying Akbar may be the Mīr Bakhshī as he may have returned from camp Faizī S has a long story about negotiations between Farīd and Bahādur

was small in numbers, while the enemy was numerous It therefore acted with forethought and turned back when within three *kos* of the place Some envious people gave another colour to this, and made H M rather vexed When the writer had an audience, he represented the real facts, and H M was satisfied On this day the charge of guarding Khāndesh was entrusted to the writer On the 23rd[1] men were appointed in two places From one side my honoured brother S Abu l barkat was sent with some experienced men, and from the other my son S 'Abdu r rahmān was sent. By the energy of the servants of God the rebels were soon chastised, and many submitted and enjoyed themselves The soldiers of Khāndesh chose service, and the husbandmen were soothed, and engaged in agriculture On 7th Ardibihisht Mozaffar Husain M was sent to Lalang As near there Fulad K Habshi, Rūp Rāi, Malik Sher and some other Khandesh leaders spoke of submitting, Rai Durgā, Rai Manohar, Khwajagi Fath Ullah, Mir Zahid, Mir Gadai, Mir 'Abdu-l hai and many others were sent there under the charge of the Mirzā If they (the Khandesh leaders) received words of counsel, they were to be sent to court, and the Mirza was to address himself to the taking of the fort (Āsir) Otherwise he was to punish them
770 By the excellence of fortune Rup Rai died, and got the retribution of his crooked ways He was distinguished in Khāndesh for his bravery and for the number of his followers Before the imperial army arrived there, Fulad K separated from him in order to proceed to the holy threshold When the writer was in Pattan, he guided him towards obedience, and made compacts with him At this time he sent him a letter of advice and summoned him An order (of Akbar's) was written to encourage him On account of this document he came out from among the rebels Masa'ud Beg was conveying one hundred of the Shāhinshāh's elephants to Gujrat, and he

[1] I O MS 236 has a different reading here, and so, it appears had Chalmers They have, instead of 23rd the date, the statement that A. F established 22 posts The Lucknow ed. has also this The Maasir also, II 613, speaks of A F.'s [illegible] sent his men with his son and his brother and established 22 posts The Iqbālnama says, apparently, that Akbar distributed the lands of Khandesh among his troops, and gave the produce to A F so long as H M remained in the country

Fūlād) joined him Rup Rai hastened to attack Fūlād K When his words to him about going back had no effect, a fight took place Rup Rai was wounded and had to fly His elephants and other property were seized and he shortly afterwards died The good service of Fulād K was manifested

At this time there was some disturbance in Bengal Rajah Mān Singh ignorantly continued to have charge of Bengal, while staying in the province of Ajmere He thought the sedition mongers there to be loyal and left them in that distant country to their own devices 'Usman Sajawal and other turbulent Afghans, who pretended to serve, raised the head of sedition Mahā Singh and Partāb[1] Singh thought this could be easily remedied, and came out to fight On the 18th (Ardibihist=May 1600) there was a hot engagement in Bhadrak, and the imperial troops were defeated Though Bengal was not lost, yet some portion of it was seized

At this time Moẓaffar[2] Ḥusain M took to crooked ways H M did not take his former slips into account, and exalted him by several favours He from an evil nature took to drinking, and the brightness of his intellect did not remain One day he quarrelled with Khwājahgi Fath Ullah, and used violent language In this year when the officers were four *kos* off from Lalang they started off to see that fort Mozaffar thought he had got his opportunity and went away into vagabondage Owing to the discord among the soldiers, no one pursued him Dalpat the son of Rai Singh, went off on pretence of seeking him but really went to his own home and proceeded to stir up strife After three days Khwājah Wais[3] went out to search for him As that wicked fellow (Mozaffar) had gone off rapidly towards Gujarat his companions fortunately deserted him gradually His aims were upset, and he failed He was compelled to disguise[4] himself as a devotee (as a qalandar) between Surat and Baglāna While he was in this bewilderment the Khwāja came up and

---

[1] Mān Singh s brother and in charge of Mahā S ngh B 516 The Iqbalnāma remarks on this occasion that the earth of Bengal was leavened with the water of sedition Apparently Mahā Singh was then a lad of 15 or 16 for according to the Tuzuk J 186 he died in 1617 (1026) at the age of 32 and in the 12th year of Jahangīr translation p 377

[2] This is Gulrukh Begam s son and Akbar s son in law

[3] Or Waisī

[4] See Iqbālnāma and B 463

seized him on 5th Khurdād On this day Rajah Partāb, the Zamīndār of Baglāna, came to do homage and was honoured, and rewarded by princely favours He was raised to the rank of 3,000 and after re-
771 ceiving a flag and a drum was allowed to go to his home At this time Bahādur K came forward with excuses and asked for quarter When he emerged somewhat from somnolence of understanding he by the instrumentality of some double faced persons at court sent off his grandmother [1] and his young son together with sixty elephants He represented that "he had become terribly frightened on account of his backsliding and so was kept back from kissing the threshold He wished that he might be left for some time to do foreign (i e not at court) service until his fears should pass away and then he would come to court with the evidence of good service He was making over his daughter (in marriage) [2] to Sultān Khusrū, and was sending abundance of presents' His sole idea was that as provisions were dear H M would forgive him on receipt of this entreaty, and would march on The reply was that nothing would be accepted from him *unless he paid his respects He should rely on a true promise and* get rid of his fears, and come and serve [3] At this time Ibrāhim received the retribution of his deeds When the management of Khāndesh was entrusted to the author he had sent Sundar Dās and many others to take the fort of Sambal [4] Dol, and Jāmū That wicked fellow (Ibrāhim) fought, but by God's help he was defeated and made prisoner Many brave men were wounded, and Sundar Dās bravely yielded up his life On the 10th that turbulent one met with the punishment of his deeds On the 12th Fulād K had an audience, and was exalted by princely favours He obtained the rank of 1,000 and a cultivated fief was given to him

---

[1] Faiẓī S calls her the mother and perhaps the text only means venerable mother This Bahādur was the ruler of Khandes and owner of Āsīrgarh.

[2] The phrase is ba maṣhkūī Sultān Khusrū, Maṣhkū being the name of the palace that Khusrū of Persia made for Shīrīn

[3] The grandmother and the son were sent back (Iqbālnāma)

[4] The Pīpaldol and Jāmod of J II 224 The dots below the first letter may represent either an S or a P Jāmod is the proper name We are not told any particular as to who this Ibrāhīm was Apparently he was put to death

One of the occurrences was the death of Bica Jio[1] Though she was the mother of the Khān Ā'zim M Koka, yet she also held a maternal relation to H M On the 16th she died after much suffering, and the world's lord was sad. In his grief he shaved his head and mustaches, and though he tried that none should shave except her children, his faithful servants followed suit H M. carried the bier for some distance on his shoulders While old, she had a youthful mind. She was very well disposed, and gracious of heart On the 17th Mozaffar Husain was brought to court His shortsightedness was pardoned, and he was sent to the prison of instruction When it became known that the officers had not actively pursued and searched for him, they were censured, and Rai Durgā and Rai Manohar were appointed for this duty Khwāja Wais had arrested him and brought him to Sultānpur, and they too came there Near Coprah[2] Khwaja Nāẓir, 'Ambar Habshi and other Khāndesh rebels rose up to fight By God's help they were discomfited and disgraced On the 25th (Khurdād, 5th June 1600) the writer of the noble volume was raised to the rank of 4 000, and many sate down in the blackness of envy On this day Ṣardar[3] K came and did homage and was raised to the rank of 1,000 He was the grandson of Rajah 'Ali K and the sister's son of the writer H M summoned him from Agra in order that he might favour him The soldiers of the landholder of Khāndesh joined[4] him On the 32nd the troops took the summit of the hill of Sapan[5] It is very high and difficult of access The garrison of Āsir used to come out to it and do damage Qarā Beg, M Yusuf, M Tolak, Rahmat K, S 'Allāu d din, Khwāja Abu Nāsir, Mir Qāsim Badakhshi, 'Abdu r rahim, Shihāb Qandahāri, Nizāmu d din Haidar, and others stood firm in battle, and gradually drove off the enemy until they entered the fort (Āsīr) A grand victory was won Qarā

[1] This is Jiji Anaga the wife of Shamsu d din and not Pica Anaga who was the wife of Khwāja Maqṣūd The Iqbālnāma calls her Jiji Anaga. It says Akbar shaved his hair, his eyebrows etc, according to the rules of Cingiz Khān

[2] J II 224 25 The Chopda of I G X. 327 t had a temple of Rameshwar at the confluence of the Girnī and Taptī

[3] B XXXIV

[4] Presumably on account of his relationship with the Khāndesh royal family

[5] Sāpan is referred to later on at p 777 It was a hill to the S W of Asīr, and one of its outworks

Beg and some others took charge of it Things became somewhat difficult for the garrison (of Āsīr) In the beginning of Tīr Shābam K Jalāir had an audience He had been summoned to this expedition He arrived after providing equipment, and was exalted by princely favours On the 3rd Nāsik was taken When S'aādat K. submitted, the base Rāju,[1] his servant, enticed his followers by intrigues, and seized elephants and other things, and prevailed over that country On receiving this news the Prince sent 5,000 men under the command of Daulat K to punish him Rajah Sūraj Singh, S'aadat Bārha, Rustum Arab, Shamsher 'Arab, Shahbāz K, Burhān-al mulk and many others went with him Able men showed a good fight and by God's favour a victory was obtained In this year Khwaja Shamsu d din khāfi died He had been left in Lahore to manage the crown lands of the Panjab He did the work in whole and in detail, and in that city he died He was one of the singular of the age for success, truthfulness and courage His knowledge had the glory of corresponding action Contrarieties did not disturb him H M grieved at the departure of this able man, and implored pardon for him from God, and showed suitable favour to his survivors He appointed his younger brother Mumin, who was distinguished for propriety, to the same office On the 27th those who had capitulated were sent to prison When the victorious troops invested Ahmadnagar, S'aādat K, Farhād K, Shuj'aāt K, Sharza K, 'Abdu-ṣattār and many Abyssinians and Deccanis made agreements and did homage The dust of dissension subsided The enemies who had passed themselves off as friends became mad, and set themselves to destroy the work By dexterous means they excited the Prince,
13 and at their instigation he arrested many people Farhād K and others, who under the guidance of M Khān were serving peaceably,

[1] Evidently the Rajū who afterwards gave so much trouble He is called Rāju Deccanī and Rajū Mannu Ferishta says in his account of the Nizamshāhī dynasty that two men of no family—Ambar the Abyssinian, and Rajū—preserved the dynasty from the Moghuls A F never calls the scion whom they raised up anything but the son of Shah Alī Ferishta calls him Murtaẓa Nizam Shāh Rāju and Ambar were on bad terms with one another and the K K made use of this and sent an army under his son to attack 'Ambar A great battle occurred at Kharkī in 1010 A H and Irij was victorious (B 491) Afterwards the K K. was on good terms with Ambar

took to flight. A cry that promises were being broken was raised and every one who wanted to come in turned back.

One of the occurrences was the improper conduct of the Prince Royal. When that nursling of dominion was sent to punish the Rānā, he from self-indulgence, wine drinking and bad company spent much time in Ajmere. Afterwards he hastened off to Udaipūr. The Rānā came out on another side, and increased his disturbance. He plundered Mālpūr and other cultivated places. He (the Prince) sent Mādhū Singh and a body of troops in that direction, and the Rānā returned to the hills. In his retreat he made a night-attack on some soldiers. Reẓa Qulī, Lāla Beg, Mubāriz Beg, Aliph K. stood firm and he retired without success. Before the Prince had accomplished his task in a proper manner he at the instigation of evil persons showed a disposition to behave in a self-willed manner. He wished to go to the Panjāb, and he indulged his disposition somewhat. Suddenly, there was a loud report of the disturbances of the Afghans in Bengal, and Rajah Mān Singh pointed out to him that he should go there. On 1st Amardād he crossed the Jumna, four *kos* from Agra. Miriam-Makānī was astonished at his disobedience and at his not coming to pay his respects (to her?) In her loving kindness she followed him for some distance, thinking that she might by her counsels guide him to the path of auspiciousness. On becoming aware of this, he left the hunting ground for his boat and went rapidly down the river. That great lady returned with a sorrowful heart. He went on to Allahabad and confiscated men's fiefs, and laid hold of the Bihar treasure, which was more than thirty *lakhs* of rupis. He also assumed the name of king. H.M. from his abundant loving-kindness and the views of tricksters did not believe everything. The grandees too indulged in the same language. When a *firmān* was sent inquiring about his misconduct, he dexterously spoke about his submissiveness and called himself innocent and expressed a desire to kiss the threshold.[1]

[1] Salīm had been for a good while on bad terms with his father, and it appears that he never had a separate command, or was entrusted with much power until he was sent to Ajmere The inscription on Anarkalī's tomb (Murray's handbook for the Panjab, 186) bears the date 1008 (1599-1600) in letters and figures But this cannot be the date of her death, for Akbar was not at Lahore in that year. He left it for Agra on 26th Ābān 1007=6th November 1598.) Either the story about her being

On the 4th M Rustum was sent to the Deccan As the capture of Aḥmadnagar was delayed, and the army was in some distress from the dearness of provisions, the wicked raised their heads here and there The Prince (Daniel) asked for reinforcements Accordingly Bāz Bahādur, Khān Quli, Rahim Dād, Payinda Beg, and many others, were sent under the command of the Mirzā Many good advices were given to him, and one *lakh* of *mohars* was made over to Iftikhār [1] in order that he might convey them to the Prince On the 22nd Khwajagi Fath Ullah together with Zāhid, Mir 'Abdu-l hai and others had an audience When they went on the expedition against Lalang, the garrison capitulated on account of want of food and delivered up the keys He (Fath Ullah) brought Malik Sher and some Khāndesh soldiers—who sought to submit—to court after having made treaties Every one of them received suitable favours

774 At this time Nāsik fell out of the hands of the imperial servants The troops were exerting themselves to take Ahmadnagar Some Bijāpūr troops came to protect their boundaries, and this caused much anxiety Interested persons, who were lovers of commotion, represented that their coming was for a different motive, and the imperialists were nearly retiring from the siege Fortune prevented this, but they inopportunely recalled the Nāsik army, and so the conquered country had inevitably, and in the most disgraceful manner, to be abandoned On the 14th they joined at Ahmadnagar On 5th Shahriyur Shāham [2] Jalair died of diarrhœa H M prayed for forgiveness for this old man and ancient servant

buried alive is untrue or the date is not that of her death but of the building of the tomb The Iqbālnāma makes excuses for Salīm It says nothing about his wanting to go to the Panjāb and says Mān Singh begged him to go to Bengal on account of the recent defeat of the imperialists As Salīm s servants *jagirs* were near Agra he exchanged them with those of Aṣaf K and others who had lands near Allahabad Though some servants and especially those who had lands in Allahabad put a wrong colour on Salīm s proceedings, Akbar behaved lovingly and sent a kind letter of advice to Salīm by Khwājah 'Abdu ṣ ṣamad

[1] B 516 Probably this is the son of Bayāzīd Biyāt the writer of memoirs

[2] B 410 The statement there and in the Maaṣir u II 605, that he died in the last month of 1009 May June 1601 seems incorrect According to A F in the 2nd month of 1009 it was August 1600 It was his father who lost his life at the battle of Chausa when trying to save Humāyūn s one na

CHAPTER CXLIV.

The Capture of the Fort of Ahmadnagar through the Fortune of the Shāhinshāh.

Assuredly, dominion comes unsought to those rulers with whom increase of territory brings increase of humility and devotion. And what they desire is carried to the height of fulfilment in spite of thousands of stones in the way. The account of this great victory is another instance of this. The idea of those who had been sent on this duty was that they would give their minds to it after the rains. H.M. continually ordered exertion and his standards arrived at Burhānpūr. So they were compelled to undertake the work. Cānd Bībī made the same propositions as she had made to the writer, whilst Abhang K. came to the top of the hills with a large force of Abyssinians and Deccanīs and meditated fighting. On the eve[1] of 26th Farwardīn (about 5th April, 1601) the day of Fortune manifested itself gloriously. Dissension broke out among the Deccan soldiers, and this one and that one declared that some of the leaders were treating with the imperialists. The leader (Abhang) lost courage and disbanded without a battle. Next morning the Pass was crossed and a camp formed near Aḥmadnagar. On 2nd Ardibihisht (about 12th April) the batteries were distributed. First, there were the special servants of the Prince; secondly, Shāhrukh M., the Khān-khānān, M. Yūsuf K., Mīr Martaẓā, Jagannāth, Sher Khwāja, M. 'Alī Beg, Khwāja Beg, M. Iftikhār[2] K., Kīcak Khwāja, Muḥammad

[1] Ferishta's account is that Abhang (called Nihang by Briggs) had 15,000 horse, and was guarding the mouth of the Pass, but when he heard that the imperialists were approaching Aḥmadnagar, and were devastating the country, he burnt his tents and fled to Janīr. Cf Meadows-Taylor's A Noble Queen, chapter on the second siege. It would seem that Abhang gave up the defence because he learned that some of the other leaders were intriguing with the imperialists.

[2] The MSS. have I'tibar. But the Iqbālnāma has Iftikhār Beg.

K and other brave men Cānd Bībī renewed her promises On hearing of this Jītā[1] K, the eunuch, with some evil persons inside (the fort) put to death that choice lady, and with the help[2] of the 'Itibār K, Mīr Safī, Mīr Taqī and Hājī Muhammad they proceeded to fire the cannon Owing to the love for delay of some of the leaders, an easy task became difficult, and several sallies were made from the fort, but they returned without success By the energetic endeav-
5 ours of the Prince, able servants set themselves to make a glacis (khākrez). So they filled up the moat and came close to the walls The moat was from thirty to forty yards broad and seven deep The wall was of bluish stone (basalt?) and twenty-seven yards high Though great efforts were made (everywhere) yet there was especial activity in the batteries of the Prince and of M Yusuf K Mines were made in several places, but the garrison found them out and filled them up Strange to say, they made a shaft from within and set fire to the mine, but it became extinguished in the glacis, and no harm was done The explosion (*sust-paiw indi rah yaft*) split a tower of the fortress When this was discovered, they[3] (the enemy) tried

---

[1] Text Habsha K, i e the Abyssinian Khan but the Lucknow ed I O MS 236 and Farishta call him Jita K, and this seems the correct reading It was very easy to mistake جيته for حبشه See also Blochmann 336 note Briggs calls him Hamīd K

[2] The sentence is obscure but it appears from the Iqbālnama that these persons were Deccanis and that after they killed Cānd Sultan they proceeded to fire at the imperialists Neither Abul Fazl nor the lithographed (Lucknow) edition of Ferishta gives the date of Cand Sultan's death, but a MS of Ferishta in my possession says she was put to death in the beginning of Muharram 1009 This would be 3rd July, 1600 Her death was not immediately followed by the storming of the fortress for that did not take place till 16th August

[3] The sentence is obscure In Ell ot VI 100 it is rendered 'efforts were made to clear out the chasm and this being effected, 180 *mans* of gunpowder were placed therein The text and the MSS say the attempt to clear out the place did not succeed I think that the words *khālī sākhtā* must mean the same thing as the *tahī karda* of p 700, line 13 A F writes elliptically and possibly a word has been left out in his MS Some mines were destroyed by the besieged but with one, or perhaps with the chasm caused by the explosion they failed This was then filled by the imperialists and exploded Cf Faizī's account, I O MS 192 p 245 which is fuller and better than A F's

to empty it (the mine), but as the crack was in the skirt (of the bastion) they did not succeed 180 *mans* of gunpowder were put in and on 6th Shahriyūr,[1] 16th August, 1600 at breakfast time, they were fired Much of the tower—which was known as Lailā—and 30 yards of the wall were blown up By the wonders of fortune the stones crushed the enemy to pieces and did not injure the besiegers Active men entered by this route, and many penetrated from the batteries of M Yusuf K 1,500 of the garrison were put to the sword Some were saved by the instrumentality of their acquaintances Bahādur, the son of Ibrāhim and grandson of Burhān,—whom they had made Nizāmu l mulk,—was captured Valuable jewels, embroidered articles, a noble library and many other things and 25 elephants were obtained The guns and powder were beyond computation One of the wonderful things of fortune was that during the time of the siege—which was the rainy season—no rain fell, and the glacis was easily made On the day after the victory it rained The fortress was taken after four months and four days and the drums of joy beat high In two days[2] the news was brought to Burhānpūr and there was much giving of thanks Bulletins of victory were sent everywhere and there was a daily market of joy

On the 8th the disturbance in Kashmir subsided When H M

account Faizī uses the word *surang* a mine B M MS 27247 has a slightly different reading It has *chun az in shigaf gah ke dar damna bud niyarastand yaft* Perhaps the meaning is that the fissure in the base of the tower prevented the besieged from crossing in order to destroy the mine There is a full account of Aḥmadnagar in Campbell s Bombay Gazetteer but apparently it is not stated of what kind of stone the fort wall is composed. The fort is situated half a mile to the east of the city

[1] Faizī Sirhindi seems to have 8th and says about 70 yards of the wall were thrown down He adds a chronogram made by M Aṣūm Bhakkarī *Danyal Ahmadnagar ba namud fath* (1009) Instead of 8th Shahriyur Elliot VI 145 has 20th but *hashtam* and *bistam* are much alike in Persian Faizī also says id 144 that the fort was taken on 18th Safr i e 19th August 1600

[2] Faizī S says the news was brought to Burhānpūr on 21st Safr 22nd August 1600 after three hours of the night The fortress had been taken on 18th Safr He calls Cānd Bībī Cānd Baī Faizī s account may be compared with A F Elliot VI 144. But the translation there is not complete Farishta assigns the chief merit of the capture of Aḥmadnagar to Khwājah Abūl Ḥusain (Aṣaf K) the dīwān of Prince Daniel

marched to the Deccan, some turbulent fellows in that country raised up Ab-yā Cak, the son of Husain K, and filled that pleasant land with vapour 'Ali Quli, the son of Muhammad Quli, Kalb 'Ali, Shāh Beg Nakdari and other good servants fought a battle at Phāknagar,[1] and were victorious So also a sedition was raised in Kamrāj Jamāl Beg and some brave men punished them in Tilagāon,[2] and that delightful country had repose On the 12th Amān Ullah, the son of Saif K Koka, died in Burhanpūr That excellent youth, from observ-
76 ing the ways of his contemporaries, fell into drinking habits, and threw away his life in that way

One of the occurrences was the death of Jalāla Tāriki The Lohāni tribe practised buying and selling in Ghaznin Before this, the Hazāras lay in wait and attacked them For seven days they stood firm and fought They were overcome by thirst and turned back, and sought help from the leader of the Tārikis On the 9th he came as a merchant to Ghaznin The servants of Sharif K and the peasants made some fight and then withdrew That wicked one set himself to practise trickery, and gathered many goods under the pretext of purchasing them On the 16th he wanted to take the things home Shādmān Hazāra and others opposed him, and after a little fighting were victorious The Tārikis took to flight, and that illfated one was wounded and went to the hill of Rabat Murād Beg and some others came and finished him The great material of sedition was easily disposed of For a long time numerous soldiers had been appointed to punish him, and some years before this, Zain K Koka and many brave men had made an expedition against him By the strength of Fortune some unknown men did his business In this year Bhān,[3] the son of Sujān Singh, died in Burhānpur He was a landholder in the eastern countries (*khawari mirz*), and was distinguished for bravery An old servant of his had become mad, and at a time when he (Sujān or Bhān) was naked and had no

[1] Text Bhāk See J II 369

[2] Probably this is the Telkām of J II 371

[3] I think that the text is corrupt The sentence is certainly obscure and I am not sure if I have understood it The MSS say nothing of Bhān According to them it was Sujān who was killed What they say is ' In this year and month Sujān was killed The variant also leaves out the name of Bhān

weapon with him the servant struck him some blows with a sword, and in a short while he died of his wounds

In the beginning of Mihr Sādāt K came to court For some time no messages came from the garrison of Āsīr By H M's orders the writer wrote some counsels to Bahādur K He sent that saiyid —who was his sister's husband (*izna*) and chief swordsman (*mīr shamshīr*)[1]—with ten elephants He obtained an audience, and made the same statement as before As it was untrue it was not accepted An order was given for sending back the presents, and it was said that "the governor of the garrison has not awoke from his slumber It will be well for him to come out of his sleep soon Blandishments are of no use" Sādāt said, "With great difficulty have I brought myself out of those difficulties, and have long had a desire to serve the sublime court" As his speech had the glory of truth, it was accepted, and he was raised to the rank of 1,000 Shaikh Pīr Muhammad Ḥusain, one of his companions, carried back the reply On 3rd Ābān Akhairāj came from Ahmadnagar He had conveyed an order from H M The Prince (Daniel) sent some of the Niẓām ul Mulkī ladies with him, and every one of them received suitable favours On the 5th the feast of the solar weighment took place, and H M was weighed against twelve articles High and low had 777
their wishes gratified On the 23rd the troops arrived at Junair[2] That city was the abode of the Niẓām ul Mulkī's ancestors The fort is called Bīr[3] When Ahmadnagar was conquered, M Khān was sent there Burhān ul mulk, 'Imād K, Habīb K, 'Alī Sher K, and others accompanied him By God's help it was taken without a contest No long time had elapsed when the Hindia landholder and some other ignorant persons had come to fight They were punished The garrison proposed capitulation and the delivery of the keys On the 8th Āẕar H M visited the tomb of Bīca (Jiji) As the Khān A'ẓim M Koka was sending the body to Delhi, the appreciative sovereign came there and begged forgiveness for her From there

---

[1] Apparently means his best officer

[2] The Joonar of Meadows Taylor the Djounar of Reclus and the Junnar of the I G It is 56 m north of Poona

[3] So in text but evidently this is wrong Probably Shivner I G XXII 294 is right There is the variant Sir Shivner is the birth place of Sivaji

he proceeded to Lāl Bāgh and took some repose. As the charge of that flower-garden was with the writer he made some humble representations, and the door was opened to auspiciousness.

CHAPTER CXLV.

THE CAPTURE OF MĀLIGARH BY THE MIGHT OF DAILY-INCREASING FORTUNE.

Āsir is a choice fortress, and unequalled for height and strength. In its waist (*kamargāh*) on the W and somewhat[1] to the N side there is a noted fort called Māligarh Whoever desires to enter the great fortress must first pass by Māligarh Separate from it on the N. and N E, there is a Māli, and that they call Juna Māli But the wall of it had not been completed From the E to the S W, there are smaller hills To the S there is a high hill called Korhi (Kodhi) To the S W there is a high hill called Sāpan The wicked rebels had made all the places strong by means of guns and men The last[2] (Sāpan) had been previously captured Shortsighted persons thought that the place could not be taken On account of the dearness of provisions and the distance from their homes, high and low were dejected The scattering of gold by the garrison had seduced

[1] It appears from the I O MSS and from B XXIII and the Maasir II 614 that the text of the Bib Ind is corrupt Not only is the word *lakhta* ' somewhat missed out but also it appears that what A F wrote was that there were two forts or outworks viz Mālī and Antarī Mālī and that whoever wished to get to Āsīr must first pass through these two forts Cf II 222 where it is said that Āsīr is encompassed by three other forts The third fort apparently is Jūnī or Junī Mālī But perhaps it is Korhīh Faizī S has a very long account of the siege of Āsīr, but he dwells chiefly upon the exploits of Farīd Bakhshī and says nothing about A F s capture of Mālīgarh See Elliot VI 132 *et seq* which however is not a complete translation See also the account of Āsīr in Noer s Akbar, English translation II 353 *et seq* and in the I G Ferishta in his chapter on the kings of Khandesh has a description of Āsīr from personal observation and Tiefenthaler has a notice of it accompanied by a rude drawing of Burhanpur and Āsīr The best description occurs in Campbell s Bombay Gazetteer volume for Khandesh At p 576 there is a plan of the fort The name is there spelt Asīrgad

[2] See p 772

some of the intimate courtiers from their duty One of the garrison joined Qarā Beg and pointed out a secret path by which one could come over the wall of Māh As there was no enquiry into work, no attention was paid to this When the matter was reported to H M the informer was regarded as being mad, and by representing that many men would be killed they prevented H M from giving permission (for the expedition) Occasionally he sent the writer to look after the batteries However much I tried, the men would not give their minds to the subject, and from an ill timed humility I did not reproach or censure them On 17th Āzar I was sent back to that employment As I knew something of the essence of the matter
78 I had got permission to the effect that whatever I should determine should be carried out by the others When I came there, Qarā Beg described the path, and fresh vigour was imparted to my resolutions I arranged with the commanders of the batteries that within this week they would turn their face towards the True Disposer (God) and would run to the taking of the fort When the sound of the drum and trumpet reached their ears, every one was to come with the ladders, and beat the drum loudly [1] Though they agreed, *nolentes volentes*, yet many thought it was madness

On the night of the 18th (28th November, 1600), which was very dark and rainy, select men were told off and assembled on the top of the hill Sāpan At midnight I sent off Qarā Beg first with a body of men Similarly I sent off men gradually from the batteries, and also my own servants At the latter part of the night some of the first body entered upon the secret path, and broke open the gate of Māh Many brave men entered the fort and sounded the drums and the trumpet On account of the delay in the coming of the men (i e, the men whom A F had ordered to follow), the garrison gathered together and stood to fight On perceiving this, I myself followed While traversing the hill the guide made some mistake In the heat of the battle, and the rain of cannon balls, at dawn [2] I mounted the scaling ladder, and the imperialists, who had been in difficulties,

---

[1] Cf B XXII

[2] The passage is a difficult one and I am not sure of the meaning The I O MSS and the Cawnpore ed have *farogh* before *subahgah* or *subahgahi* but this does not seem important I suppose that *tanāb* must here mean rope-ladders especially as there already had been an order about bringing ladders (*sina*)

acquired fresh vigour. In a short time the enemy retreated and fled in confusion to Āsīr. The True Disposer granted a great victory, and this weak and humble individual acquired a great name When the glory of the sun took possession of the world, the men of the other batteries came from all sides Peshrau[1] K, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, and Jagdeo displayed activity and took possession of Korhī Āgā Mullā also followed up in a proper manner with the men of Āṣaf K. The men of Farīd Bakhshī Begī, Bahādur K, Rahmat K, Siyam Singh, the sons of Samānji K. (B 441) and other heroes acted quickly and took possession of Jūna Māli Owing to daily-increasing fortune a great victory displayed her countenance, and many fell into the tortures of envy.

Verse

Morning came with blessing.
The dark night of sorrow ended
Victory came from six sides
Dominion uttered gratulations on two sides

Where can I have the strength to return thanks to God? How can I set about doing so? 'Tis better that like guilty implorers I prostrate my heart's forehead in supplication, and that in acknowledgment of the Divine decree I abstain from associating myself with the Creator.

God be praised! The penetration of H.M was again impressed on high and low, and the pearl of vision acquired fresh lustre As 779
it was not imagined that the ruler of Khandesh would shut his gate in the face of the World's ruler, a siege-train had not been brought Though, after arrival, by a thousand efforts some guns were brought

I am not sure whether *bar shud* means arriving with the ladders or mounting on them The Darbārī Akbarī, p 481 top, makes A F's conduct even more heroic than A F himself makes it, for it makes A F the first to enter the fort, saying the others then followed him like ants It also apparently says that A. F had the ropes or ladders put down on the inside of the wall Apparently A F means to signalise his own bravery by saying that he mounted or arrived during the rain and the cannonade, and while the morning revealed him to the enemy

[1] Possibly this is Asad Beg, the author of the Wiqaya, though according to Elliot VI 150 he did not get the title of Peshrau K till Jahāngīr's reign

from Parnāla, Gāwīl and Ahmadābād, yet from inattention they were not of much use. In spite of this, H.M. was continually saying, "This fort will soon be taken" And many accepting the soothing words continued to slumber On the 27th Mīr Murtaẓā came from Ahmadnagar and was exalted by doing homage His good services were rewarded by a flag, a drum and a fertile *jagīr* On the 29th the Khan-khānan paid his respects and he brought Bahādur,[1] whom they had raised to the Nizāmu-l mulki Kabīr K, the son of Bahadur K, Khwaja Abu'l hasan, Kamal-al mulk, Wazīr K, and some headmen of Khandesh—who were in charge of the Deccan—had an audience, and received favours

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Bahādur K On the same day that Mahgarh was taken by God's help, he awoke from his somnolence, and sent an ambassador to the author He spoke of capitulating and of paying his respects (to Akbar) I did not accept the statements and made no reply, but at his earnest entreaty I sent on the envoy to court On 23rd Āzar H.M sent Ram Das to him and on the fourth day he brought with him Muqarrib K, who was a chosen servant of his The purport of his message was that if the fortress and the country were restored to him, and if the prisoners were released, he would hasten to submit It is a custom of long standing that one of the Farūqis sits on the throne, and the others—brothers and relatives—remain in confinement They spend their days in obscurity with their families H M accepted the proposal and granted life and honour Next day the Abyssinian returned and petitioned "Now his (Bahadur's) request is that the Khān Ā'zim M Koka would take his hand and bring him to court" This was agreed to and he (M Koka) came to Māh, and Bahādur K descended from Āsīr On the 30th he rubbed his forehead on the threshold of fortune, and obtained deliverance from various sorrows His two young children, Afzal K and Khudawand K, and many others, had an audience, and they were allotted a place in the advance-camp (*peshkhana*) of S Farīd Bakhshi Begi An order was given for keeping them under supervision On 17th Dai S 'Abdullah K and Rajah Rāj Singh came from Gwaliyar, and Mīr Sharīf Āmuli from his *jagīr*, and Sher Beg from Bengal Every one of them was

[1] He was sent to Gwaliar and he was there when the last Nizam Shah was sent there in 1043, 1633 See Elliot II 43 and Badshahnāmah 540

CHAPTER CXLVI

The Capture of Āsīr by the help of Fortune

780 There is no other instance of a fortress which had such abundance of stores, such numbers of guns, so many defenders, and other materials of defence The extraordinary thing is that although H M had no equipment for a siege, yet he addressed himself to the capture After the fortress had been invested for some time sickness broke out in it Every day there were many deaths When such mortality occurred among the commonalty, it did not awaken the great men of the garrison from their lethargy From time to time they devised new stratagems By the taking of Mālīgarh exit and entrance were stopped, and they were aroused somewhat At last, at the instance of some servants of the Shāhinshāh, an agreement to this effect was made[1] First, Bahādur should appear at court Second, H M should restore to him the fortress and county, "otherwise, said Bahādur the garrison will not submit to my proposals" When the idea became fact, and a petition was made in accordance with what he (Bahādur) had learnt, the writer obtained leave to attack the fortress This suppliant at the court of God proceeded to do this, and made supplication to God his forefront Though exertions were made to push on the batteries from near Korhiaih, and leave was obtained for the bringing of great guns, yet secretly all men engaged in enticing the garrison By soothing words they drew their hearts towards them The latter represented that some writing[2] of Bahādur should be obtained, addressed to such and such an one, so that no stain of a bad name might fall upon them for delivering up the fort They also asked for a firmān from H M, securing them their lives, their property and their honour This was granted Bahādur K for some time hesitated to write, and made untrue remarks

[1] Apparently it ought to be proposed

[2] It will be remembered that by this time Bahādur had personally surrendered, and was in Farīd Bakhshī's camp

of one of his servants He issued an order that they should always perform the *kornish* His idea was that he would test them and appoint them to offices The treasure, the jewels and other properties were securely guarded By the divine favour the work which had been undertaken was brought to a beautiful termination The near and the remote had joy Though there were many batteries, yet the most choice were those of the Khān A'zim M Koka, Āsaf K, and S Farid Bakhshī Begī High and low worked properly and got their reward The treasurers (*hawalaladaran*) and the accountants of Bahādur K were left in the fort, and able men were appointed to every place When my mind was at ease I prostrated myself at the holy threshold and received princely favours

This unwise hill man had conveyed more than 100,000 souls to the top of the fortress On account of the crowd of creatures the
782 atmosphere was affected, and a great sickness ensued. 25,000[1] persons died Owing to daily increasing fortune there was some delay in the rains, and corn was collected from all sides This was a comfort to the victorious troops The batteries were advanced, and owing to the marvels of fortune no injury was done to any person of note by the firing of cannon night and day Only 'Ullugh Beg Bad akhshī and Saiyid Abu Isahaq Safavi were killed by musket shots Looking to the rain of bullets it would not have been wonderful if more than a hundred persons had been killed daily But the Divine protection guarded them, and was a source of wonder to the experienced A wonderful thing was that near the time when victory declared itself the lofty wall of the fort fell[2] down The sound was louder than that of cannon H M when he first came to Burhānpur engaged in special acts of devotion, and took to repeating the Great Name.[3] He gave an order to the writer to send him at the end of

[1] Ferishta, who visited Asīr in 1013 A H says in his account of the rulers of Khāndesh that he was told by Āsaf K and another that after the fortress was captured 80 000 persons—men and women—came out of it, and that 40 000 persons had died of the plague during the siege

[2] Cf Elliot VI 143

[3] For an account of the Great Name see Hughes Dict of Islām 220b and 226b. Cf also Badayūnī Lowe 203 and B 170 where it is said "H M passed whole nights in thoughts of God he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names Yā hū and Yā hādī The Lucknow editor says that the

every session varied sweetmeats, and to keep an eye on the arrangements of fate. This was excellently observed. At the end of the first session (*khatam*) was the capture of Mozaffar Ḥusain M. Similarly, every time news of victory was brought to his hearing. There was the victory of Aḥmadnagar, the death of the ringleader of the Tārīkīs, the taking of Māligarh, the conquest of Āsīr.[1] Whoever considers the disinterestedness and piety of the world's lord will not be surprised at these marvels, and will know a little out of many.

At this time, ambassadors were sent to Bījāpūr, Golkanda, and Bīdar. 'Ādil K., the ruler of Bījāpūr, first sent a valuable ruby and used supplications. So also did Quṭbu-l-mulk and Malik Barīd take to humble language. All their desire was that some persons might be appointed from the court to soothe their minds. Though during the disturbance caused by the death of the Prince, the battle at Bīr, and the investment of Aḥmadnagar, the Nīẓāmu-l-mulkī people asked them for help, they did not cast away the thread of loyalty and paid no attention to their request, though many of the imperial servants sought a cause for the returning of the august standards. Their (the Deccan powers) petitions were accepted and on the 12th Sharīf Sarmadī was sent to 'Ādil K.; Mas'aūd Beg to Quṭbu-l-mulk, and Mūmin to Malik Barīd. Excellent counsels were sent by the tongue of the pen and by the ambassadors.

One of the occurrences was the death of M. Jānī Beg, the ruler of Tatta. He had some external knowledge, and was versed in Persian prose and poetry and in music. From the time that he came to

name is the name of God, and that the custom is to repeat verses of the Qoran for the destruction of enemies, and that this is done, either alone, or with 3 or 4 persons up to 40, and that perfumes are burnt and sweetmeats are distributed. Apparently it was for these ceremonies that A. F. was told to bring sweetmeats (*halwā*). Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 205: "Quantities of perfumes were used." It was, perhaps, in connection with these incantations that the word Arnās, "destruction of enemies," was used for presents made to Amirs and troopers.

[1] A. F. does not mention the picturesque story told by Faiẓī S. about the suicide of Muqarrib K. Elliot VI. 146. Faiẓī adds in the original (I.O. MS. 192, p. 248*b*) that Sīdī Yā'qūb, the father of Mubārak, afterwards poisoned himself. The story seems referred to in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 481, but it is told in a different way.

court, loyalty shone from the forehead of his words and acts His manners showed discretion and calmness But from childhood he had been addicted to wine It was extraordinary that it did not lead him into any impropriety, and that both in his acts and speech he kept control over himself In the privacy of his house the draining of cups was carried to excess, and as there was no one to advise him he did not refrain

Verse

Why do you take a thing by imbibing which
A reed shows like a cypress, a cypress like a reed ?
If you're merciful, they say it is the wine and not he
If you're violent, they say it is he and not the wine

That pure thing (wine) stained the limpid waters of life That material of joy caused loss of life Excess in wine made him ill, and he became paralytic and delirious On the 13th (Bahman, 1009, 23rd January 1601) he packed up his goods from this caravan Strangers and acquaintances regretted him [1] The appreciative sovereign privately restored his territory to the son M Ghāzī, and sent him a diploma and a valuable robe of honour

One of the occurrences was the departure to the other world of Ḥakīm [2] Miṣrī He had an unique knowledge of external and spiritual matters He had such a knowledge of medicine that if medical books had disappeared he could have written them out from memory He had gathered the pleasing language of Ṣufism Openness and cheerfulness adorned his brow Friends and strangers benefited by his kindness. He did not withdraw himself from any sick person but maintained an open brow and endeavoured to cure them

Verse

He needs a panegyrist like himself
At this time where is there one like him in the world ?

---

[1] B 361 and Maaṣir III 302 He is said to have offended Akbar shortly before his death by saying that if Asīr had been his he would have held it for a hundred years

[2] Faizī S gives the date Monday 1st Shabān 26th January 1601

Though he had reached eighty years, the head of youth boiled within him. He was attacked by a sudden chill, and he shrunk up. Fever increased, and on the 18th at midnight he became occasionally delirious. When he came a little to himself, he sent for the writer. I came to his pillow, and lost my senses on beholding him. Conscious and while remembering God he closed his eyes on this spot of trouble. Small and great were plunged into long sorrow.

Verse.

Rise up that I may weep and lament.
I weep abundantly, and lament.
Sorrows lacerate my liver.
When I end, I begin again to weep.

The appreciative sovereign was grieved, and implored forgiveness for him.

On the night of the 23rd the writer was nominated to Nāsik. From the time that those who had surrendered were in custody, from time to time disturbances increased owing to the want of care on the part of the administrators of affairs. Though by the marvels of fortune, Aḥmadnagar had been conquered, things went somewhat backward. High prices destroyed the troops. The self-willed men of the Deccan assembled together, and raised the head of distur- 784
bance. They elevated to the supremacy ʿĀlī, the son of Shāh ʿAlī, the uncle of Murtaẓā Niẓām ul-mulk. They made that vagrant pauper the means of their own success. Though the whole affair was not disclosed to H.M., yet the wickedness of Shāh ʿAlī's son and sedition-mongering of Rajū were current talk. On this account the Khān-khānān was in the first place sent to Aḥmadnagar to remedy matters, and the author was sent to Nāsik. He obtained leave for that purpose this year. He was exalted by receiving [1] a choice robe of honour, a special horse, a flag, and a drum. Rai Raī Singh, Rai Durgā, Rai Bhoj, Hāshim Beg, Tolak, Muqīm K., Fūlād K. Kamal-ul-mulk and many others were nominated to accompany him. Next morning H.M. came to inspect Āsīr. On the way he granted leave

[1] Faiẓī S. gives the date, viz. the night of Monday, 8th Shaʿbān, 1009, February 1601, and says that 100 officers were put under A. F. He also calls him Nawāb.

to the Khān-khānān and the other servants to go on the above-mentioned service He, during four days, inspected[1] the fortress and the spoils and then returned to Burhānpūr

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the sedition mongers in Bengal. It has been mentioned that the Afghans made Qatlu's son an instrument of commotion, and raised up the head of strife Several times Rajah Mān Singh's people led out their forces and were defeated Mīr 'Abdu r razzāq M'amūri—who was the Bakhshī of the army—was made prisoner When the Rajah came to Allahabad with the Prince-Royal, he took leave to go to Bengal, and stayed for some time in Rohtās, making preparations From there he went to punish the evildoers Near Sherpūr 'Aṭāī he met in with the enemy Both forces made forts and encamped opposite one another On 1st Isfandārmaz they drew up in battle array, and after a slight engagement the enemy was punished By the might of fortune a noted elephant of theirs was struck by a bullet and in his agitation he rushed into his own army and threw it into confusion Many were killed As the day was at its close they pursued for four *kos* and then turned back Mir 'Abdu r razzāq[2] Māmūri fell into their hands with a collar round his neck and chains on his feet He had been mounted in this condition on an elephant, and a man had been appointed to kill him in case of defeat Suddenly the man was killed by a bullet and the Mīr escaped from death By God's favour the insurrection subsided, and the servants were exalted by favours.

On this day the intuition of the Shāhinshāh was made clear The son of Shams Cak wickedly fled, and coming to the hill country of Kashmir stirred up sedition H M said, "His head will soon come rolling down from the top of the mountain, and he will receive the retribution of his ingratitude" In this year and month that unworthy one came down from the top of the hill, and was broken
785 to pieces On the 5th an order came to the writer to the effect that many men had joined the son of Shah 'Ali, and that it was right

[1] Faiẓī says such a crowd followed Akbar that H M had personally to keep them back with a stick

[2] Cf Stewart s Hist of Bengal 189 Sherpūr Aṭai is in the S W of the Murshidabad district and in the Kāndi subdivision See Masnad of Murshidabad 268

that I should return and go in that direction, and in conjunction with the Khān khānān bring the affair to a successful termination As many brave men had chosen to accompany me, and the materials for conquering the country of Nasik and for punishing the rebels had been collected, envious people induced the sovereign to recall me I do not know whether it was that the circumstances were not known to him, or that he was unduly influenced by complaisance (for his adviser) I was a little astonished at the pranks of fortune, but in accordance with the Shāh's order I set out for that quarter (Ahmadnagar) from the town of Rānwar [1] On the 7th Hasan the son of M Shahrukh absconded He was with his father in Ahmadnagar and from weakness of character he became discontented He joined in with a Kashmiri and went off

One of the occurrences was the coming [2] of Prince Sulṭān Daniel to court From the time that Ahmadnagar had been conquered, he had a great desire to kiss the threshold By the royal order he made over Ahmadnagar to M Shahrukh and some servants and proceeded to court On the 10th he did homage, and was exalted by various favours Āsir was presented to him together with much property, and Khāndesh was given to him and received the name of Dāndesh [3] On the 13th Daulat K. Lādū died of colic He had an abundant share of courage and ability For some time he served M. Koka, and he was much with M Khān the Khan khānān Prince Sulṭan Daniel had made him his own servant, and had advanced him to the rank of 2,000 When the Prince came to court, he left him in Ahmadnagar to assist M Shāhrukh, and there he died On the 20th Khwājagi Fath Ullah was sent to Nāsik As Sa'ādat K had retired in consequence of the breach of agreement, he [4] begged that he might be brought to court by means of an able

[1] Rānū in text Cf J II 225, but there is a variant

[2] Faiẓī S gives the date 26th Sh aban 18th February, 1601 and says that Akbar took the prince in his arms and involuntarily danced. He afterwards took him into the harem

[3] Apparently a pun was meant The name Dāndesh was given both on account of the Prince s name being Daniel and because Dan means a gift

[4] Perhaps the meaning is that A F begged that he might be brought to court. The breach of the agreement probably means A. F s failure—on account of Akbar s commands—to go to Nāsik

man. Accordingly Khwājagī Fath Ullah was appointed to this service. On this day Khwāja Malik 'Alī bakhshī of the camp obtained his wish He had for some time been censured for tyranny, and Bābā Nāsir had been appointed to the office On observing signs of repentance, he was ordered to be received into favour On the 22nd Bahādur K. was sent to Gwaliyār in order that he might get some enlightenment in the school of the prison Out of kindness, his family was sent with him Wali Beg, Sām Beg, Abū Nāṣir and some soldiers accompanied him. On the 29th Mir Jamālu d-dīn Husain Injū was sent off to Bijāpūr As 'Adil K. wished to make over his daughter[1] to the harem of Prince Sultān Daniel, the Mīr[2] was sent with the bridal presents

[1] Ferishta calls her Begam Sultan

[2] The Mīrzā of text seems wrong

CHAPTER CXLVII

BEGINNING OF THE 46TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT THE YEAR DAI OF THE FOURTH CYCLE 786

At this time, when the world had assumed a fresh appearance from the sway of H M, and he was earnestly returning thanks, the heavens attired themselves, and the earth engaged in adornment On the night of Saturday 15th Ramzân, 1009, 10th March, 1601, the Light giver glorified Aries, and the tenth year of the fourth cycle began

Verse

Spring compounded the earth's dust with musk
The clouds freshened the running streams with wine
You'd say, "Spring has united with love"
You'd say, "God has produced love out of Spring'

By orders of the world's ruler, great preparations[1] were made and delightful exhibitions took place From the entry of the sun into Aries to the culmination, the arrangements of each day were committed to one of the royal servants, and there were times of joy On 8th Farwardin Rai Patr Dâs was raised to the rank of 3,000 On the 10th Tâtâr[2] Beg was made guardian of Sulṭân Khurram (Shâh Jahân) Skill and watchfulness arrived at their destination, and propriety raised her head On this day the news came of the success in Bengal, as has already been mentioned Thanks were returned to God On the 11th, Sher Khwâja and M 'Ali Beg Akbarshâhî—who had done good service in the Deccan—received each a flag and a drum, and so got the reward of their good deeds On the 13th M Yûsuf K had an audience, and was delivered from much grief When Shâh 'Ali's son became prosperous, and the road

[1] Faiẓi Sirhindi says that the illuminations at Lahore and Agra could hardly be equalled

[2] The Iqbâlnâma calls him Tâtâr Beg Safarcî

to Ahmadnagar became closed, some men awoke from the sleep of neglect, and set themselves to remedy matters M Rustum, M Yusuf K, and many others, were sent to cross the Ganges (Godavery) and station themselves at Shahgarha, so as to make the road safe, and to restrair the hands of the wicked from attacking the country The proper thing was for the troops to have gone to Dharwār[1] and to have overset that compound of sedition. But strife mongers did not permit this The Mirzā was stunned on receiving[2] the news He had neither the courage to report what he had learned nor the strength to carry through the work He was continually begging to be allowed to come to court, and representing that he was disgusted with the Deccan H M accepted his petition and summoned him to come quickly On this day Akhairāj[3] suddenly died He was distinguished for discretion among the Kacwāh clan On the 14th, Jagannāth[4] was raised to the high office of 5 000, and Mir Khwāja,
787 the son of Sultan Khwāja, was raised to the rank of 500 On the 16th Bahādur K Gilāni was defeated He had been left with a small equipment in Telingana 'Ambar Jiu attacked with a large force of Deccanis and Abyssinians He made little fight and then retired As the fact was concealed owing to interested motives that evil disposed Abyssinian collected a number of presumptuous men, and the prosperity of the rebellious increased At the festival of the culmination Prince Sultān Daniel gave a great feast and presented valuable jewels, which had been taken at Ahmadnagar They were

[1] Text wrongly has Dhar The place meant is the Dhārwar of the I G and the Dhāror of J II 234 in Sarkar Narnālah The I O MS 236 has Dhārwar

[2] The I O MS 236 has basia before agahi and apparently the meaning is that the Mirzā lost his head The word asin from this is not in the said MS

[3] Faizī Sirhindī I O MS 192 p 250a says that on this day (that on which M Yūsuf arrived) Bānkī Rai the grandson of Rajah Bihārī Mal and cousin of Rajah Mān Singh suddenly died Up to midday he was in the Darbār and was playing *chaupar* (draughts) when suddenly there was a change He was taken to his quarters but died on the way This must be the person called in text Akbairāj and he must be the Banka Rai of B 495 who served in Kabul But the name in Bib Ind ed is Balka, though there is the variant Banka The Iqbālnāma has Akhairāj or perhaps Ughrāj for there are no vowel points

[4] B 387 He was a son of Bihārī Mal

accepted Though he produced bits of stone, which by the marvels of fortune have a great value, yet he brought to market the precious jewel of sincerity, which does not come within the mould of price. On this day the loving sovereign brought out Moẕaffar Husain M. and Afrāsyāb from prison and treated them with favour. High and low were astonished at this graciousness On this day Manūcihr and M. 'Alī, the ambassadors of Persia, obtained leave. They were to go on in advance and make preparations in Lahore. An ambassador was to go afterwards from court, together with presents, when arrangements had been made for their going to that country.

One of the occurrences was the vagabondage of 'Alī,[1] the son of Walī K, one of the former Amīrs of Barīd. He was living at Bījāpūr and indulging in thoughts of greatness when some people sent for him to the city of Bīdar and kept him concealed. At the time when Mūmin[2] went from court, for the purpose of conveying counsels, 'Alī came out of the fort with the idea of being received (by Mūmin), and remained quietly in the city. On the 20th, rebels and slaves of money brought him[3] in and raised a tumult 'Alī was helpless and went off by way of Narwān (?) to Golkonda with his wife and family. Evil-disposed persons came after him, and seized his mother and some of his other relations, and wickedly put them to death. As his supplications to the sublime court had not the glory of deeds (i e. were not accompanied by acts), his days became thus clouded, and the world had warning. On this day Janish[4] Bahādur died of diarrhœa. He was a distinguished soldier. He was in Rāmpuri On the 22nd the eastern rebels submitted. When Rajah Mān Singh

[1] The MSS vary and the text is *probably corrupt* The *Barīd* princes were, some of them, called Amīrs Perhaps the 'Alī here mentioned is the person who in 1010 became king of Bīdar under the title of Mīrzā 'Alī. See Ferishta's account of the Barīd princes, and Tiefenthaler I 493. Ferishta speaks of M 'Alī as reigning in 1018 (1609)

[2] See p. 782

[3] *badarūn* but I O MS 236 has *badān* I.O MS. 235 has, rebels brought in people from the fort and *made a disturbance*

[4] The passage about Jānish Bahādur is in neither of the I O MSS Faizī S, I O MS 192, 250*b*, says that Jānish died on 4th Shawāl, 29th March, 1601, and that on 1st Ẕīl q'ada 24th April, and on the same day as M Shāhrukh presented himself, Janish's ten sons appeared before H M The eldest of them was only twelve

gained the victory, he pursued the enemy, and did not turn back till he came to Moheshpur near Bushna and Jessore The Afghans chose a strong position As on every side there were marshes and it was impossible to reach the place easily, the Rajah appointed active people (to watch them) and addressed himself to opening out the country, and increasing cultivation On the 22nd Shujāh the son of M'aṣum K Kābuli and S'aid, the son of Lācin[1] and others capitulated and came in They presented elephants, etc After M'aṣum K had died, a purchased slave of Moẓaffar K —a Qalmāq— had made himself a name by the sword, and had taken the name of Bāz Bahādur He had won over all the rebellious Turānis At this time he, from a happy star, sent them and his son, and he himself made firm promises The Rajah showed kindness to them all and the commotion in that country diminished On the 23rd twelve accountants (*bitikci*) were appointed to the charge of the special cavalry Each had the charge of 1,000 horse On the 26th, Dar Judhan, the grandson of Ram Cand, was made a Rajah The command of the fort of Bāndhu was given to him and Bhārtī Cand was appointed the guardian of that youth

At this time the writer went off to remedy the affair of Shāh 'Ali's son It has been mentioned that this duty had been regarded as more important and that I was kept back from going to Nāsik In the end of Isfandārmaz of the previous year I joined the Khān-khānān near Barangaon[2] Suddenly news came that Wanku[3] (?) landholder had come to Ahmadnagar as he had quarrelled with 'Ādil K Bijapuri Though he put forward the pretext of being obedient yet there was no security that he would not play tricks He is a great proprietor and has lands in Ahmadnagar He had 5,000 horse and 12,000 foot In that year he (the khān khānān) considered that it was indispensable to soothe him at Jālnapur and so separated and proceeded thither I was sent off to put the affair of Shāh 'Ali's son to rights On the 27th I arrived at the bank of the Ganges M. Rustum, Mir Martaẓa, Bahādur al mulk, M Lashkari, together with many servants of M Yusuf K, Shujā'at K, and other servants who had previously been appointed to this work, joined me On the

[1] The Iqbālnama has Lācin Qaqshāl

[2] In Dandes J II 225

[3] Cf 794 7 lines from foot The Iqbalnāma seems to call him Waskul

29th the fort of Gālnah [1] was taken It is one of the choice forts of the district of Ahmadnagar Sa'ādat K held it For a long time he had been anxious to enter service When Khwājagi Fath Ullah came to that fort, he properly came forward and saw him, and made over that skyey fortress

On 3rd Ardibihisht two *lakhs* of *mohurs* were given to Prince Sultān Daniel, and the power of conquering the country was increased On the 4th 'Ali (B 496) Mardān Bahadur was made prisoner He was the commander of the Talingānah troops He had come to Pāthri to help Sher Khwājah When he heard of the defeat of Bahādur K Gilāni, he went back to that quarter, and foolishly engaged without proper preparation Most of his men fled without fighting He stood firm and was captured On this day the news came that Datman [2] Dās was dead He was the son of Rām Dās, and had gone to his home without leave, and had proceeded to vex the weak At the request of his father an order was sent and the servants of Shāh Quli K brought him to court The turbulent fellow engaged in battle and lost his life That chosen servant (Rām 789
Dās) was grieved on account of his child H M went to his ante chamber (*peshkhana*) [3] and administered consolation, and applied balm to the inward wound

One of the occurrences was the sending of S 'Abdu r rahmān to Telingāna The author s idea was that he should punish the son of Shāh 'Ali When what has been described happened to 'Ali Mardan Bahādur, and Telingāna was lost, and commotion rose high, I wished to send M Rustum to that quarter He at the guidance of crooked minded persons refused I was compelled to send my son on that service I sent with him 1,200 of my own horse Bahādur al mulk, Rustum 'Arab, Shamsher 'Arab and some servants of the

---

[1] Kālna in text It is the Jālna of I G XIV 29 which says that Abul Fazl resided there for some time Perhaps this statement is borne out by A F s ment oning at p 794 that he repeopled Jālnāpūr

[2] Variant Dīman but the MSS seem to have Damman

[3] The I O MSS have teshkhāna which I do not understand and the Iqbalnāma has *atashkhāna* 'fire temple The Maas r II 157 calls the son Taman, and has the variant Naman which B 483 adopts Most of the MSS seem to have peshkhāna The word occurs again at p 799 line 16

S͟hāhinshāh were enrolled in this force I also sent comforting letters to S͟her K͟hwāja and to some who were in Pāthrī (Patri of the maps), and made them eager for battle On this day S. Daulat had an audience He had done good service in the Deccan army. He had been vexed by the carelessness of the administrators of this country and begged to be allowed to come to court His request was granted and he was summoned

CHAPTER CXLVIII

The return of H M to Agra, the Capital

Before the taking of Ahmadnagar, the imperial servants—some from love of their homes, some on account of the high prices, and some from a spirit of competition (*dukan arai*)—tried hard to induce the sovereign to return without taking Āsir H M silenced every one by his replies When that fortress had been taken, they increased their intrigues The sole idea of the Shāhinshāh was to clear the territory of Ahmadnagar of the weeds and rubbish of rebellion, and then to prevail over Bijāpur, Golkanda and Bidar, so that the rulers of these places should make binding treaties of obedience Meanwhile supplicatory letters from them came to court, and those who were urging departure got strong documentary support H M had no mind to leave before the return of the ambassadors But owing to the urgent endeavours of high and low he left on the 11th [1] (Ardibihisht, 21st April 1601) In spite [2] of the daily market of intelligence (of Akbar) the position was not understood. On the eve of the 12th many left the writer without asking permission For a long time, on the report of the Shahinshāh a march, their faces had been turned towards Hindustan When the report became loud there was a wonderful turmoil The Deccan rebels rose up in insurrection, and there were daily fights J afar, the son of M Yusuf K, fell into the hands of the Deccanis at this time and this was a cause of making them presumptuous Also the Prince's sending for his ladies from Ahmadnagar increased the confusion M 790
Rustum went off with the soldiers of M Yusuf K and H M on hearing of this debarred him for some time from the privilege of the

[1] Faizī S gives the corresponding Hijra date 26th Shawal 20th April and says Akbar left Burhānpūr at breakfast time and halted after marching one *kos*

[2] The sentence is obscure and I O MS 236 has *ta* instead of bā Possibly the meaning is that Akbar's departure was not known till the market day

kornish Inasmuch as my heart was turned towards devotion to God, I did not take these things into account, and always had a victorious countenance (?) On the 14th, Rai Durgā Rai and Bhoj joined this army Rai Rai Singh and these two and many others had been directed to join the author There was some delay at their request (?) and the first mentioned heard of a commotion in his quarters and took leave to go there Though they had not energy, yet their joining me was a source of strength *On the 15th*, M Shahrukh *paid his respects to* H M The Prince had left him in charge of Ahmadnagar When the Khān khānān went there, he came to court by H M 's orders, and had his heart satisfied On this day Khwājagi Muhammad Husain was raised to the rank of 1,000 He is the younger brother of Qāsim K , and has few equals for truth and honesty He was made superintendent of the kitchen (*bal awal begi*) On the 20th, Kharram, the son of M Koka got leave to go to Junagarh This was because that country had been given to the Kokaltāsh in fief *On the 25th*, Husain Beg S Umarī, *who had done* good service in Bangash, was raised to the rank of 2,500 On the 26th, twenty elephants and a like number of elephant guns (*hatnal*) and ten horses and some presents were given to the author This was a source of victory On the 28th, Prince Sultān Daniel received leave at the Narbadda [1] to go to Burhanpur H M 's idea was to take this nursling of dominion with him elephant hunting As some dis persion among the southern soldiers was reported to H M , he was sent back M Shāhrukh, M Rustum M Yusuf K , Yusuf [2] Barkhur dār, Shihābu d din Qandahari, Mas'aud K Habshi and 3 000 Badakh shī Aimāqs—who had recently come from Turān [3] —and many servants were sent along with him, and the commotion somewhat diminished

On this day Fort Trimbak [4] *fell into the hands of the imperial* servants *It is one of the* choice forts of Ahmadnagar The foun tain of the Ganges (Godavery) rises up in it, and it is regarded as a

[1] Faizī S says at Ghorgāon

[2] Son of Husain K Tukriya (Iqbāl nāma)

[3] They came now from Lahore and Agra. Akbar told them they would have to serve for one year in Deccan and that after that their stay would be optional (Faizī)

[4] J II 228 and note It is in the Nāsik district and about 50 m from the Ind an Ocean

great place of worship S'aādat K held it As he had come in and submitted and had made over Gālnah, envoys were sent there, and that fort together with 15 noted elephants—which were kept in it—were given as *peshkash* to the sovereign The leaders of the soldiers were disgusted, and did not arrange to hold the fort and returned and so Rājū came there with a large force and made war Every time that there was a battle, he was defeated Rājah Baharji, 791 Hāshim Beg, Fulād K, Malik Sher, the Bārha Saiyids, and 'Azmat K performed great feats Every one went off to his fief, and that turbulent one returned and prevailed over the fort

One of the occurrences was the victory of S 'Abdu r-Rahmān [1] When he was sent to put down the commotion in Telingāna, Sher Khwāja soon joined him and celebrated the banquet of concord They made skill act together with courage Shāh 'Ali's son sent off Farhād K, and other Habshis and Deccanis, and there was an active movement of rebellion The imperialists knit their hearts to God and drew up properly in battle array In the centre were S 'Abdu r rahmān, Mir Hazār, Mir Muhammad Amin Maudūdi, Mir 'Abdul Malik, Bijli K, Yusuf Jighār, Saiyid 'Ali, and some *manṣabdars* In the van were Sher Khwāja, Bāz Bahādur, Zahiru d din, Saiyid Lād M, Kocak 'Ali, Rahim Dād, Bābā Yusuf 'Ali, Yáqub Beg, Khwāja Bāqi K Mir Hāj Hasan 'Ali Andijani, and some able men On the right wing were Hamid K, Haidar Dost, Muhammad Husain, Ghāzi K Ghakkar S Quṭb, Adam K On the left wing were Bahādur Almulk, Bahadur K Gilāni, Muhammad K Turkamān, Saiyid Karm 'Ali, Rustam K 'Arab, S aid K 'Arab, Zāl Beg, Budagh Beg, and others They crossed the Ganges (i e the Godavery) near Nānder, and marched on Near the river Mānjarā [2] the enemy arrived with a large force 'Ambar [3] Jiu was in the centre On the right wing was Farhād K Zangi, and on the left Manṣur K Habshi On Sunday 6th Khurdād, 16th May 1601, after midday the fight began There was a hot engagement Owing to daily increasing fortune a victory was won High and low were astonished The imperialists drew

---

[1] B XXXV

[2] I G XVIII 355 On left or north bank of the Godavarī and 174 m from Hyderabad It is famous as the place where Guru Govind was assassinated The Manjarā is a tributary of the Godavarī and flows northwards

[3] This is Malik Ambar

up their forces before the enemy did so After much delay the latter came on with the impetuosity which is characteristic of the country Many gave way, and some baggage was plundered Those whose dependence was upon God stood firm They were somewhat astonished at the enemy's coming back to the attack several times after being repulsed and there occurred some confusion in the order of battle At this time the centre advanced and distinguished itself The enemy yielded and fled 400 of them fell on the field, and many were wounded Many elephants and other spoil were captured By good fortune no person of note was killed Rustum K, Zal Beg, Budāgh
92 K, Mir 'Abdul mulk, Mir Hāj and Saiyid 'Ali were slightly wounded, but got better Many horses however, were killed As little of day remained, they followed the enemy a short way and then returned, and offered up thanks Though many of the royal servants did good service, yet Sher Khwāja, Bahādur ul mulk and Hamid K did especially well Though the enemy was more than 5,000, and the imperialists were 3,000, such a difficult work was made easy by the help of the Divine favour On the 9th, when the royal standards (i e when Akbar was there) were at N'alca, Kicak Khwāja died He was one of the chosen servants of Prince Sultān Daniel, and led a dignified life On the 10th, Rai Cand won a victory When the soldiers of Pāthri went to Telingāna, some wicked Nizam-ul mulkis went there (to Pāthri) to make an attack I gave [1] that choice servant of my own 100 of my own horse and sent him with the troops He fought well and won a victory At this time M Khān came from Junair On account of the high price of provisions, the soldiers were discontented The proprietor of Hindiā came with Sarwar Habshi, Muhammad K Zangi and other evildoers, and made a disturbance From want of energy, the high price of provisions and emptyhandedness, he went on—fighting by the way—to Ahmadnagar On the 11th he arrived at that city and took his ease

[1] The I O MSS and the Lucknow ed. say that Abul Fazl sent 300 of his own horse

[2] This is the Khān Khānan Cf B XXIV It is curious that this passage about M Khān does not occur in either of the I O MSS The passage occurs in the Lucknow ed III 854 but the name Junair is not clear there The text however seems right for at p 777 we are told that M Khan took Junair Apparently he resided there from 23rd Abān 1009 i e from first week of November

At this time Badakhshān assumed the glory of the Shāhinshāh's name (*Khutba*) An unknown person gave himself out as Humāyūn, the son of M Sulaimān, and took possession of that hill-country M Badī'u-z-Zamān, the sister's [1] son of H M and son of Khwājah Husain, came with a few men from Hiṣār, and fought with him on the 13th and was victorious The pulpit and the gold and silver were adorned with the great name (of Akbar). He sent a petition apologising for the little service he had hitherto rendered H M received the messenger kindly and sent presents and implements of war

One of the occurrences was the fawning of the son of Shāh 'Alī When H M was at Burhānpūr, he sent able men to court and spoke of submission Those [2] who wished H M to march sold what had occurred at a high price and obtained a soothing *firman* They sent this off with Harbans When the report of the march became current the ambassador stopped in bewilderment at Bīr He did not go forward (?) and he did not communicate the answer When the writer came to the bank of the Ganges (Godavery) and meditated going further he set himself to inquire into the matter, and summoned the ambassador The latter told many untruths Suddenly the Telingāna commotion, the capture of 'Alī Mardan Bāhadur and of the son of
793 M Yusuf K, the report of the march of H M and the departure of many men from the victorious army, became current, and that short-sighted and wicked man (Shah 'Alī's son) again rebelled He sent some vagabonds to the camp, and stirred up commotion As the eye of my zeal was directed towards the True Disposer, I continually gathered the joy of victory Suddenly the report of the defeat of the Telingāna rebels filled the world, and the wind (of pride) went

---

1600 to May 1601 Perhaps Hindīā bhūmī pp 777 and 792 means Hindīa, the proprietor, i e the Zamindar of Hindīā

[1] Son of Akbar's half sister, the daughter of Gūcak Begam

[2] The sentence is very obscure, and perhaps the text is corrupt Apparently what is meant is that those who wished Akbar to return to that they made to him of Shāh Alī's son's submission If "bought" in stead of "sold" could have been read, the meaning might have been clearer, and I O MS 235 seems to say that Shāh 'Alī's son's ambassador sold the report to those who wished Akbar to start The son of Shāh 'Alī had been made Niẓam Shāh He was the uncle of Martīẓa

out from the head of that presumptuous one He had recourse to lamentation and excuses, and showed a fawning spirit He received proper replies He told the tale of his ashamedness, and sent back the envoy[1] with honour together with the son of M Yusuf K On the 20th they came to the camp Abu l hasan, Timā[2] his son (?), Wafa K, and his confidential servants delivered up the son of M Yusuf K It was agreed that when they should bring 'Ali Mardan Bahadur and execute a treaty of service and ratify it by stringent oaths Sarkār Udesa,[3] Dharwar and part of Bir would be left to him He was to undertake service, and never to rebel On the 30th Rai Durgā and Rai Bhoj went to their homes without asking leave Such improper proceedings were the result of the carelessness of the administrators and of the casting away of the thread of fears and hopes On the 11th Tir Hasan[4] Beg died He was in charge of Harsul[5] Daulatabād and led a good life He was seized with severe abdominal pains and died He was a Turk of the Bahārlu tribe He was acquainted with history and could rhyme On the 16th[6] H M crossed the Cambal As the river was in flood, and boats were

---

[1] Presumably this is Akbar s envoy Har Bans

[2] This name is very doubtful I O MS 236 seems to have Timā Deo Rais

[3] Udesa or Orissa is clearly wrong I O MS 236 has Sarkārs Ugar and Owsa اوسه Ferishta mentions Ausa اوسه as a fort belonging to Malik Ambar Possibly what is meant is *the fort of Odgir but more probably* it is Owsa

[4] The MSS call him Hasan Beg Shukr Ali and so does the Iqbal nama which also says that he was a relation of the Khān khānan

[5] Text has *har sui Daulatabād rā pāsbān būd* This seems nonsense and the I O MS 236 has Harsūl Harsūl is the name of a suburb of Aurangābād, and famous as the site of a great victory obtained by the Moghuls over the Mahrattas in Aurangzeb s reign

[6] Faizī p 249*b* last line says Akbar arrived at the Cambal on 10 Tīr or 1st Moharrum 1010 = 22nd June 1601 The river was fordable then and the emperor s peshkhanā (advance tents) and a few men crossed At night the flood came down and the river ceased to be fordable *There were only two small boats and* these could only hold 10 or 15 men The rain continued and the waters still rose The people were greatly distressed by this obstacle so near their homes and when they had been so long away, and many flung themselves into the river and were drowned in trying to cross The waters however subsided owing to the marvels of Akbar s presence, and to the wonder of the inhabitants

very few, the camp suffered much From the time H M had begun his homeward march, no such difficulty occurred On the 22nd Jagannath came in accordance with orders from Burhanpur, and had an audience On the 31st Sirandaz K was made kotwal of Ahmadābād and sent off On 3rd Amardād H M went to the top of Rantanbhor, and Jagannāth obtained auspiciousness by scattering money, and by presenting *peshkash* On this day Shāh Quli K Mahram and Mihtar K came from Agra to meet H M and had an audience On the 4th H M crossed the Banas On the 5th Jagannāth obtained leave On the 6th Luṭfai Shirazi died. He was acquainted with astronomy, old events, and poetical composition, and was known for his witticisms On the 9th Taqiya obtained an audience He was the bakhshi of the Cabul army He came by the royal order and gathered bliss

One of the occurrences was the cessation of Raju's commotion When Daulat K was inopportunely turned back, he opened the hand of success, and took Nasik and some other places When Khwājagi 79
Fath Ullah went to that quarter and returned without effecting his object and when many soldiers deserted to Raju, the latter became still more wild At the time when the administrators of the country were indulging in the sleep of carelessness, and the writer was somewhat ill, that wicked one came by the route of Daulatabād, and seized the country up to Jālnapur [1] Though he had been appointed to another duty, and was somewhat distant from the site of the disturbance, he in spite of his weakness undertook, trusting in God, to punish him He set off on the 11th from the bank of the river, where he had built quarters near Hasanābād He left Mir Martaza, Wafādār K, Mir Hazār and some other brave men there lest Shāh 'Ali's son should break his agreement, and raise up a commotion on that side When he quickly came to Āhubara, Rāju doubted the fact, but when he was convinced of it, he returned He (the author) repeopled Jālnāpur and the neighbourhood which were nearly deserted On the 15th S Khalil was released He was the son of S Ibrāhim

He crossed on an elephant on 14th Tir Farīd Bokhārī distinguished himself by his exertions to cross the people The roads were terribly muddy, and there was rain and lightning and some men and elephants were killed by the latter

[1] Apparently this is the Jālnah of I G and which A F has previously called Gālnāh

Fathpūrī Though from his early years he was blind, he played chess and draughts well, and did many things that seeing people do He desired to be made a collector of the exchequer lands, and his carnal desires resulted in his being sent to prison The good services of his ancestors pleaded for him and the great kindness of the Shāhinshāh released him On the 16th the writer came to Daulatābād When news came that Rāju was in the vicinity I left my family in Āhubara and went off to chastise him He withdrew to the hills, and settled in a bewildered state near the tank of Qatlu When the victorious troops came to the foot of the pass, he left Daulatābād and went off towards Nasik On the 22nd the writer traversed the passes and came near the tank His idea was to come to close quarters with him and to punish him The various opinions of his companions restrained him

On the 23rd[1] H M came to Fathpur, and the venerable eyes of Miriam-Makānī rejoiced That great lady wished to come further to meet him and to delight the eyes of her heart, but he restrained her from the idea On the 24th the children of Wanku were seized It has been mentioned that he had sought shelter in Ahmadnagar from the oppression of the Bijāpur soldiers From the excess of his desires and wickedness he fled When he thought that his own country was clear, he came there and set about working the leaven of rebellion The same men came to take his life, and by hard endeavours he got back to near Ahmadnagar and set about fawning and begging for protection The Khān khānān accepted the proffers and sought to make his eagerness a means of capturing him He out of farsightedness drew rein somewhat and sent his eldest son Bābājī ahead with his brother Dhār Rao in order to ascertain his (the Khān khānān's) intentions from the lines of his forehead, and to test his language In this year and month when they came to the
795 fort of the city, the commander put them in chains and sent many men to seize the landholder He also followed them in person Though from the sluggishness of some and bungling of others he

[1] Faiẓī says on 20th Amardād = 11th Ṣafr 1010 1st August 1601 He remained there eleven days and then went on to Agra On the way he was entertained by Salīma Sultān Begam at the garden which Khwāja Sandal had laid out for her

CHAPTER CXLIX

The arrival of H M. at Agra

After passing Dipālpūra,[1] six *kos* from Ujjain, he left the Sarangpur route and proceeded towards Rantanbhoi He traversed 228½ *kos* in 48 marches, and made 60 halts Loyal servants came continually, one after the other, and gathered auspiciousness, and had audiences At Biāna Qulij K and many other servants had their joy fulfilled On the 31st when it was a favourable hour, he made Agra, the capital happy by his holy advent, and small and great had their wishes On this day Zain K Koka had an audience at Mandhākar He had been in service at Tirāh When the ringleader of the Tārikis met with his deserts, and the commotion of Afghanistan subsided he by the royal order took up his quarters at Lahore On this occasion H M summoned him to his presence Part of his *peshkash* was a choice ruby On 2nd Shahriyur Payinda[2] K died He was the son of Qutluq Qadam K, and had his share of courage and enlightenment

When the writer delayed somewhat at Qutlu's *tank, fear fell* upon the Daulatabād garrison, and they thought that the firing of cannon would be a means of their deliverance In that year and month they fired a great gun and two men lost their lives at once To one fine fellow it happened that his abdomen was torn and his bowels came out From fulness of courage he did not lose his fortitude and died at midnight Next day Rāju received some

[1] I J II 198 A F apparently repeats the account of Akbar s march In the last chapter he speaks of Akbar s reaching Fatḥpūr and now he brings him back to Rantanbhor

[2] This is not the Payanda *of* B 387 but the son of Qutluq mentioned at p 432 *id* B and the Maaṣir III 52 gives the name as Asad K An Asad K Turkamān is mentioned at A N III 309 Possibly it was this Payanda who translated Babar's Memoirs The MSS have various readings and the text seems corrupt B M MS Add 26 207 seems to have ' Three large cannon were fired That lion hearted man did not give way and died on 21st Shabān

punishment. He was on the point of going to Nāsik Some double faced men kept him back from doing so He went by another road and passing Daulatābād, he plundered Satāra and some other places In the morning the writer came down from the hills and went to attack him As the country was hilly, it was impossible to march rapidly As many said that he had turned back, the writer pitched his tent at Catwāra[1] (?) At the end of the day, when the men were engaged in the descent Rāju appeared with a force I reposed my 796
confidence in God and came out to fight, and though my troops were not drawn up in battle array, some active men engaged Rai Gopāl displayed valour, and though the enemy was more than 5,000, and the imperialists about 3,000 and they too unarranged, victory showed her face, and great joy seized the world As day had become night, no pursuit was made On the 8th Rājū again came to fight, and this suppliant to God also came forward The active men of the van, viz I'tibār K, 'Aādil K, Rai Gopāl fought, and he according to his practice made war consist in flight M Zāhid, M Naṣir, Mir Gadai came from the right wing and fought Raju's horse stumbled and he fell Some well wishers caught the horse, and with great difficulty he escaped Kajkana and some brave men of the right wing put their hands to the work They fought for three *kos* up to Daulatābad The garrison then came to Raju s help The victorious warriors were nearly being defeated But the writer came up, and the enemy was dispersed As the day was at an end we returned and halted for a little Again the wicked poured in from every side, and though there was no arrangement (*tuzuk*), there was a great fight. Several of the enemy were killed, and some were captured, and victory showed her face I engaged in returning thanks to God After that Raju could not show himself for some time. He spent his days in bewilderment under the protection of the for tof Daulatābād. On the 15th he came with a large host, but was put to flight after a short contest.

One of the occurrences was the commotion of Telingana When S 'Abdu r Rahman gained his victory, he returned after leaving on guard Hamid K, Baz Bahadur, Bahadur al Mulk and other brave men Inasmuch as the slumber of neglect had seized the administra

---

[1] Called Katak Catwarā in Maas r III 615

was sent to take charge of the bounteous tomb of Khwāja M'uinu-d-din—may his grave be hallowed! He was regarded as descended from his daughter On account of improprieties he was for some time placed in the school of the prison, and for a time he trod the desert of misfortune At this time he received favours and was sent to his old home He was appointed to look after the recluses at the tomb and to arrange for the distribution of food On the 11th Rai Rai Singh came to court and was treated with favour He had been appointed to the army of the Deccan along with the writer When news came that his son Dalpat had gone to his home and was behaving oppressively, he took leave in order to remedy matters That turbulent one awoke somewhat from his somnolence, and showed a desire that H M would recall his father to court, and asked that an order of forgiveness might relieve him from fear so that he might hasten to court His request was granted and he was summoned and that presumptuous one acted according to his words, and emerged from eternal ruin! On the 16th Qulij K obtained leave to go to the Panjab As there was no great officer there, this chosen servant was appointed there It had been proposed that the government of Kabul should be entrusted to Shah[1] Quli K Mahram He (Qulij K) asked for the charge of both places (the Panjāb and Kabul), and this was granted, and an order issued In this year and month Khwajagi Fath Ullah returned without having effected his object When he came back from Nasik, re infectâ, the Prince sent him there again S'aadat K, Fulad K, Malik Sher, Saiyid Ali, Saiyid Jalal and other fiefholders of Dandesh and Nadarbâr were sent with him The soldiers were collected with delay When he came to Bâbil, Raju came out to fight and they could not stand their ground They fought and retired to the fort of Sungar He invested it for a short time Then he left it and opened the hand of plunder In Pathri he laid hold of the family of S'aadat K, and got a large amount of property His strength having been increased, he returned to attack the fort At this time there was a loud report that 'Azmat K was coming with some soldiers of Baharji
799 (of Baglana) 'Inayat Ullah came with some men from Burhanpur People also spoke about the writer's returning to that quarter so he (Rāju) was obliged to leave the fort and to proceed towards Daulata

[1] He died in this year

bād He took Gālnah (Jālnah) Khwajagı Fath Ullah had made ıt over to Y'aqub Beg Shıghālı, and S'aıd Beg Badakhshı When he was besieged (ın Sungar), he applied to them for help The agents of these two basely and avarıcıously took 2,000 *huns* and delivered up that choice fortress.

One of the occurrences was that Farhad K made a night attack and had to retire unsuccessful Sher Khwaja, M Yusuf, M Kocak 'Alī, Y'aqub Beg, Muhammad K, Burhan al-Mulk, Abu l hasan and many other servants were assembled ın Pathrı (?) When the writer joined the Khan khanan at Parnur,[1] and the soldiers were very busy The mad Abyssınıan who was facıng Sher Khwāja with a number of wicked men, formed long schemes He did not think that he had the strength to fight by day, but on the night of the 18th he attacked and fought hard but had to retire On the night of the 20th Husaın Qulıj K. was married to the daughter of Āṣaf K Two lakhs and 50,000 dāms were bestowed for the marriage celebrations On the 29th H M embarked on a boat and gave glory to the house of Zaın K's sister, and brought her out of her sorrow by cordial words On 12th Āzar the daughter of Ram Dās was married to Sıyam Sıngh H M went to the ante chamber (*peshkhana*) of the bride's father and bestowed favours, and presented five lakhs of *dams* for the marriage celebrations. On the 18th Shāh Qulı K Mahram died of diarrhœa He had an abundant share of courage and honesty, and kept a youthful heart ın old age He was continually on horseback and enjoying the pleasures of the chase H M soothed the survivors by princely favours Oh the 21st Amba Cokā was taken. The writer wished to go with a number of active men from Parnur to punish Farhād K The evil thoughts of some of his companions prevented him When the soldiers after long delay crossed the Ganges there was a severe engagement between them and that Abyssınıan He (the writer) left Barelı, traversed the hills and sate down at Amba[2] Cokā, which has a choice fort. That fertile country came into possession On this day Sālbāhan came from court. He brought a special shawl[3] (*parm*) and good news of H M This good news encouraged me, and increased my energy Many of my companions from

[1] Apparently Parner 20 m S W Aḥmadabād

[2] Apparently the Ambād of the I.G., ın the Haıdarabād territory

[3] B 90 I O 236 has *parm narm*

shortness of thought did not wish to advance By great efforts a
800 forwardmovement was made On the right wing were M Zāhid, Mir Gadai and some other brave men On the left wing were Bahādur-al Mulk Kackana, and some others In the van were Sher Khwāja, with a party of noted men When we had emerged from the passes, the advance guard of the enemy, who were more than 4,000, dispersed after a short engagement Although, on account of the approach of night no pursuit was made, yet the fort was taken and that populous city plundered The soldiers got abundant booty The same night, news came that the son of Shāh 'Ali who had thought that the fort of Dharwar would be his protection, and who had collected an army, had entered the hill country of Ousa. My idea was that next day I would punish that bewildered one Owing to the duplicity of some persons this did not occur In a short time the rear force came up, but the son of Shah 'Ali, who had been presumptuous became submissive, and sent apologetic letters At this time Hamid K and his son Yusuf arrived After the defeat in Telinganah, he by great efforts got out and by ability collected some men He (Yusuf?) fought many engagements with the rebels there, and from want of strength he joined the victorious troops with *150* men When his father was made prisoner, the son of Shāh 'Ali invited him to join him but he from a happy star declined Shāh 'Ali's son kept him under *surveillance At night he came out on foot* On the 26th by the guidance of the landholder he joined the army By much questioning[1] (?) he gained his end On the 28th M Yusuf K died When disturbances rose up on every side the Prince sent M Rustum, M Yusuf and some others to render assistance When they came to Jālnāpur that good servant died of a tumour (*dard i-dambal*) On 9th Dai the festival of the lunar weighment was celebrated, and H M was weighed in the house of Miriam Makānī against eight articles There was a daily market of liberality, and high and low obtained their desires

One of the occurrences was that the victorious troops returned after having made a peace Some by love of sedition, some by shortness of thought and some by simplicity were led into the sleep of neglect *by the artifices of the son of Shah 'Ali* When they

---

[1] I trs gh Perhaps here means trouble

came to the bank of the Mānjara, that plotter increased his entreaties. The death of M. Yūsuf K. and the disturbance of Rājū and the Fārūqī[1] youth (?) increased their wishes. The administrators of the country had seized the fief of one Qāsim—whose father had fallen in good service. Owing to the pains of ill-success he joined Rājū. He gave him a body of men and sent him to the country[2] of Dāndes, and followed after himself. They were compelled to agree to a peace on the terms that Bāz Bahādur, 'Alī Mardān Bahādur and Hazāra Beg should be released, and that he (Shāh 'Alī's son) should not withdraw from obedience, and that some territory should be left 801
to him. On the 11th he brought, at the distance of five *kos* from the camp, I'tibar al-mulk, the brother of Tanīg[3] Rāo, and some others Mīr Murtazā came from this (the imperial) side and received the document of the treaty and gave a *firmān* of security.

On this day Bhagwān Dās Mastaufī died in Agra. He was very clever among the accountants (*bataktcīān.*)

Next day the imperialists returned. When they came to Rāmpūrī, the taking of Telingāna and the guarding of that country were made over to Mīr Martazā. Bahādur-al-Mulk, Rustum 'Arab, Shamsher 'Arab, S'aīd 'Arab, Burhān-ul-Mulk and others were sent with him and obtained *jāgīrs.* On the 18th the Mīr took his leave, and it was arranged that the Khān-khānān should take up his quarters at Parnūr[4] to encourage the soldiers of Pāthrī and Telingāna. The writer went back to punish Rājū. M Rustum, Rajah Suraj Singh and Muqīm K. with the brothers of Rajah Bikramājīt and others were appointed to help him. M. 'Alī Beg, the Saiyids of Bārha, the brothers of Jānish Bahādur and 'Aādil K. with his brethren and some others who were in Jālnāpūr were also appointed to accompany him. Some money and horses were also spoken[5] of (?). On the 19th

[1] Apparently by the phrase Fārūqī *pisar* is meant Bahādur K. Fārūqī, the young king of Khāndes who had surrendered Āsīrgarh.

[2] *Gird* I O. MS. 236 has *bagasand* "to injure."

[3] I O. MS. 236 seems to have Patang The Iqbālnāma refers to this treaty and says that it is plain from the Akbarnāma that A. F. disapproved of it It adds that the eighteen years which have passed since prove that his opinion was right.

[4] There is a Bānora, variant Pānora, in Sarkār Telingāna. J. II. 237.

[5] *Nām bardand* I O MS. 236 has *yām bardand*, post-horses ?

he went off On the 29th Lāla took leave to return into private life He was the eldest son of Rajah Bir Bar From violent passions and self will he was extravagant, and formed wide desires Failure led him further astray, and he got this idea (of retiring) into his head H M regarded this severance[1] as the remedy for his bewilderment

On 2nd Bahman the writer came to Burhanpur, and had the good fortune to pay his respects to the Prince When he came to Jālnapur on the expedition against Rāju, envious people fell into evil thoughts By pretexts they took the fiefs from the auxiliaries and baulked their energy I left the camp and proceeded there quickly, thinking that I might get leave from the Prince and go to court, and be somewhat rid of the trouble of envy At this time Mir Martaza Quli came from court, and conveyed princely favours Among them were two special horses, one for the writer, and the other for his son, ʿAbdu r rahmān At the end of the day twenty more horses came At this succession of favours my withered heart bloomed again

On the 8th it came to H M's notice that some avaricious persons did not abstain from levying dues He committed the charge of the empire to some well intentioned and moderate persons Agra he entrusted to Āsaf K the routes to the Deccan and Mālwa to Rām Dās, the Gujrat routes to Kalyan Dās, the Lahore routes to S Farid bakhshi The disturbance of cupidity was diminished somewhat, and there were meetings to return thanks On the 12th Dalpat, the son of Rai Rai Singh came to court His apologies were accepted and he was forgiven On the 13th the daughter of M Koka was
02 married to Sʿaad Ullah, the son of S aid K, and there was rejoicing On the 24th a son was born in the harem of the Prince (Daniel) by the daughter of the Khān khanan He soon went to the other world On the 25th S Musā[2] Qadiri was killed Mahmūd Langāh with the son of Nāhir K fell upon him in the town of Uch in Multān, and that brave man fell fighting He was one of the learned men who loved a monastic life and became an Amir by his devotion to H M On this day Muhammad K, the son of Daulat K, took a strange madness into his head He by his own efforts brought him-

[1] B 405 The Iqbalnama says he ostensibly left in order to retire from the world but in reality he went to Allahabad and entered the service of Prince Selim He was a commander of 200

[2] B 544 Younger brother of ʿAbdul Qādir

self to death He became bewildered by the heats of youth, and desires, and even became mad By treatment he became better At this time he came out to hunt, and at the end of the day got separated from his companions In the town of Pāl[1] he got into an engagement with the Kolis, and fought and was killed

On 1st Isfandarmaz (about 15th February, 1602) the writer was sent to Nāsik When he waited upon the Prince (Daniel) and brought forward his wishes, they were not accepted and he desired me to chastise Rāju I replied that I would not depart from orders, but that the jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate did not apply himself to the work of administration, and that he left this to some avaricious, shortsighted people How could work go on in this turmoil of carelessness and envy? He understood this somewhat, and undertook to work himself He gave a horse and a *khilat* and sent me off there At the first stage he honoured me by coming He presented me with a special dagger, and a noted elephant On the night of the 4th an inner[2] servant (of Akbar) died. He managed the treasury well, and H M had much confidence in him On the 14th Gangadhar had an audience He had been sent to give counsels to Sar Jeo, the zamīndār of Candā[3] He received them and sent him back with 14 elephants On the 25th Bahādur[4] K came and did homage On account of his refractoriness and the intrigues which he practised in the delivering up of Āsir he was for a time placed in the fort of Gwāliyār The great kindness of H M soon recalled him

NOTE

The 46th was the last year of which A F wrote an account He was killed in the 47th year on 4th Rabi I 1011 A H 12th August 1602 That year began on 26th Ramzan 1010 11th March 1602 and so he was killed five months after it had begun The Bib Ind ed continues the history to the end of Akbar's

[1] Text Mal var Tal Maasir II 8 has Pal and so has B 503 There is a Pāl in Kathiwar I O MS 236 has Pal

[2] Darūnī But there is a town in Persia called Darūn or Andarūn and perhaps Darūnī is a man's name meaning that he was an inhabitant of that town

[3] In the Central Provinces

[4] This is Bahādur Fārūqī He was also called Khizr K He died in Jahangīr's reign Du Jarric calls him Miram and Miran Ferishta (lith ed) says that Bahādur was taken to Lahore by Akbar and that he had a pension and died a natural death in Agra in 1033 (1624).

reign and there is no note to the text to indicate when A F's writing ends and Muḥibb 'Alī's begins But a sentence at the end of the editor's preface to the third volume states that A F wrote the history to the end of the 46th year, and that the continuation is the work of Muḥibb 'Alī K Chalmers, and Elphinstone after him, give the name of the continuator as 'Inayat Ullah or Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Blochmann XXX says that in two MSS which he has seen, the name of the continuator is given as 'Inayat Ullah Muḥibb 'Alī At the end of Chalmers' translation the continuator is called 'Inayat Ullah or Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ See Elliot VI 115

The two I O MSS. Nos 235 and 236 and the B M MS Add 26, 207 (Rieu I 251) give, in addition to the 46th year, the heading of the 47th, some poetry and a long khātima, or conclusion This conclusion is also found in the 3rd book of the Inshā, ed Newal Kishore, p 223, and is presumably genuine Abul Faẓl appears to have written it because the 46th year completed or nearly completed the second qarān, or cycle, of thirty years, reckoning from Akbar's birth. As a fact, the cycle did not finish till about the middle of the 47th year The conclusion appears in a very abridged form at the end of the Lucknow edition and at p 849 of the Bib Ind ed It is as follows

CONCLUSION

Verse

In the name of God! Hail, acute intelligence
In that thou hast given a new ending to words,
The pen has at once rested from movement
For the second[1] volume has been completed

Inasmuch as intellect assisted, and there was true devotion, wakeful fortune, and help of auspiciousness some thing of the events of the second cycle, which is conjoined with eternal dominion, has been written down By the help of the glorious authors (the Fates) my energy has been in some measure lightened of its burden

[1] Text "third" but it is "second" in the I O MSS and in the Inshā, and this is right The historical part of the Akbarnāma is considered by A F to consist of two volumes—at least till the end of the 46th year or end of the second* qarān The third volume is the Āin But he also had another division in his mind He believed, or affected to believe, that Akbar would live 120 years i e. four qarāns, see J III, 416, and that he too might live to write the account of four cycles, In all he would write five books In the verse he congratulates himself on having finished one half of his task, i e two qarāns, and promises that if life be granted to him he will write the account of the other two cycles

* The second qarān apparently did not end till about the middle of the 47th year! Akbar was born in October 1542 and so the sixty years of his life did not expire till October 1602 By that time Abul Faẓl was dead.

Verse

When a brilliant half was completed
Half the world came into my hands
If life be granted for the other half
I'll write it in such an instructed manner
That readers will be aroused from sleep
And that the fishes will dance in the water

I shed many drops of sweat[1] from my intellect's brow into the skirt of hope in order that half a drop of the river of enlightenment might refresh me! How the heart-fumes rose up in order that the ears might so far be enlight- 844
ened! May it confer a great name by being accepted of hearts! May I be made an eternal entertainer!

Verse

From my life I gave it flight
May God give it a place among lives

Hail the noble work of disposition, and the wonders of the pen! He who is bound in humanity's prison takes his flight towards the sky, and in the artificiality of the market place of affairs he shows a desire for the holy hour of joy. The exchanging of the coin of celestials is performed in the assay place of mortals, and Divine secrets adorn the stations of service. The strains of detachment are sung amid the troubles of association.

Verse

Our eyes are opened to the spectacle of truth
Primal reason fears the standard of our audacity
I lower my head and look into the fold of the two worlds,
Mayhap Love has fashioned our robe of the woof of vision

I[2] hope that the thread of the description of events will not be broken and that from time to time the office of thanksgiving will acquire new lustre, and that many wondrous events will be handled by the truthful pen—whose slit is the dawning of the heart, and that a treasure chest of auspiciousness has been filled and will be a present to future students, and that connoisseurs of jewels will have joy

Verse

Verily, while on this earth there is the beauty of order
May there be from spirituality a lofty name to words.

---

[1] Text wrongly has *juhd* instead of *khuhd*

[2] The Lucknow ed. has a sentence before this, and it occurs also in the I.O. MSS. It is 'The crooked carnal chameleon like spirit has sought out a remedy and addressed itself to the work and has prepared itself anew for this great task

May the order of speech be in accordance with Thy words
May the ornament of spirituality be in Thy name

Additional Note about the Name of the Author of the Supplement to the Akbarnāma

In the preface to the 3rd vol of the Akbarnāma p 3 the editors say that the author was Muḥibb 'Alī Khān The B M has three copies of the continuation, viz Nos Or 1854 1858, and 3271 All three correspond with the continuation given in the Bib Ind (Rieu III 929 and 1031 and Supplement, p 52) The India Office has two copies Nos 260 and 261 of Ethé The Bodleian has two copies see Nos 200 and 208 of Cat In the account of No 200 a reference is made to Aumer's Cat of the Munich MSS, p 90 Aumer states that the continuation was written in the time of Shāh Jahān as the preface contains the praises of that monarch In the prefaces as contained in I O MSS 260 261 I do not find any clear indication that the reigning sovereign was Shāh Jahān The phrase Sāhib Qirānī is used but it has not the addition of the word Ṣānī and the whole phrase is Lamp of the family of Ṣahib Qirān ' Here Sāhib Qirān means Timūr and the phrase is applicable to any of his descendants But it is clear from the disparaging way in which Jahāngīr is spoken of that the continuation was not written in his reign It is also clear that the continuation is a copy and often a verbal copy of the Iqbālnāma of M'utamid K The latter wrote as he tells us in his preface in 1029, 1620 which, as Gladwin remarks, is only fifteen years after Akbar's death In one place M utamid in treating of the death of Prince Daniel speaks of his widow, Jānāra Begam, as still alive In the continuation in the Bib Ind ed, p 838 she is mentioned as having died This shows that the continuation was at least written after 1029 but apart from this it is clear that the continuator could never have written of Jahangīr as he has done during his life time nor could it be Jahāngīr who ordered him to write In all probability the Muḥammad Sāliḥ of Chalmers is identical with the Muhammad Sāliḥ Kambū who wrote the Amal Salīḥ which is sometimes called the Shāhjāhan nāma See Rieu Cat I 263 His work was finished in 1070 1660, or a year after Aurangzeb had begun to reign in fact though while Shahjahān was still alive In the preface in the I O copy of the 'Amal Ṣāliḥ No 332 of Ethé the author calls himself Muḥammad Sāliḥ and adds that he is commonly known as Kamāl Hamadānī In the colophon of the 2nd vol of 332 he is called Muḥammad Sāliḥ Kambu The circumstance that the author of the continuation is sometimes called Inayat Ullah and sometimes Muḥibb Alī may be due to the fact that there are more than one continuation The continuation as given by Chalmers differs considerably from that in the Bib Ind ed and the continuation in Nos 260 and 261 of the I O differs from both of them But evidently all the continuations are more or less reproductions of the Iqbālnāma. The Bib Ind continuation differs chiefly from the Iqbālnama in being shorter in places and in the different view that it takes of the characters

of A. F. and Prince Salīm. Possibly the name 'Inayat Ullah may be accounted for by the fact that Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ had an elder brother named 'Inayatullah who was also a historian. See Rieu. l c. Perhaps he was the author of the continuation, or of one of them. See Rieu's description of the three MSS. of the continuation

May the order of speech be in accordance with Thy words
May the ornament of spirituality be in Thy name.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ABOUT THE NAME OF THE AUTHOR OF THE SUPPLEMENT TO THE AKBARNÂMA

In the preface to the 3rd vol of the Akbarnāma, p 3, the editors say that the author was Muḥibb 'Alī Khān The B M has three copies of the continuation, viz Nos. Or 1854, 1858, and 3271 All three correspond with the continuation given in the Bib Ind (Rieu III, 929 and 1031 and Supplement, p 52). The India Office has two copies, Nos 260 and 261 of Ethé The Bodleian has two copies, see Nos 200 and 208 of Cat In the account of No 200 a reference is made to Aumer's Cat of the Munich MSS, p 90, Aumer states that the continuation was written in the time of Shāh Jahān as the preface contains the praises of that monarch In the prefaces as contained in I.O. MSS 260, 261 I do not find any clear indication that the reigning sovereign was Shāh Jahān The phrase Sāhib Qirānī is used, but it has not the addition of the word Ṣānī, and the whole phrase is "Lamp of the family of Ṣahib Qirān" Here Sāhib Qirān means Timūr and the phrase is applicable to any of his descendants. But it is clear from the disparaging way in which Jahāngīr is spoken of that the continuation was not written in his reign It is also clear that the continuation is a copy, and often a verbal copy of the Iqbālnāma of M'utamid K The latter wrote, as he tells us in his preface, in 1029, 1620, which, as Gladwin remarks, is only fifteen years after Akbar's death In one place M'utamid in treating of the death of Prince Daniel speaks of his widow, Jānāra Begam, as still alive In the continuation in the Bib Ind ed., p 838, she is mentioned as having died This shows that the continuation was at least written after 1029, but apart from this, it is clear that the continuator could never have written of Jahāngīr as he has done during his lifetime, nor could it be Jahāngīr who ordered him to write In all probability the Muḥammad Sāliḥ of Chalmers is identical with the Muhammad Sāliḥ Kambū who wrote the Amal Saliḥ which is sometimes called the Shāhjahān nāma. See Rieu Cat I 263 His work was finished in 1070, 1660, or a year after Aurangzeb had begun to reign in fact, though *while Shāhjahān was still alive* In the preface in the I O copy of the 'Amal Sāliḥ No 332 of Ethé, the author calls himself Muḥammad Sāliḥ and adds that he is commonly known as Kamāī Hamadānī In the colophon of the 2nd vol of 332 he is called Muḥammad Sāliḥ Kambū The circumstance that the author of the continuation is sometimes called 'Ināyat Ullah and sometimes Muḥibb 'Alī may be due to the fact that there are more than one continuation The continuation as given by Chalmers differs considerably from that in the Bib Ind ed and the continuation in Nos 260 and 261 of the I O differs from both of them But evidently all the continuations are more or less reproductions of the Iqbālnāma. The Bib. Ind continuation differs chiefly from the Iqbālnāma in being shorter in places and in the different view that it takes of the characters

of A. F. and Prince Salīm. Possibly the name 'Inayat Ullah may be accounted for by the fact that Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ had an elder brother named 'Inayatullah who was also a historian. See Rieu. l.c. Perhaps he was the author of the continuation, or of one of them. See Rieu's description of the three MSS. of the continuation.

CHAPTER CL.

BEGINNING OF THE 47TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION TO WIT THE YEAR BAHMAN OF THE FOURTH CYCLE

On the night of Thursday, 26th Ramẓān, 1010, 11th March 1602, after 8 hours 42 minutes, the fountain of light passed to Aries and the eleventh year of the fourth cycle brought glory

Verse

The New Year came and grief left the world,
The dew on the leaves was like pearls in the shell,
The Shāh on the throne of glory granted abundance
Behold the Sun is in the house of exaltation

In accordance with H M's orders, the palace of fortune became rose-coloured, and exhibited an entrancing spectacle From New Year's day up to the day when the Sulṭan of the East (the sun) arrived at his culmination, there was a time of liberality and a daily market of gifts and pardons The Eyes of the State and the Pillars of empire were distinguished by princely favours Abundant offerings and scatterings were made by the grandees During the august festival S Abu l fazl was presented with a swift, special horse which was made over to Abu l khair (his brother) to be delivered to him

One of the occurrences was the appointment of a number of imperial servants for the chastisement of the rulers of Mau[1] and Jammu News came that Bāsu the ruler of Mau had, out of evil thoughts, attacked the borders of Pathān, and had sorely troubled the husbandmen thereof, and had by violence carried off some to his own territory Tāj K desired to go and punish him The zamindār of Jammu also made long the hand of oppression against the villages of the parganas Mozaffarwāl[2] and Bahlulpur Husain Beg

[1] In the Barī Doab J II 319

[2] Ẓafarwal in I O 260 It is the Patī Ẓafarwal of J II 320 and was in the Rechnau Doāb Bablūlpūr was in the Chanpat Doab J II 322

S 'Umari—who held these two places in fief—prepared in Rohtās the means of punishing him and went off in that direction On this account an order was given to Qulij K, the governor of the Panjab, to send Hasan Qulij, his son, with a body of troops to put down the disturbance, and *sazawals* were sent from the court to cause Husain Beg S 'Umari, Taj K Ahmad Beg and other servants of the province to join Hasan Qulij Khwāja Sulaimān was made Bakhshi of the force

The following matters occurred in Turan When 'Abdullah K died, and his son 'Abdūl Mumin's days also came to an end, Shāh 'Abbas, the ruler of Persia, who was always on the watch for an opportunity, set out on an expedition to Khurasan Hāshim[1] K, Bāqi K, and Payinda Muhammad K, the sister's sons of 'Abdullah K, engaged with him in battle The Shah prevailed over the country, Hāshim K lost his life in the fight and the other two fled, defeated, from Khurasan Payinda K came by the jugglery of fate to Qan- 804
dahār and was there seized by the servant of Shāh Muhammad K The end of his affairs will be related in its place Baqi K went to Turān As that country had no ruler, and except him there was no one who could fill the post, he became Khān After some time he led a force against Tashkend As Qalandar K, the ruler there, did not see in himself the power to contend, he had recourse to submission Bāqi K made him his subject and took possession of Samarkand and Bokhārā He gave Badakhshan to his brother, Wali Muhammad K Shāh 'Abbās after taking Khurāsān, spent some time in enjoyment in Herat and then returned to Ispahan In the second year he set out with a large army to take Balkh and encamped near that city Bāqī K, whose power was not yet fully established, considered that his best plan was not to engage in a pitched battle, so he set down his tents opposite the Shāh's camp and dug a trench round them and waited When much time had been spent the Qizilbāsh grandees were troubled by the delay and inevitable privations and

[1] The Iqbālnama has Totam K and the notice at p 817 of the Bib Ind Akbarnama shows that Tatam Sultān is more correct but the real name was Yātim Sultān which was another name for Dīn Muhammad The Turān news here given is stale for the battle in which Dīn Muhammad lost his life took place in the beginning of 1007 (1598) See 'Alam Arāī Of course Abul Fazl is not responsible for the paragraph Probably Hāshim is only a copyist's error for at p 817 we have Tatam

by the dying of their animals The Shāh therefore gave up his design and returned to Khurāsān

At this time Prince Sultān Daniel petitioned that the Rai Rayān might be appointed to the Deccan, and that an army should be sent to punish the zamindars of Garha This was granted, and an order was issued to the Rai Rayan that he should, in the first place, proceed to the country of Garha—which was in his fief—and arrange for its administration Afterwards he was to go to the Prince Also, at this time Shadmān and 'Abdullah, the sons of the Khān Ā'ẓim, were each raised to the rank of 1,000 After some time, Anwar, another son of the said Khan and who was older than the other two, was raised to the same rank As he was addicted to wine, and was of indolent habits and had shown self will in the service of H M, this was his punishment Ten horses which were presented to the Khān khanan were made over to his agent, and forty horses were entrusted to[1] Khwāja Latif, that he might convey them to Prince Daniel The sons of M Yusuf K and Rahim[2] Quli and the son of Khān Jahān came from their fiefs and paid their respects

One of the occurrences was the brave death of *Jāmil Beg*, the son of Taj K Taj K, after collecting auxiliaries, set himself to the chastisement of Basu, the ruler of Mau When he came[3] to the pargana of Pathān he did not halt, but went forward He chose an encampment in a place, of which he approved At the time of
805 marching, the enemy appeared, and Jamil Beg became ardent Without delay he fell upon the foe with a few of his men At first

[1] To Khwaja Abdullah and Khwaja Abdu-l-latif (Iqbalnama).

[2] Son of Khān Jahan (Iqbalnama)

[3] Taj K is the Tāsh Beg K Moghul of A F B 457 and of the Maasir I 482 Apparently a negative has dropt out of the text and we should read *napardakhta* instead of pardakhta for the Maasir says that Taj K went on to Pathan i e Pathankot B 616 without waiting for his auxiliaries However, the Iqbalnama also omits the negative The text speaks of the enemy appearing at the time of marching *hang-am-i-koc* but the Maasir says it occurred at the time of pitching the tents *khaima zadan* and it is so described in the continuation in I O MS 260 and in Chalmers and the Iqbālnama The word *koc* has been improperly used by the continuator Immediately before he speaks of Taj K s selecting a camping ground There is a notice of Tash K Beg in Prices Jahangīr p 41 See also Tuzuk J 13 where he is called Furjī, i e from Furj or Furg in Persia

he was victorious, and killed the leaders of the enemy Then he encountered two other forces, which came from the right and left, and after exhibiting much valour and standing firm, he bravely quaffed the last draught Fifty men accompanied him to the other world

Raza Quli, the son of the Khan Jahan, received a *mansab* of 500 with 100[1] horse, Islam Quli K, the brother of Shah Quli K Mahram, one of 500 with 150 horse, while Muhammad Quli Turkamān's rank was increased by the gift of an elephant Zahid Beg, the son of Sadiq K, came from the Deccan and was exalted by performing the *kornish* 'Allami S Abu l Fazl received the rank of 5,000, and was made by the appreciative sovereign the recipient of favours suitable to his services and loyalty It appeared from a petition by Prince Sultān Daniel that the son of Shāh 'Ali was preparing to make a commotion in the district of Ahmadnagar, and that 'Ambar Jeo had proceeded two or three months before to the territory of Bidar[2] Malik Barid, the ruler of that country, sent one named Ibrahim to put him down He fought a severe battle[3] with 'Ambar, and fell bravely Fourteen elephants and other materials of greatness fell into the hands of 'Ambar, and these added to his arrogance From there he went to Nubilas (?) and had a hot engagement with Qutbu l Mulk's people He was victorious and obtained nine and twenty elephants Then he proceeded to Telingana As Mir Martaza had not the strength to oppose him, he entered a fort,[4] and that evil minded one took possession of some of the estates and sent a body of men to the other parganas of Berar Malik Barid thought his remedy lay in supplication and flattery and sent him a sum of money, and made peace The immoderation of the wicked had come to such a pass that he would soon unite with the son of Shah 'Ali and both of them would throw the dust of sedition on their heads On receipt of this news it was determined[5] that 'Allami S Abu l fazl should be

[1] 300 (Iqbālnama)

[2] Text Berar but the variant Bid ar is supported by the Iqbālnāma

[3] "Near Bidar" (Iqbālnāma)

[4] Fort of Pathri (Iqbālnāma)

[5] The Iqbālnāma says that two provinces were formed The Khān khān was to have Berār Pāthri Telingāna and the duty of suppressing Shāh 'Ali's son and A. F was to have charge of Ahmadnagar and the duty of putting down Rājū and the other rebels Apparently these were the arrangements reported by P Daniel

sent with a large force to Jālnāpūr, and that the Ahmadnagar service and the punishment of Rājū and other rebels should also be entrusted to him The control of Berar, Pāthri and Telingana, and the extirpation of the son of Shāh 'Ali and of 'Ambar Jeo were committed to the Khan khānan

One of the occurrences was the turning back to Allahabad of the Prince Royal from the neighbourhood of Etawah, in accordance with the orders of H M At the time of the New Year he had petitioned [1] and expressed a wish to kiss the threshold, saying that his distance from the Presence disquieted his mind As the petition did not possess the glory of sincerity, it was not accepted Meanwhile news came that he was proceeding towards the court with evil intentions and accompanied by 30,000 [2] horse A Fate-like order
6 was issued from the antechamber of wrath and severity to the effect that "He should recognize that his peace and prosperity lay in returning to Allahabad If a desire for service had seized his collar, he should come to court unattended" Inasmuch as his disposition was not sincere, he on receipt of this order lost the thread of plan, and was mortified, and turned back from Etawah towards Allahabad In reply to the order he used expressions of lamentation, and represented his ashamedness, and made excuses unworthy of being heard and sent them to the court by the Sadr i Jahan [3] Close upon

---

who also sent ten elephants to the Khan khānān

[1] From MS No 260 in the I O and the Iqbalnama it appears that the petition was conveyed by one Īdal barqandaz The Iqbalnāma gives an abstract of the petition and quotes two lines of poetry that it contained At this place the same work notes that at this time the cold in Kashmīr was excessive and the lakes were frozen over

[2] Text 1 000 but the Iqbālnama has 30 000 It seems plain from the animus shown in this account that Muḥammad Sāliḥ or Ināyat Ullah was writing in Shāh Jahan s reign and not in Jahāngīr s? The Zub data—Tawarīkh I O MS. 1805 says Salīm set out in Shawwāl 1010 March April 1602 and that he had with him more than 30 000 horse about 1,000 elephants, and 2 000 boats He arrived at Etawah which is ten leagues from Agra Akbar recommended him to return on account of the heat of the weather He turned back on 2nd Zīl ḥajja 1010= 14th May 1602 The Iqbālnāma gives the date of Selīm's leaving Allahabad as Wednesday, 30th Isfandārmaz of the 47th year This would be 10th March 1602

[3] B. 468 The Iqbālnāma gives

this another order was issued to the Prince to the effect that the provinces of Bengal and Orissa were made over to him, and that he should proceed to that extensive country An order was also issued to Rajah Man Singh that he should leave the province of Bengal to the Prince's agents, and should himself come as a pilgrim and pay his devotions at court But the Prince thought his advantage con sisted in acting contrary to the orders of his visible God and did not *consent to take the governorship of that large country*

An order was issued to the Rai Rayan to take up his quarters between Narwar and Canderi, and to govern that country with prudence The Khan A'zim M Koka received the lofty rank of 7,000 *zat* and 6,000 horse Hashim K received a *mansab* of 1 500, S Daulat Bakhtiyar received one of 2 000 The presents of Shah Beg K, the governor of Qandahar were produced before H M A *marriage was made between Prince Khusru and the Khan A zim s* daughter, and an order was given that S'aid K Abdullah K,[1] and Mir Sadr Jahan should convey one lakh of rupis to the house of the Khan A'zim by way of dower (*shir baha*) 50 000 rup s were pres ented to 'Allami S Abu l fazl The sons of M Yusuf K presented themselves and received suitable appointments As the distress and poverty of the peasants (*kadiwar*) of Kabul was represented to H M, one *year's revenue was altogether remitted to that country,* and an order was given to the collectors that for eight years one eighth share of the revenue of the fief holders should be remitted The *mansab* of Shamsu d din[2] Husain, the son of the Khan A'zim—who was the Naib of the province of Gujarat—was fixed at 2,000, principal and increase (*asal u i afa*) It became known that Khudawand K Abyssinian had stirred up sedition in the *sarkars* of Pathri and Pathan,[3] (?) and the Khan khanan sent a force under the command of Suraj Singh and Ghaznin K of Jalaur to punish him Good men went to that country and defeated the enemy, and pra seworthy efforts were made to keep that country in repose

an abstract of the letter It throws the blame on the hypocrites who poisoned Akbar's mind and says that in reality the affection between Akbar and Jahangir was like that between Jacob and Jos [illegible]

[1] I O MS 200 says he was a des cendant of Muhammad Ghaus of Gwaliyar The present is there called *sacaq*

[2] B 450

[3] The I[illegible]alnama seems to

07 One of the occurrences was the victory of Irij, the son of the Khan khanan and the defeat of 'Ambar Jeo News came that when it was known that 'Ambar had gone to Telingana and that Mir Martaza had not been able to maintain himself in Nander, and that he and Sher Khwaja had gone to the village of Jahri,[1] and that the enemy was being powerful in that country, and that Sher Khwaja and Mir Martaza were in distress, the Khan-khanan had sent his son Irij[2] with a large force to quell the commotion Irij joined Mir Martaza and Sher Khwaja, and resolved to engage the enemy On learning this 'Ambar went to Damtour and from there proceeded to Qandahar[3] Meanwhile Farhad Abyssinian joined 'Ambar with 2 or 3,000 horse The brave men of the victorious army did not halt anywhere but advanced towards the foe As the enemy stood their ground, the leaders of the victorious army drew up their forces In the centre was Irij with his father's troops and *manṣabdars* In the advance were Rajah Suraj Singh, Bahadur al mulk, S Wali, Parbat Sen Khatri, Mukund Rai, Girdhar Das, son of Rai Sal Darbari, Raghu Das, son of Khangar S Maudud, Zahid, son of Shuja'at K, Qasim Husain K, S Abul fath, son of S M'aru, S Mastafa, Fath K Lodi, Ikhtiyar K, Sher K and other heroes In the right wing were Mir Martaza and a number of active men In the left wing were 'Ali Mardan Bahadur, and a party of brave men 'Ambar also drew up his forces First, the enemy's van drove off the elephants and attacked the imperial van, and there was a hot fight From the smoke of the guns and muskets day put on the dark robes of night The brave imperialists discomfited the foe by their bullets and the whizzing of their arrows Then the centre made manful attacks .

If the men of the right and left wings had extended the arm of courage, the enemy would not have escaped, and 'Ambar and Farhad would certainly have been made prisoners Twenty elephants, etc, were captured[4] When the news of this glorious victory was brought to H M by a report of Prince Daniel, thanks
808 were returned to God The victors were rewarded by promotion and

Pasim and this is probably right See J II 2?5

[1] In Sarkar Pathri J II ?36

[2] B 491

[3] Iqbalnama ... Kahandahar (?)

[4] Malik Ambar was severely wounded in this battle See Feringhta The victory was followed by a peace between 'Ambar and the Khan khanan

gifts of horses and robes of honour The Prince sent ten of the elephants to court, and kept ten by himself, with the idea that he would present them whenever he came to court

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Jammu When Husain Beg S 'Umari besieged the fort of Jammu, the Zamindar of Nagarkot and the other landowners and hillmen of the parganas of Lakhanpur, Jasrota, Mankot brought help to the ruler thereof They made great efforts, but were unsuccessful and fled away by night Ramgarha, Jasrota, Jammu, Mankot and Kobast (?) were taken

Various items of news from Bengal brought joy In the first place, Rajah Man Singh came to Dhaka (Dacca) and by means of hopes and fears brought the ruler Kedar Rai on the right road of service Secondly, when news came that Jalal[1] of Kahakra had with a body of evil disposed persons attacked the towns of Akri (?)[2] and Maldah and committed great oppression on the traders and inhabitants there, the Rajah sent Khwaja Baqar Ansari to Ghoraghat to Maha Singh, in order that he might join with him in putting down the disturbance When Maha Singh came to Kahakra Jalal kept the river Mandari[3] (?) in front of him and appeared with 5 000 foot and 500 horse Maha Singh without delay put his horse into the river, and as the bank was high it was difficult for the horses to

---

[1] The Iqbalnama has Mau instead of Jalal

[2] The Iqbālnāma has Agrā or Akra Maldah It is evident I think that the Agrā of text is the Akra of the Aīn T II I O M 260 has Mal dah quite clearly The text wrongly has Malera جلال کهکره ول Jalal Kahakrawal There are no vowel points and so the proper spelling is unknown to me B 479 n 3 speaks of a Kokrah or Khukra which is the old name for Chutīa Nagpur but evidently this is not the place meant in the text The Kahakra or Kakra there mentioned was in Bengal and must I think be identical with the Bāzkhokrā or Bar Khokra of the Āin J II 131 Tiefenthaler has Barghora and Gladwin Bāzghogera He has Jawaragra as the heading for the 14 parganas This was in the Sarkār of Jannatabad and was one of the 14 parganas belonging to Jawār Akra or Agra As pointed out by Mr Beames R A S J for 1896 p 110 Jawar here means a division of country One of the parganas of the Jawar is called Havelī Akra and Beames says Probably Agra on the Purnabhaba river now absorbed in the Shīkarpūr pargana of Barbakābād Mr Beames refers to Jalalgarh as the name of a fort N E of Purniah

[3] Probably this is the Mahanandā river See Beames' c p 90 Chalmers has Mahananda

mount it, and some[1] of his companions lost their lives Most of them emerged with safety and attacked the foe The villain threw the dust of ruin on his head and fled like the wind Maha Singh's mind being at ease about these matters considered that it was indis pensable to put down Qazi Mumin, who at this time had collected many evil disposed persons[2] in Purniah and was devastating that country, and so proceeded thither That ill fated one had made a fort[3] on the bank of the Kosi and was meditating flight As soon as he heard of the approach of the imperial troops he put his family *into boats and went off there (to the island ?)* Maha Singh sent 500 horse across the river after him, and he went to an island On account of the thick jungle the troops could not get a trace of him Active men scattered about and came to that island from every side Mumin's eye fell first upon a few of them, and perceiving that they were few in number and being ignorant of the proximity of others he sought to engage He defeated the first force Murad Beg Uzbeg and Nuru d din Muhammad, a relative of Muhibb ʿAli K took no account of this defeat and fought gallantly Nuru d din Muhammad K. sacrificed his life on the path of loyalty. At this time there was fear that injury should accrue to the victorious troops But by the fortune of the Shahinshah Qazi Mumin fell headlong from his horse and was killed on the spot The heroes were victorious Next news came to the Rajah that Usman[4] the accursed had crossed the Brahmaputra with a large force, and that Baz Bahadur Qalmāq, the thānadār of that quarter had abandoned his post, and had come to Bhawal The Rajah came to Bhawāl in the space of a day and a night, and next day had a fight with the enemy on the bank of the river B hār[5] (?) Many Afghans were slain and much booty in the shape of boats (*nuwara*) and artillery was obtained When he had made the *thana* strong by entrusting it to able men he came to Dhāka, and ordered a number of brave men to cross the Anjhamati[6]

[1] The Iqbalnama says nearly 100 were drowned and so does Chalmers and I O MS 260

[2] Chalmers has Rabnābād but probably Purniah is right

[3] I O MS 260 adds in Purniah

[4] Cf Elliot VI 106

[5] This is Mozaffar K s slave who had become loyal

[6] The Iqbalnama does not name the river It has sar for saz i atish and perhaps this has been read as Bihār 29 Perhaps the Icamati in the Pabna district

(?) and to punish 'Īsā and Kedar, the ruler of Bikrampūr and Sarhanpur. The wicked Afghans leagued with Dāud, the son of Īsā and the landholders and closed the ferries and prepared for war. For some days the imperialists were unable to cross. The Rajah on perceiving the state of affairs came from Dhaka to Shāhpur.[1] He first appointed a body of men to keep those who had gone before. As the affair was beyond their strength, and there was much fighting at the ferry, he saw that the remedy was for him to come to the spot in person. On arriving, he without delay mounted his elephant and entered the river. Other strong hearted men proceeded manfully to swim the river. They crossed and defeated the enemy. They became unsteady and fled. The Rajah followed them and marching by night came to Barhanpuri[2] (?) and Tarah (?). Sher K.,[3] the proprietor, then had the wisdom to wait upon the Rajah. From there he went to Sirhanpur[4] and Bikrampur. Dāud and the other Afghans went off to Sonargāon. The Rajah's mind became at ease about the enemy and he went to Dhaka.

At this time Rai Sāl Darbari was raised to the rank of 2,500 *zat* and 1,250 horse. He was one of the old servants of the court. He was a good servant and one who jeopardised his life. Rai Singh Rāthor had on account of want of wisdom been unstable, and as a punishment he had for some time been excluded from the *kornish*. At this time, as marks of repentance appeared in him, he was summoned and his offences were pardoned and regarded as not having been committed. An order was given for admitting him to the *kornish*. A favourable reception of his son (Dalpat)—who continu- 810
ally acted contrary to his father's wishes—was made conditional on his pleasing his father. H.M. remarked "until he attain the good graces of his father—who is his visible God, and the pleasing of whom is bound up with the pleasing of God—he cannot participate in the favours of the sovereign."

---

[1] In Sarkār Tājpūr, J. II. 135. A small *pargana* ten miles N. of the town of Purniah (Beames).

[2] This name seems certainly wrong. I.O. MS. 260 apparently has Mahūrī and Tīrah.

[3] Chalmers has Shere Ghuzny miscopied in Elliot as "Then Ghuzny." It is also Sher Ghāzī in I.O. MS. 260.

[4] Haripūr in I.O. 260.

Reports of the officers of the Deccan arrived stating that Prince Sultān Daniel had taken away the *jagir* of Shāhrukh, and that the Mirzā was grieved on this account and wished to come to court An order was issued to the Prince stating that his resumption of the fief was exceedingly disapproved of, and that he must restore it A gracious letter also was addressed to the Mirzā, telling him that the composing of the distractions of the province of Mālwa was committed to his judgment, and that he should be fervent in the service, and not come to court without being summoned He was also honoured by the presentation of a horse The charge of the province of Multan was made over to S'aid K, and he was loaded with favours and sent off there Partab Singh, the brother of Rajah Mān Singh, came from Bengal and did homage It was reported that the victorious army had returned after being victorious over Bāsu, and that the fort of Kulin (?) had been entrusted after its capture to Rām Dās

It was reported to H M that the Khān khānān had addressed himself to extirpating the thorn of the sedition of Rājū, and that Prince Sultān Daniel having heard of the misconduct of one of the Fārūqis in Bābilgarha[1] had sent a force under the command of Tardī Beg K and Khwaja Abu l hasan to punish him, and that he had fled from there to Daulatābād, and that Khwāja Nāzir, the eunuch, had shut the gate of the fort against the troops and commenced to fight They had therefore set themselves to besiege the fort, and had pressed hard upon the garrison When they had no way of escape they had capitulated and become loyal An order was issued to 'Allāmi S Abu l fazl that he should come to court unattended, and that he should make over his army to his son S 'Abdu r rahman, and put him in charge of affairs The Hippocrates of wisdom, the very learned S Abu l fazl, on account of his abilities and his loyalty and devotion, was rising, from rank to rank of confidence and intimacy The envious on beholding this, heated the fire of envy in the furnace of their hearts and sought for opportunities of satisfying their grudge against him As he was under the protection of God,
811 and the eternal favour was security for that pure minded one his advancement continued, and no evil happened to him from any con

[1] A Babil is mentioned as in Sarkār Gawil J II 232

tingency But the spite of the envious constantly gained strength Gradually Prince Sulṯān Selim's mind became prejudiced by the representations of hirs against this foremost one of wisdom As the ways of the prince were displeasing to H M, and he continually went counter to his father's wishes, his father's neglect of him was increasing daily Evil-minded persons represented that the aversion of his father was due to the efforts of the Shaikh and that the latter was endeavouring to have him disgraced and distrusted This had such an effect on the prince, who was of a hot disposition, and had lost his prudence owing to drinking and to the intoxication of youth and of success, that he set himself to take the life of this unique one of the age At the time when the prince wanted to come to court without being sent for, and when the secret discerning sovereign perceived his intent and would not allow him to come, it became known that the Shaikh had been summoned to come quickly to court from the Deccan The prince thought he had his opportunity, and gave orders to Bir Singh Deo Bandila—who had long been a highway robber, and whose home was on the road from the Deccan, and who for a while had been in the prince's service—that as the Shaikh was proceeding to the court unattended, he should put an end to him He then despatched that villain after having made him hopeful of many favours That ignorant partizan (*'lwan n idān*) went home as quickly as possible and collected a number of bestial, savage Bandilahs and lay in wait When the Shaikh received the order of the world's lord, he set out from the Deccan At Ujjain he heard that that evil plotter was holding the road He did not attach weight to this statement and disapproved of the suggestion of his well wishers that he should turn back and proceed by the route of Ghati Cāndā Apparently, as the time of death was at hand, the thread of deliberation dropped from his hand! Or perhaps he desired to sever the links of the bodily elements, and his heart was full, from beholding the jugglery of fortune and the ways of his contemporaries! On 1st Rabi al awwāl 1011 (9th August 1602), between Serai Bir and Antri,[1] Bir Singh Deo came out from his ambush That wise and warlike man, with an indignant heart, an open brow, and a soul full of reliance on God, and of courage, prepared for

---

[1] In Sarkar Bijānwān J II 188 A F s tomb is there

battle Gadāi K Afghān—who had been long in his service, and had been nurtured by him, came forward and turned his rein He in his loyalty represented "The enemy appears very numerous and
3 we are too few to be successful It is proper that I and some others go to face the enemy and that you slowly proceed on your way until the enemy has finished with us There will be a long interval, and you will arrive comfortably at Āntri which is three *kos* distant, and where there are the Rai Rayan and Rajah Singh with 2 or 3,000 horse" That haughty and brave man replied "To the noble lovers of their honour it is pleasanter to play away their lives with credit and to die bravely than to spend their days in cowardice, and to bring on themselves the stain of timidity According to the code of the valiant what can be baser than to attach importance to fleeting life and give place to the enemy, and to fix ones heart on the unstable world and so gather eternal disgrace? If this be my last day—and that must happen to every one—what remedy is there, and what counsel can one take?" He also said "My gracious sovereign has raised me from the rank of a student to the lofty position of an amir, a vizier, and a general On this day if I act contrary to *H M*'s opinion of me, by what name shall I be called among men, and how shall I have a clear countenance among my rivals" He said this and proceeded against the enemy Gadāi again importuned and said "Soldiers frequently act in this manner When it is not fitting to engage with the foe, they do not consider it to be a breach in the pillars of courage for them to step aside and turn their rein, and to take vengeance at another time As yet we have time You can withdraw yourself from this dangerous spot" He who was prepared for the last journey, and whose foot was on the path of laying down his life paid no regard to these words and said "I cannot flee from this unwashed thief" They were still speaking when Bir Singh Deo arrived The brave man urged on the steed of bravery on the hostile forces, and died from a spear thrust in the breast Gadāi K, and some others obtained the boon of sacrificing their lives Alas for that mine of wisdom, and woe for that ocean of knowledge! The night lamp of science and wisdom was extinguished, and the fountain of eloquence and excellence was stilled There was an evil day for genius, and the livers of knowledge and perception were torn Intelligence and discernment were dis-

solved and farsight and acuteness removed their baggage from the world!

Verse

Alas for the celestial knowledge, it has turned to dust
The pillars of science have moved, and the nest of eloquence is empty!

When this sorrowful news reached the court of the world's lord, his heart was grieved for that the banquet adorner and the en- 813
lightened companion had passed away The great nobles lamented that the life-thread of the adorner of the court of the viziership had been cut short The gatherers of wisdom sate in sorrow for that he who sate four-square on the divan of eloquence had left the world The sagacious and active-minded heaved a cold sigh because the last sleep had seized him who fostered enlightenment The community at large wept and lamented because the days were ended of him who was the leader of the lords of "Peace with all" and a knower of the disposition of the age The grief and sorrow which were occasioned to the appreciative Khāqān are beyond expression I have heard from a reliable source that at midday H M was engaged in watching the flights of pigeons He was standing and admiring their wonderful movements, when S Farid Bakhshi Begi brought the news of the catastrophe H M uttered a cry and became insensible After a long time he recovered For several days in succession he had moist eyes and a sorrowful countenance because of the sacrifice of that excellent companion, that prince of loyalty, that interlocutor of lofty intellect, that friend of the private meeting and that faithful confident and counseller Whenever[1] the disaster was brought to his mind, he heaved a painful sigh, and beat his breast He severely censured the prince for what he had done, and often blamed him Resentment against him took possession of his holy soul so that even to the end he was displeased with him In spite of all his abasement and supplications he never forgave him "The truth seeking vizier of the Shahinshah," and "Abul Fazl the enlightened' are the two suitable chronograms[2] for this model of the lords of wisdom, which

[1] The writer of the Iqbālnama says that he repeatedly was an eye witness o this grief

[2] They yield 1011

occurred to the writer while penning these pages An order was given to the Rai Rayān to extirpate Bir Singh Deo, and not to rest

The circumstances of A F's death are described in B XXV, in Asad Beg's Memoirs Elliot VI, 154 in Jahangir's Memoirs, and in Tiefenthaler, who from his connection with Narwar had perhaps special means of information I myself have seen A F's tomb at Antri and have described it in an article in the 'Calcutta Review It would be interesting to know if the body under the tomb wants the head as that is said to have been sent to Jahangīr who had it flung into a privy There are discrepancies about the date of the murder and about the place It appears however that the true date is 4th Rabī I 1011 or 12th August 1602 Apparently A F had passed Antri and his body was afterwards carried back there The murder appears to have been committed about a mile from Serai Bar, B XXV Tiefenthaler says I, 184, it took place at a ferry of the Sindh river at a place called Dūmghat about two leagues to the west of Dehala which again is *ten* leagues west of Dattia Of Dattia there is a plan in Tiefenthaler, and the same plate gives a view of Asirgarh The Iqbālnama says, A F was killed on Friday 1st Shahriyar =the beginning of Rabi al awwal at a place between the Sarai of Bar and Antrī The Maasir II 616 may also be consulted Chalmers says A F had reached Serai Bunga two stages (in Persian text *du rūza*) from Gwalior when he was attacked on 1st Shahrīyār There are two copies of Asad Beg's Memoirs in the B M, and both belong to the Elliot MSS I have seen one, Or 1996, Rieu's Cat III, 979, and also Mr Chapman's translation Add 30 776 In a note at Elliot VI, 156 it is stated that Bir Sing is invariably called Nar Sing in the MS and that this is the more likely name of the two This note is reproduced from a note apparently by Sir Henry Elliot, to Chapman's translation As printed in Elliot it conveys the impression that the name is Nar Sing in the original Persian MS and there is a similar remark at p 107 But this is not the case Mr Chapman has written Nar but in the Persian MS it is clearly Bir Sing so that there is little doubt that this is the real name Āsad Beg strikes one as having been rather a futile person He was not to blame for being absent at the time of the murder, but surely he might have done more than he did after he heard of it Instead of sallying forth from Sironj and recovering the body, or attempting to punish the murderers he proceeded to fortify himself as if there was any danger after the robbers had gained their object[1] The date he gives for the murder is Friday 7th Rabi ul awwal 1011 (not 1010) and he adds that it occurred at *the time of prayer*—apparently the Friday's prayer which occurs *after midday* If Asad's date is correct the murder occurred on 15th August 1602 He parted from A F at Sironj which is placed in the Ain in Malwa Sarkār Canderī but which is now in the Rajputana State of

till he had severed his head from his body Rajah Raj Singh, Rām Cand Bandila and other zamindārs of that neighbourhood were appointed to assist Ziya ul Mulk was appointed to be Bakhshi to this force and a number of officers of the court were associated with him

One of the occurrences was the arrival from Badakhshān of a petition from M Badiu z zamān[1] the sister's son of M Hakim In the 46th year 'Allami wrote that he after prevailing over Badakhshan read the *Khutba* and coined money in the name of Akbar, and sent a skilful ambassador to apologise for the smallness of the service which he had hitherto rendered The sovereign the favourer of the weak, sent back the envoy with abundant goods and arms and other warlike materials and so increased Badiu 'z zaman's resources 814
At this time he again petitioned and asked for some warlike materials H M sent twenty camel loads of weapons of war etc with Malik Muhammad Badakhshi—who had been appointed as *darogha* of the ruby mines in Badakhshan, and also sent an encouraging *firman*

One of the occurrences was the death of Khwaja Sulaimān the bakhshi of the army of the hill country of the Panjab He had sent a body of men against a village and was expecting news of it. As no intelligence came he personally followed up those whom he had sent He came up while they were engaged with the enemy, and when arrows and bullets were flying on either side A bullet reached his temple and he was killed

At this time it was reported to H M that Prince Daniel—who in accordance with the insistance of H M had for a time given up wine drinking, and had broken his wine vessels, and had taken an

---

Tonk It is 78 m N W Saugor Sarai Barār was the last stage reached by A F and it was shortly after leaving it that he was attacked and killed It is described by Asad as being two or three stages beyond Sironj on the way to Gwaliyar It was beyond Kālabāgh Asad represents that he was left behind at Sironj to punish Indrajit the brother (?) of Bir Sing and he throws the blame of A F s not being properly escorted on Gopal Dās Nakta. He says that Bir Singh sent for a *firmān* and told A F —as he was dying— that Hazrat Jahāngīr had sent for him This would seem to indicate that Selim had already called himself Jahāngīr

[1] He was soon afterwards defeated and put to death by Bāqī K. See below p 817

oath against drinking wine by the exalted head of H M —had at this time broken his vow and again fallen into drinking habits, and that in consequence of such fire water his disposition had become immoderate A monitory order was issued[1] to that nursling of sovereignty, inquiring why he did not take pity on his youth and beauty, and, why he did not take warning from the instance of his elder brother Prince Sulṭān Murād What evils more than that were not produced by wine to the corporeal frame—which was the choice building of God's hand! If he desired to please the Creator, and also his visible deity (his father) he would withdraw from association with that injurious companion (wine) and would not, for the sake of a momentary gratification, call for his eternal ruin!

From the reports of the Subahdār of Kabul and other officers there it appeared that [2]Ahad Dād had stirred up strife in Tīrāh, and that the tribes of the Afrīdis, Pani, Orakzai and Sūri had joined him Also that Ṭakhta Beg, who in order to settle the disputes of the Yusufzai and the Orakzai[3] was residing in Nagarkot, had on the receipt of this news gone to Peshawar, and from thence to Tīrāh, and that the Afrīdis had submitted to him Also that Ahad Dād had gone from Tīrāh to Āhanposh and that neighbourhood Also that Ṭakhta Beg had punished a number of the Afghans who at the instance of Ahad Dād had devastated fort Arkhail and Dumandī (?) and had settled among the 'Alīzai Also that he had established *thanas* and had closed the rivers, (*rudbands*) and that the Afrīdi chiefs had come in, and that the Orakzai leaders had made treaties,
815 and that Ahad Dad's influence had been destroyed, and that he had failed and gone to Cauhāna (?) All these things were reported at length As Husain Qulij the son of Qulij Khān, had distinguished himself in the Panjab, and had made obedient Taluk Cand the ruler of Nagarkot, he received a robe of honour, Qulij Khān, a special shawl and Taluk Cand also a shawl

As Prince Sultan Selim had committed great faults, and H M was very angry with him, no one could venture to petition for him The great lady of the age, Mariam Makani and the Khātun of the

[1] The Iqbālnāma says the rebuke was conveyed by Bīr Narain

[2] I O M S 260 has Ahadad احداد

[3] The Iqbalnāma says The Dila z k.

chamber of chastity, Gulbadan Begam, begged for his forgiveness. Inasmuch as H M had a great respect for Miriam-Makāni and Gul badan Begam, he granted their wishes and gave an order for the coming of the Prince to court, and ordered that the cupola of chastity, Selima Sultān Begam should go and give the Prince the news of forgiveness, and bring him to court That chaste lady in order to soothe the prince's apprehensions took from H M an ele phant named Fath Lashkar, a special horse, and a robe of honour and went off with them

At this time also the *faujdari* of Mewāt was conferred on Iftikhār Beg On 2nd Ābān the solar weighment took place, and there was a feast of joy The sovereign was weighed against twelve articles, and the needy had their wants supplied The presents of Qasim Khan, arrived from Transoxiana and were received Shāh Beg Khan the governor of Qandahār was raised to the rank of 5000, and the government of Ghaznin was taken from Sharif Kh and given to him A strict order was also issued about the security of the Qan dahār and Ghaznin roads so that the merchants might have their minds at ease Sālbāhan the head of the artillery received the title of Rajah He was unequalled as a gunner, and was promoted on account of his long service Petitions were received from M Shah rukh representing his illnesses and weakness and Beni Das, physician, was sent to treat him Manucihr the ambassador of the ruler of Persia received valuable presents and was allowed to depart Numerous productions of India were sent along with him as presents for his sovereign, and at the time of his departure Manucihr received four lakhs of *dams* in addition to what had already been given to him News came that 'Iri the son of the Khan khānān had fought a great battle with 'Ambar Jeo and that by H M s good fortune he had been victorious and had captured elephants and other property H M as a reward for this service gave him the title of Bahadur Jadun Das the brother s son of Rai Bihari Cand was sent off in order that he might convey favourable orders to Prince Sultan Daniel, the Khan khanan and to 'Irij Bahadur He was to bring with him **816**
to court the elephants that had been taken An ornamental waist dagger was sent with him for the Prince An order was issued to S Abdu r rahman the son of 'Allāmi Abu l fazl that he should join the Rai Rayan and exact vengeance from Bir Singh Deo for the mur

der of his father His fief also was assigned to him in Mālwa At the request of the intercessors for the Prince-Royal, a special robe of honour and a special horse were sent to him by Burhān ul-mulk Khwās, and many gracious messages were conveyed to him by the same means Prince Sultān Dāniel sent as *peshkash* a diamond weighing 27 *surkhs*[1] and a ruby weighing 4 *misqals* An order was issued to Ābu l qāsim Namakin[2] that he should send to court M Ghāzi[3] along with a confidential slave of his named Khasrū Hāshim K, Qāsim Khān Parwāna and Hasan Qulij came from their respective fiefs and paid their respects at court Hakīm Rakna[4] and Hakim Haidar had the good fortune to come from 'Irāq and enter into the service of H M The first of these had accumulated a knowledge of medicine and of the current sciences He had also a turn for poetry, and put into verse lofty sentiments The other was a passed master in science, was well acquainted with physic and an able writer of prose and verse He had inward and outward graces A petition from the Prince-Royal was laid before H M The gist of it was that he had met the noble lady (Selima Begam) two stages off and paid his respects to her He also expressed in the petition a wish for the hor es which the Persian ambassador had brought as *peshkash* Khariam the Khān A'zim produced twenty Kachi horses (from Cutch) which had been sent from Jūnagarh as *peshkash*)

---

[1] It is tl e seed of the Abrus Precatorius and is the same as a rati B 16 n The Iqbalnama gives the weight of the diamond as 4 *misqāls* and 5 *surkhs*

[2] Tamkīn in text

[3] This is the son of M Jānī Beg of Tattah See infra p 839, M Ghazī had shown a disposition to rebel and Sa'īd had been sent to bring him into order See the Maasir III 345 The Khasrū here described is called by the Maasir Khasru Cirkis (Circassian) and is described as having been the vakīl of Jānī Beg s family for one hundred years He took part in the struggle for Scinde s independence agaın t the Khān khanan M Ghāzī died in 1021 (1612) in the 7th year of Jahangīr's reign Iqbālnāma 67 There is a story that Akbar wanted to poison M Ghāzī, and that by mistake he himself took the poisoned pills and died See Manucci I 150 who however does not give M Ghāzī s name No doubt the story is false

[4] See Maasiru l-Umarā II, 683 article Rahmat K Haidar s name was Rafīu-d dīn Haidar See B 593 But of course this Haidar must have come before the 47th year for A F mentions him Probably the Haidar of text is the Nasīrī of Maasir, II, 683

It was represented that Bir Singh Deo had taken shelter in jungles and difficult defiles and was practising robbery The Rai Rayān had *several times chastised him When he learnt that Bir* Singh had come into the fort of Bhander, and when he was surrounded there by the imperial vanguard, that he had crept into the fort of Īrij,[1] the Rai Rayan had quickly gone there, and Bir Singh had come out and fought on the bank of the river (the Betwa) There was a hot musketry fire, and the Rai Rayan *crossed the river As* the bank was high, the men got over with difficulty, and there was a contest Bir Singh was defeated and entered the fort of Irij The Rai Rayan set himself to besiege it When it was nearly being taken Bir Singh broke down the wall of the fort at night, and came out on the side of the battery of Rajah Raj Singh Probably the Rajah showed slackness in the matter of seizing him The brave men pursued him and killed forty[2] of the wretch's followers But 81
as the jungle was thick, and there were many ravines the pursuers were obliged to return, and the villain managed to escape

One of the occurrences was the death of M Badi'u-z zaman On account of want of equipments he had asked for some arms from the court and H M had sent him a supply along with Malik Muhammad Badakhshi Before the latter arrived, Baqi K the ruler of *Turān came to Badakhshān with a large force The Mirza though* he was weak set himself to fight *The enemy was victorious* and captured him, and put him to death

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Payinda K, the brother of Bāqi K It has[3] been mentioned that after the death of Iatam K (Yatim), Baqi K went to Turan and acquired the *sovereignty of that country, and that Payinda became in the garmsir* country the prisoner of Shah Beg K He was now sent to court After he had been produced before H M he was made over to M Wali and he, out of vengeance for his brother Badi uz zamān[4] whom Bāqi K had killed, put that innocent man to death

---

[1] Apparently the proper spelling is Irie See B and Elliot vi 108

[2] The mention of an elephant in Chalmers and Elliot is apparently a mistake *calal* having been read as *fil*

[3] This may refer to page 804 of Persian text but the reference is not clear The real name is Yatīm and this was a sobriquet of Dīn Muḥammad

[4] This Badi-uz zaman v

One of the occurrences was the death of Gulbadan Begam, the paternal aunt of H M. When the time of her departure from this caravanserai arrived, she fell ill of fever for some days, and the medicine of the physicians was of no avail. On Monday the 6th Ramzān 1011,[1] 7th February, 1603, she wrapped her face in the veil of annihilation. She had served God for 82 years in this unstable world. H M had much love for her, and from respect he supported her bier for some steps on his own shoulder He won the hearts of the needy by giving them alms and so soothed the pure soul of that traveller to the abiding world. At the time of death—which is a season of silence and insensibility—Miriam Makānī the queen of the age, came to her pillow, but though she called her "Begam Jio" (dear lady) she got no answer. As they had long used loving expressions to one another, she repeated the endearing expression.[2] The other opened her eyes on the blessed face of Miriam Makanī and died after uttering this verse

Verse[3]

I'm weak and dying, may you live long!

The petition of the chaste Selima Sultān Begam arrived. She described with fervour the beautiful tale of the devotion and sincerity

of Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandī and Fakhru-nisā Begam called by Jahangir, Tūzuk 68, Najību-nisā, the sister of M Hakīm and half-sister of Akbar. He went to Badakhshān from Hisār and defeated an imposter who claimed to be a son of M Sulaimān and took possession of Badakhshān in Akbar's name in the 46th year See A. N III, 792 and 813 He was however killed by Bāqī K next year The M Walī who killed Baqī K's brother Payinda was another son of Khwāja Hasan It was he who was married to Bolaqī Begam, a daughter of M Daniel The Maasir is in error in saying, III, 460, that the M Walī who married Bolāqī B was another person See Tūzuk J, 272 It is also wrongly stated in Maasir that it was Akbar who gave Bolaqī B in marriage to M Walī

[1] The Iqbālnāma gives the date of her death as Monday, 6th Zi-hijja (1011) 6th May 1603, but this seems certainly wrong as she died in the 47th year Gulbadan Begam says she was eight when her father died Babar died on 26th December, 1530, consequently if she died in February 1603, she was then in her 82nd year

[2] Jio Begam Jio Jio seems to be properly Jiv and to be connected with jīwan life

[3] The text has 'umrat "thy life" but this does not appear in the Iqbalnāma, nor in the B M MSS 1854, 1858 and 3271 Instead of 'umrat they have bādā

of the Prince, and also represented that she had cleansed the stain
of savagery and suspicion from his heart and that she would soon 81
bring him to court.

CHAPTER CLI

Beginning of the 47th Year from the Holy Accession, to wit, the year Isfandarmaz of the Fourth Cycle

On Friday, 8th Shawwal 1011, 11th March 1603, after the passing of 2 hours 40 minutes the fiery winged peacock (the sun) made his nest in Aries, and the twelfth year of the fourth cycle brought news of joy to mortals

Verse

New Year arrived, and the gardens became variegated
The sun (shone) for the adornment of the season
Inasmuch as air tempered water,
Bitter pools (of tears) in the eyes of lovers became sweet.

The palace was adorned by H M's orders, and there were continual feastings up to the day of the culmination (*sharaf*) The world's skirt of hopes was filled by the desire granting of H M The grandees acquired eternal bliss by presentation of offerings

The chaste, secluded lady Selima Sultan Begum had petitioneds stating that she was coming to court with Prince Sultān Salim As the news-writers reported that Prince Sultān Daniel never quitted his cups, and that he had become weak and ill from constant wine-bibbing, the kindness of the spiritual physician willed that S Ilahdād should be sent to summon him Perhaps by coming to court his illness might be cured by the medicine of the Shāhinshāh's counsels S Ilahdād reported[1] H.M's desires to the prince At this time the prince represented, "When I was informed of my being summoned, inasmuch as the time was not proper for sending for the Khan khanan to Burhānpur I went off rapidly to interview him in order that I might instruct him about what was fitting to be done, and might give him advice. When S Ilahdād comes, I shall proceed to the holy threshold" When H M learnt this, his mystery-knowing mind perceived that the prince was not inclined to come,

[1] Perhaps it should be S Ilahdad would report

and that his going from Khandes to the Deccan was a pretext Accordingly an order was issued to the effect that his going to the Khan khānan was a subterfuge, and that his not coming was due to his habits of drinking and self indulgence What need was there for the Khan khānān's receiving instructions from him? If he wrote such things again H M would be a thousand times more displeased 819
An order was also issued to the effect that Khwāja Farasat Khawaṣs—who had been left there on account of sickness—had several times been sent for, and also that the elephants which had been captured in the battle with 'Ambar and Farhad had been sent for, but that the prince had made improper pretexts and not forwarded them He was enjoying himself in having fights of elephants which had not been produced before H M All these bad actions were proofs of the prince's unlucky star and perverted career He must send all the elephants and also Khwaja Farasat to court

A gracious message, together with a shawl was sent to Mālwa to M Shāhrukh in order to exalt him, and noted horses and choice robes of honour were sent to the officers of the Deccan Rajah Suraj Singh was distinguished among his equals by the grant of a kettle drum As he had distinguished himself in the Deccan H M rewarded him with a kettle drum On 12th Farwardin[1] B ca Jan Anaga the mother of Zain K Koka died H M went to her house and consoled the survivors M Shahrukh petitioned for leave to come to court An order was issued to the effect that Prince Daniel had been summoned If he had the grace to come, then it would not be proper for M Shahrukh to come for in that case the country would be denuded of loyal officers If the Prince from presumption, self indulgence, bad companionship, and continual drinking did not come, then the Mirza might leave his troops in Mālwa and come to court An order was issued to the Rai Rayān that as Bir Singh Deo had become a vagabond in the desert of destruction, he should come to court with the servants who were assisting him Twelve elephants sent by Prince Daniel were submitted for the inspection of H M, and from among them one named Shāhrukh was placed among the special elephants

---

[1] So in text but the Iqbālnāma seems to make it 12th Ardībihisht for just before it an occurrence of 2nd Ardībihisht is mentioned 12th Ardībihisht is = 22nd April 1603 She is also called Pica Jan and Jiji

One of the occurrences was the coming of Prince Sulṭān Selīm When he was approaching the centre of fortune, he sent a petition to the effect that Her Majesty the Queen of the world, Mīriām-Makānī, might take his hand and cast him at the feet of His sphere-brushing Majesty His petition was granted, and H H. Mīriām-Makānī went forward one stage and by renewed cordiality soothed the prince's terrified soul Next day he was brought to court, and the prince laid the countenance of humility and ashamedness at the feet of the Khāqān of the world, and confessed his evil doings The enlightened sovereign ostensibly accepted his inadmissible excuses, and held him in a loving embrace But the fawning of the prince did not remedy the inward dissatisfaction of the sovereign The
820 prince presented as an *offering* 12,000 *muhurs* and 977 elephants Out of the latter 350 were accepted An order was issued to Prince Danial to the effect that as Rajah Sūraj Singh had long been in that province, and wished to come to court, and also wished to arrange the affairs of his native country he should keep Gobind[1] Dās Bhātī, his officers together with his troops, and send off Sūraj Singh unattended to court, in order that he might reap benefit of good service and spend his days in his own country The Prince Royal begged for the elephant Pun (the Holy), which was unique for good dispositions and swiftness, and H M graciously granted his request The generous Shāhinshāh in order to capture the terrified heart of the prince took his turban off his head and placed it on the prince's head This was an omen of his adorning the crown and throne Though the Khāqān did not approve of the Prince Royal's succeeding him, yet he involuntarily[2] put the crown of dominion on a head which had been made fit for the diadem of rule, and the auspicious *Humā spread its* shade S 'Abdu-r-Rahmān the son, and 'Abu-l-barkāt the brother of 'Allāmī S 'Abu-l-faẓl deceased came from the Deccan and brightened their foreheads by the prostration of service The condolences of the King, the servant-cherisher, were balm to the inward wounds which they had sustained by the catastrophe of the sanctified Shaikh, and poured

---

[1] This is the man who was afterwards killed in Ajmere See Tūzuk J, 143

[2] *Bekhwāst* which Vullers and Steingass render as voluntarily, but surely here it means involuntarily

water on the fire of their heated livers![1] They presented three elephants, four swords, seven strings of pearls and some ornamented vessels as *peshkash*, and these were duly accepted A special shawl (*parm narm*) was presented to S 'Abdu-r-Rahmân Har Har Rai the son of Rajah Bīrbar brought the petition of Prince Daniel It represented that he had left off drinking for six months, and it offered excuses for his not coming Four lakhs of *dāms* were presented to M 'Ali[1] Akbarshāhī Abū l-baqi[2] Uzbeg came from Tūrān and from his lucky star turned his face towards the K'aaba of fortune. H M gave him a *mansab* of 500 together with 150 horse. Qulīj K.—who was an old servant—received the rank of 5,000 *zāt-u-sawār*.[3] Husain Beg S 'Umarī was sent off to the charge of the provinces of Kabul and Bangash Mādhū Singh received a *mansab* of 3,000 and 2,000 horse.

The occurrences in Bengal were as follows The zamīndār of 821
the Magh[4] country came with a large fleet and in the first place proceeded against Sonargāon, and invested the fort of Parmmahānī[5] (?)—where were Sultān Quli Qalmāq[6]'s Mozaffar Khānī and a number of servants He came out of the fort and fought with the

[1] See B 482

[2] The Iqbālnama calls him Abū-'Alī and says he was for a long time governor of Mashhad

[3] See Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p 9

[4] The text has مکنه Makna and there is the variant Manka, though why the editors should say this occurs in various copies when, as appears from their preface, they had only one to work from I do not understand The correct reading seems to be مگهه Magha as given in a note to Chalmers translation The Maghs are spoken of in the Āīn as the *qaum*-Magha, the Magh tribe, Persian text, I, 388, and J II, 120 There is a possibility however that the zamīndār Mukund is the person meant, though I do not think it likely The Bangu of Elliot, VI, 109, is the Banko of Chalmers who in a note to his MS suggests that it is a mistake for Pegu In I O MS 260, it appears as Bangāla, and the remark is added that it appeared to the Rajah that it would be easy to take Bengal

[5] I O MS 260, seems to have Barmiani, or Barhyanī Possibly Sonargāon may be a mistake for Sātgāon, and even without this being so it may be that Barmhattar in Sāt gāon, J II, 141, is the place meant The Iqbālnāma seems to have Barmhātti

[6] The word Qalmaq does not occur in I O MS, but it does in the Iqbālnāma He assumed the name of Bāz Bahādur

nemy, and by the might of H M's fortune he was victorious He hereupon proceeded to the fort which was held by Ahmad the wife's brother of Yusuf Kashmiri He fought with a number of Kashmīris, and some of his men were killed, and he himself was wounded[1] and fled at night from the field of battle When the Rajah (Man Singh) heard of the success of the enemy, he appointed Ibrāhim Beg Atka, Raghu Dās, Askaran, Dalpat Rai and others to render assistance The enemy during several days fell upon the *thanahs*, and there were great combats Ibrāhīm Beg set himself to put down the enemy and having arranged his forces bravely went forward to battle There was hot fighting, and the enemy was chastised Many were killed The enemy regarded the river as a protection against the fire of the swords and took to their boats They anchored their fleet and began a hot fire of cannon and muskets The imperialists sank some of the boats[2] (*ghrabs*)

M Shahrukh under the orders of H M led a force to put down the ruler of Banswāra[3] By great exertions he forced the landholder to fly and took possession of his country, and for some time preserved its tranquillity That man without home or household found Mālwa without a caretaker, and made a disturbance there On hearing this, the Mirzā left the country he had subdued and returned to put matters straight When he came to Mālwa the said proprietor came to his home (Banswāra) The Mirzā regarded the rainy season as an obstacle and could not go there a second time

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of M Hasan the son of M Shahrukh in the neighbourhood of Qandahār It has been written[4] in the (account of) end of the 45th year by the truthful pen of 'Allāmī that Hasan M became foolish from weakness of character and went wrong in company with one of the Kashmiris Up to this day no trace could be obtained of this wanderer Now news came that he had in the first place gone to the ruler of

[1] I O MSS 260 and 261 say he had three wounds Probably *nīs* in text is a mistake for *seh* (3)

[2] The account in Chalmers is fuller and speaks of 100 boats having been taken

[3] Cf Elliot II 109 The account is abridged from the Iqbālnāma which gives the name of the Rajah as Rāwal Ūgar Sen In text and in Iqbālnāma the country is called Bānswāla

[4] See above p 785

Persia Shāh 'Abbās, who had sent him to Husain K the governor of Herat at the time when the Shah was going to Āzarbaijān When the Uzbeg army turned back from plundering the countries of Merv, Māručāq and Murghāb, Husain K took a suspicion into his head and wrote to the Shah "I do not think it right that a son of M Shahrukh should be here at this time" The Shāh ordered him to be expelled, and Husain K sent him off to Badakhshān When the wicked fellow found it was impossible to make a disturbance in Badakhshān, he went about with his retainers[1] and joined the Hazaras The opportunists of the two parties united and extended the hand of plunder over the hilly[2] country north of Qandahār It is an extensive country with many Hazāra villages After the taking of Qandahār, the imperialists took it from the Uzbegs When the disturbance increased greatly, the warders of the country found that to contend with Hasan was beyond their strength and sent word to Shah Beg K He set out from Qandahar to quell the disturbance That raw fellow (Hasan) fled after a short contest The imperialists followed and put to death many who surrendered Hasan escaped half alive and went off to the hills of Ḥaqcarān[3] (?) and sought protection there

On the first of Mihr, Divine month, middle of September, 1603, Ziya-ul mulk was raised to the rank of 700 *zat* and 300 horse At the request of Prince Sultān Selim, the offences of Rajah Bāsu the ruler of Mau were forgiven Tātār Beg Safarci was raised to the rank of 700

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Prince Sulṭān Selim to punish the Rānā He had been sent off for this purpose in the 45th year His going wrong and his hastening to Allahabad without orders have been described by the truthful pen of the 'Allāmī At this time H M again ordered him to undertake the work On 21st Mihr, Divine month, October, 1603, which was the feast of the Dashara, he sent him off after giving him weighty counsels The pleasure-loving Prince—who took this task on the shoulder of his energy without a wrinkle in his brow—went off ten *kos* from the capital,

[1] This has been copied from the Iqbālnāma The word in text is *aḥshām* and denotes militia or other untrained soldiers

[2] This too is abridged from the Iqbālnāma It calls the country on the northern hills Tulsī Chalmers has Loosy

[3] The Iqbalnāma and Chalmers have Cakḥarān

and then made unfitting objections He made the smallness of his forces and the want of equipment as reasons for not proceeding and stayed in Fathpūr H M, who had tested the prince's loyalty, accepted his excuses and with outward graciousness ordered[1] that "To return and gather the bliss of service at this time when the astrologers reported unfavourably would not be proper As he had taken leave at a favourable time, it was better that he should go to Allahabad and enjoy himself" On receiving this message the Prince joyfully, drinking wine, and pleasuring himself, crossed the Jumna at the ferry near Muttra and went off gaily The enlightened knew the truth, this permission to depart and separate was a favour! Though the action of the Prince outwardly appeared to be entirely alien from governing, yet God had special designs with regard to him so that by such conduct he should be selected for reigning Verily before the glorious and Almighty God, the
823 Distributor of Justice, acts are not regarded

Verse

Wherever Thy favour is, there it is,
What is not done is as done and what is done is as not done.

On 10th Ābān, M Mozaffar Safavī died Muhammad Beg Khubānī was ordered to convey his body to Delhi As Mīr Jamālu-d dīn Husain Anju had been long at 'Ādil K of Bijapūr's court, H M became aware of the latter's craftiness, and issued orders to Prince Daniel and the Khan-khānān to the effect that as by God's help his mind was at ease about the imperial domains, he would, if his servants advised, come to the Deccan and by chastisement awaken the slumbering 'Ādil K These orders were entrusted to 'Inayat 'Ullah Kitābdar When he conveyed them to the prince, the latter sent him on to 'Ādil K, and wrote him a letter of advice H M sent his turban by Muhammad Sharif Kulābi for Prince Daniel and a special horse called Har Parshād Khwāja 'Abdullah,[2] being dis

[1] The Iqbalnama says that this message was conveyed by Princess Shakrunisa (Akbar's daughter)

[2] This is the man who afterwards became famous as Abdullah Firūz Jang, and a servant of Prince Selim who is so often mentioned in the Tūzuk J He left Selīm because he could not get on with Muhammad Sharif See M Hai's preface to the Tuzuk, p 6 and Maasir II, 77

gusted with the evil conduct of the Prince Royal's officers set his face towards the court, and H M gave him a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zat* and the title of Safdar K͟hān He was the sister's son of K͟hwāja Hasan Naqs͟hbandī, and was at first with Sher K͟hwāja He did good service in the Deccan Afterwards by fortune's guidance he entered the prince s service and became an Ahadi Gradually he rose to the rank of 1 000 and the title of K͟hān At this time he was guided to the threshold of fortune

One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion of 'Alī Rai the ruler of Tibet Before this it had been reported to H M that he by conquering the ruler of great Tibet and getting possession of much gold had become presumptuous and raised a great commotion in Kas͟hmir An order was given to Qulij K the Subahdār of Lahore to send a force to assist Muhammad Quli the governor of Kashmir so that that gnat which was buzzing in the wine cup might meet with his deserts At this time it was reported that Qulij K had sent 3 000 horse and 500 barqandāzes (musketeers) under the command of his son Saif Ullah to assist Muhammad Quli 824 Beg When 'Alī Rai heard of the arrival of the troops, his heart failed him and he fled without fighting The imperialists pursued him as far as the horses could go and then turned back On 11th Ābān, Lahari Bandar was bestowed on the Prince Royal, and a special horse called S͟hāh Inayat was given to Dost Muhammad to convey to the Prince It was settled that Prince Daniel should receive a lakh of rupis every year from the proceeds of the port of Cambay At the request of the Prince Royal, K͟hwājagi Fath Ullah Bak͟hs͟hi received the rank of 1 000 and was allowed to go to the Prince Muhammad Quli had sent twelve swift horses, natives of Kas͟hmir, and they were produced before H M

One of the occurrences was the success of the royal arms in Bengal, the downfall of Kedār Zamindār, and the retreat of the Magh Rajah News came that Kedar,—who was a noted proprietor in Bengal—had joined the Magh zamīndār with a large fleet, and used force against the *thana* of Srinagar On hearing of this Rajah Mān Singh sent an army provided with artillery against that presumptuous man Near Nagar Sur[1] the latter appeared with a

[1] Apparently this is a mistake for B krāmp ir which is the name mentioned by the Iqbālnama The Iqbalnāma gives ır tl s place an

large force and a great battle took place The enemy was defeated, and many were slain Kedār was wounded with bullets and was flying half-dead The brave troops followed him and captured him There was a little life in him when he was brought before the Rajah, but he soon died With his death the flames of disturbance in Bengal were extinguished After this, Rajah Mān Singh - who had made preparations in Bhawāl for attacking 'Usmān heard of the commotion raised by the zamindār of Magh and set out to put him down The latter did not see his advantage in fighting, and went back to his own country, and the Rajah turned back to Bhawāl to deal with 'Usmān He too fled, and the Rajah's mind being now at ease and having committed the *thanahs* to the charge of able men he went to Dhāka

The gracious sovereign cast an eye upon the comfort of travellers and ordered that in the serais on the high roads, refuges and kitchens should be established, and that articles of food should be in readiness for the empty handed travellers so that when they had
825 undergone the fatigues of journeying and had sat down to rest they might put food into their mouths without trouble

Mir Gadai the son of Abu Turāb received the rank of 700 and 400 horse, and Mir Martazā that of 2,000 *zat u sawar* M Kaiqubād the son of M Muhammad Hakīm was put into the charge of Jagannāth in order that he be schooled in the prison of Fort Rantambhor From bad companionship he had fallen into drinking-habits, and had committed evil deeds This was his retribution Shādmān and 'Abdullah the sons of the Khān A'ẓim were each raised to the rank of 1,500 The first was sent off to the government of Gujarat and the second to Junagarh It was reported to H M that Mir M'asum Bhakari who on 27th Āzar of this year had been sent off on an embassy to Persia had waited upon Shāh 'Abbās when he was besieging the fort of Irwān (Erivan) The Shāh had received him with great honour, and had ordered a large sum of money to be given to him and had taken the letter of the Shāhinshāh in his two hands and placed it on his head He had asked

account of the Magh Rajah and describes his white elephants etc It states that in the battle near Bikrampūr many Feringhis and Ikāh (query Portugāli) were killed and that Kedār received two wounds

"How is His Majesty my Shāh Bāba? (royal father). In what condition is he?" The presents had been spread out and he had personally inspected all of them. He had for two or three days sent the *ambassadors of Garjistān and the Sirdārs of Turkestan and other* strangers to inspect them. He had marvelled at beholding these rarities which were objects of admiration to all.

CHAPTER CLII

Beginning of the 49th *Year from the* Accession, *to wit, the year* Farwardīn *of the* Fifth Cycle

On Monday, 18th Shawwal 1012, 11th March, 1604, after the passing of 8 hours 20 minutes the Sultan of day entered Aries and the 49th year sounded joyfully in the ears of mortals

Verse

In the beginning of this year a son was born to Prince Sultān Daniel by the daughter of Dalpat Ujjainiya The world's lord gave him the name of Farhang Hūshang As Prince Sultan Selim had asked for a robe of black fox—which Zain K Koka had presented—it was granted to him together with another of white fox At this time the thanks of the Prince were received together with congratulations on the festival of the New Year Hasan Qulij's *mansab* was increased to one of 300 *zat* and 500 horse M Bahram, M Anfās M Ism'ail and M Haidar the sons of M Mozaffar Safavi were raised to suitable *mansabs* It was reported that as Takhta Beg had inflicted severe chastisement on the 'Alizai tribe and was returning after capturing some of them, the Afghans had blocked the road in the defiles, and that the imperialists had fought and killed many of them

As there were again reports of Prince Daniel's drinking, H M became very angry and sent off Hakim Fath Ullah the son of Hakim Abu l fath in order that he might reprove the prince and restrain him from his fatal propensity After some days, a swift horse named 'Ayās[1]—which was one of the presents of the ruler of Persia—was sent off for the prince

[1] The Iqbālnama has Abbas and this is probably right

One of the occurrences was the death[1] of the mother of Sulṭān Khusrū She was the daughter of Rajah Bhagwant Dās Kacwāha As the Prince Royal always behaved improperly to her, her mind became jealous and she killed herself by taking opium H M —who was very fond of Sultān Khusru—was grieved at this event

The Rai Rayān was exalted by the title of Rajah Bikramajit In gratitude for this favour he presented[2] two elephants and some other things Qāẓi 'Izzat Ullah and Nad 'Ali Beg Maidani came from Kabul and did homage Khwāja Rahmat Ullah was appointed Bakhshi of Kabul, and Malik Ahmad was made accountant of the buildings in that city Zāhid the son of Ṣādiq K received his father's title[3] Rajah Bikramajit was raised to the rank of 5,000 S 'Abdu r-rahmān was sent with him in order once more to punish Bir Singh Deo Bandila Rajah Rāj Singh, Rajah Paihār and others were appointed to assist the Rajah Rahmat K, faujdar, received the rank of 300 Rajah Rāj Singh received the rank of 3 500 *zat* and 3,000 827 horse, a drum, and a shawl Tardi Beg K had been degraded on account of misbehaviour He was now treated with favour and received the rank of 2,000 *zat* and 500 horse and so was raised from the dust of failure

One of the occurrences was the marriage of Prince Daniel with the daughter of 'Ādil K of Bijapur When the latter petitioned that his daughter might enter the prince s harem his request was granted and on 29th Isfandārmaz of the 45th year Mir Jamalu d din Husain was sent off with the arrangements for the betrothal When he came to Bijapur, 'Ādil K treated him with great respect and after three years and some months sent him away with many excuses and much cordiality He also sent off his daughter and sent M Maṣṭāfa K with her as her *Vakil* When the Khan khanan heard of her near arrival he sent his son Irij with 5 000 horse to meet her He met her at the distance of several stages and brought her to Ahmadnagar Mir Jamālu d din Husain hastened off from there and waited upon the prince in Burhānpur In accordance with the agreement with 'Ādil K he brought the prince to Ahmadnagar

[1] Cf Elliot VI 112 and 294 In the latter extract Jahāngir ascribes her death to grief at the ev l behaviours of l er son an l brothers to himself He gives the date as 26th Ẕ ḥajja 1013 = May 1605

[2] The Iqbālnāma says ten

[3] i e he was Ṣād q K

The Khān khanan accompanied him On 9th Tir the marriage-feast took place, and the lady was made over in a suitable manner to the prince's harem At the same time Mustafa K received leave to return, and the prince went to Burhanpur with the intention of coming to court But excessive drinking withheld him from this privilege When H M became again aware that the prince's weakness of body was increasing from constant drinking, and that he was in a very bad state, he sent a lady, in whose[1] bosom the prince had been born and grown up, and who was not afraid to speak strongly, and entrusted her with many messages of advice He also ordered that by every possible means the prince should be brought to him

A report was received from Rajah Mān Singh to the effect that his mind was at ease about the settlement of Bengal, and that he would spend the rainy season—when marching was impossible—in Nāẓirpur which was a choice spot and centrically situated in Bengal

828 One of the events was the chastisement of Hasan the son of Shahrukh M, and the fight of the Persians with Shāh Beg K It has been mentioned that that wicked one fled from before Shāh Beg K to Ḥaqcaran At this time news came that Shah Beg K wished to pursue him When he learnt that the zamindārs of the garmsir had in a shortsighted manner joined with the Qizilbāshes and seized the fort of Bast, he considered it indispensable to put down this commotion, and so withdrew from the presence of Hasan for a time and came back to Qandahār Hasan in league with 'Ali K, who, by the influence of the ruler of Persia, was governor of Nikdar and Mazārajāt, gathered together a large number of men of Ghor, and its neighbourhood, and attacked the country of Zamindāwar (?) On hearing this Shāh Beg K hastened there with some good cavalry Hasan fought an obstinate battle and then fled Many of his followers were killed After Shāh Beg K had subdued Zamindawar he turned towards Bast, and set himself to fight with the Qizilbāshes At this time he was attacked with fever, and had to take to a litter, and in this condition had to fight with Ism'ail Quli K the governor of Ferāt who had come prepared for battle and had 5 or 6 000 horse A hot contest ensued Some of Shah Beg's men behaved well, but most of them gave way and went to Qandahār Shāh Beg K in

[1] Apparently she was not his mother

spite of his weakness made great efforts, and after some time reached Qandahār.

When H.M. learnt that Prince Daniel was in a bad state from excessive drinking, and that he was becoming weaker day by day, *and that, though the chaste lady who had been sent exerted herself* to bring him to court, shame prevented the prince from coming, he *sent S. 'Abu-l-khair to bring him to court by every possible means.*

CHAPTER CLIII

Departure of the Retinue of Fortune for Allahābād, and the turning back at the First Stage

When Prince Sultan Selim came to Allahābād, he, from bad companionship, love of flattery, self indulgence, presumption and harshness, took to disobedience, and made many improper acts his glory Whenever his improprieties were reported to H M he issued injunctions of guidance At this time it was reported by truthful and disinterested persons that the heart of that cypress of fortune's stream had become excessively addicted to wine He did not keep his lips from the wine-cup for a moment When he got habituated to wine, he drank more, but the intoxication was less, and so he added opium Here a verse came to memory, and it is right to quote it

Verse

We cast the heart's [1] core into the limpid tears
The wine was without effect, we threw opium into it

At the time when a double intoxication (of wine and of opium) had taken hold of him, and when the brain was dried up, and his disposition unsettled, he for slight offences ordered unfitting, capital punishments For instance, he had his Recorder [2] flayed alive in his presence And he castrated one of the pages (khwāsān), and had a khidmatgar (servant) beaten so that he died. They say the record writer was in love with the page and that the page was attached to the khidmatgār All three became of one mind and took to flight A party of men who pursued them caught them and produced them while the tongues of the fire of the prince's wrath were

[1] *Suwaidāī dil* The heart's core and also a black spot of the heart hence compared to opium

[2] *Bāqā navis* Apparently equivalent to the "story writer," or recorder of the Apocrypha, 1 Esdras 2 17

shooting forth, and the above mentioned tyranny was practised on them. The gracious and merciful Khaqan was grieved on hearing of this atrocity and said "We during the time of our rule have not tried to hurt an ant, and are not willing that a (dead) sheep should be flayed [1]—though that may appear to be no offence. How has our honoured son had the courage to do such things? and how has he ventured to spoil what has been built up by God?" Inasmuch as world rule does not harmonise with self-will, presumption, tyranny and immoderation, his holy heart was deeply displeased by these deeds and other wickednesses, and he thought of going hunting as far as Allahabad and of exercising justice. If the prince should cast away arrogance and receive the retinue of fortune he would pardon his offences and bring him to court in his train. If he cherished evil thoughts, he would punish him and awaken him from his slumbers. Accordingly he gave orders for the starting of his advance camp, and fixed the halting place at three *kos* from Fathpur, on the bank of the Jumna. The gold embroidered tents were pitched, and on the night of Monday, 11th Shahriyūr, 21st August, 1604, that river of Divine wisdom, that ocean of knowledge, embarked in an auspicious hour on the boat, and sate in the ship of the Divine aid and protection. The sails were set and the anchor of purpose was raised. When he had gone a little way as there was little water the boat stuck in the sand. Nay, nay, the boat could not support the weight of the Caliphate and put its head on the ground 83
Though the boatmen tried to move it, they could not succeed. They could not bring it from there into deep water. Of necessity he spent the night on the river. At sun rise the officers and other grandees arrived in their boats and paid their respects. Though the awakened heart of the world's lord perceived the truth of the matter and inferred from the boat's remaining in its place that his desire (to make the expedition) was unfitting, yet inasmuch as it is not right for a sovereign to turn back without some great cause,

[1] It appears from Khāfī K. that Akbar meant the flaying of a sheep that had already been slaughtered. The horrible story is true for it is told by Jahāngīr's panegyrist Mu'tamid K. and by Khāfī K. It appears that the unfortunate men were going to join Prince Daniel. Akbar's full remark as shown in I.O. MS. 260 was that he could not bear to see a sheep flayed. The same MS. says that the third man was nearly killed.

he alighted at his camp, having still the resolution. Next day it rained, and it continued to rain heavily for three days. On account of the rain and high wind no one had a tent except the royal enclosure and some advance tents of a few intimate servants. The soldiers and the other men of the camp were in much distress. Suddenly news came of the illness of Miriam Makānī. As she did not approve of the expedition, H.M. did not believe in her illness. He thought her illness was feigned and did not contemplate returning. Till heart striking news came, and trustworthy[1] persons reported that she was seriously ill and that the physicians had given up using medicines. Of necessity the loving sovereign gave up the journey and hastened to the capital to see his mother. She who had made ready for the last journey had applied her heart to God, and closed her lips to speech. He spoke to her several times but got no reply. On seeing her desperate condition H.M. fell into uncontrollable lamentation. He was helpless and made over that holy personality to the true Lord and sate down in solitude and indulged in grief.

[1] Khafi Kh. says Akbar sent Kharram (Shah Jahan) to ascertain if the illness was real and that he returned on hearing his report.

CHAPTER CLIV

The Death of Miriam Makāni, etc

On Monday, 19th Shahriyur, Divine month, 29th August 1604 the Queen of the Age shrouded her face in the veil of non existence and found repose in the sacred privy chamber Mankind lamented and there was a daily market of weeping High and low lost self control, and became impatient and restless There was general regret, and tears flowed from the eyes The inmates of the harem and the servants tore their hair and sent up cries to heaven Who shall describe the grief of H M He shaved[1] his hair moustaches, 831
etc and cast off his turban and donned the garb of woe He was the first to bear the body on his shoulder, and then the grandees conveyed it in turn The cortege proceeded to Delhi

Verse

When H M had accompanied it some distance, he returned to the palace At the end of the day, at the time of dismissing the guards, he came out with the same manner and dress and stood for a moment The servants were astonished on seeing his tranquillity He said to S Farid Bakhshi Begi "As to morrow is the Dusserah, tell the servants to leave off their mourning dress' Next day he sate in the private and public window (*jharoka*), and received the salutations of those who were waiting there First, a gold embroidered shawl was presented to the Khan Āzim Similarly, gold em

[1] Asad Beg mentions in his Memoirs that when he came to court he found that Akbar and his courtiers had shaved their head eyebrows etc and that he followed suit The Zabdatu t tawārīkh says the death occurred on 18th Shahriyār 1012 and that the body was conveyed to Delhi in eleven prahars—about 24 hours Perhaps we should read 1013 in the Zabdatu t tawārīkh If the death was in 1012 then it occurred in 1603 Beale gives 29th August 1603 as the date Elizabeth Queen of England had died in March of that year.

broidered shawls were presented to all the servants from the rank of 5,000 to 1,000, to those from 900 to 500, dopatta Gujrātī shawls were given, to those from 400 to 100 embroidered (*kalabatūn*) shawls were given, and to the ranks below this, plain shawls were given. To the conspicuous Ahadis handkerchiefs (*mandil*)[1] were given. The body was conveyed to Delhi in the period of eleven watches, and laid in the tomb of H. M. Jinnat Ashiyānī. A son was born to Prince Daniel by the mother of Tahmuras. They asked H. M. what his name should be, and he replied, "Baisanghar."[2] A report came from Abu-l-khair to the effect that Prince Daniel had sent off his advance camp with the intention of coming to court. Apparently it was his advance camp to the kingdom of annihilation! On 3rd Ābān the solar weighment took place. H. M. was weighed against twelve articles, and the skirt of the hopes of the needy was filled. As the son of Mir Sadr Mu'ammai (riddle maker) was spending his days in folly, he was expelled from the empire. Rājah Suraj Singh confined that wicked one and took him to Pattan Gujrat, and Murtizā Quli the governor there sent him to one of the seaports, and had his boat put out to sea (?). Dost Muhammad, one of the confidential servants of the Prince Royal, took refuge at the sacred threshold. He had been bail for Khwājah 'Abdullah and when the latter came to court Dost Muhammad pretended that he would bring him back and thereby took protection from the wrath of the prince.

832 One of the occurrences was the coming of 'Ābadi Khwājah the son of the Khwajah Kilān Juibari from Turan. When Baqi K. behaved improperly to the officers and many leaders, and exerted himself to trouble the grandees, all resolved upon putting him to death, and to put 'Ābadi Khwājah on the throne in his place. With this idea they sent one named Bihbud to kill Bāqi K. That coward got his

---

[1] Perhaps this is the same word as mantle.

[2] So in text, but it should be Bai-sangar as in Iqbalnama. I. O. MS. 260 gives the name of the son viz. Mir Sanjar. He was a poet. See for accounts of him and his father B. 593 and 595 and n. 3. According to the Maasir Rahīmī Akbar imprisoned him and afterwards he went to Bījāpūr. He died in 1021 (1612). He was from Kashan.

[3] According to Chalmers he was Bāqī's K.'s son-in-law, and the Iqbalnāma also seems to say so, and so does I. O. MS. 260.

opportunity one day and wanted to draw his dagger from his armpit to attack the Khān But out of awe he became dumbfounded,[1] and an attendant informed the Khān and at a sign from him arrested Bihbūd On being harshly treated he confessed that he was acting under instructions from Ī͟sham Līdar[2] (?) and his sons, but that his courage had failed him He revealed the purpose of the officers Bāqi K executed the sons of Ī͟sham Līdar, and expelled Ī͟sham and ʻAbadi from the country The Khwājah made a pilgrimage to the K'aaba his pretext and came to the court which protected strangers, and rubbed his face on the holy threshold—which was the K'aaba of his purpose H M gave him a robe of honour and a present of Rs 20,000 Takhta Beg Kabuli's good services were recognised, and he received the title of Khān Rajah Sijām Singh, and Rajah Jagman Cohān were each distinguished above their fellows by receiving the rank of 1,000 The pargana of Bhangāon was given in fief to Rajah Jagman

One of the occurrences was the arrival[3] of Prince Sultān Selim When he heard of H M 's setting out for Allahābad, and of that purpose as being given up in consequence of the illness of Miriam-Makāni, he made a desire to express his sympathy a reason for coming to court, and on Thursday, 4th Āzar, Divine month, paid his respects and cast his head at the feet of his visible God, and true Qibla H M embraced the rosebush of fortune The prince presented a diamond worth a lakh of rupis, 209 muhurs each weighing 100 tolahs, 200 weighing 50, 4 weighing 25, and 3 weighing 20 tolahs, and 200 elephants Payinda Muhammad K, Makhṣuṣ K Khwājahgi Fath Ullah and other servants, who were with the prince did homage The presents of each were accepted As H M was displeased at the ignorance, waywardness, presumption, and self will and other evil acts of the prince, and as although he had many times out of toleration regarded his deeds as if they had not been

---

[1] I O MS 260 says he put his hand several times to his armpit, and so was detected

[2] The word is marked doubtful and Chalmers has Hāshim but the Iqbālnāma has Isham I O MS 260 has Isham Bahādur and perhaps Līdar is only a mistake for Bahādur

[3] I O MS 260 says he left behind him at Allahābād Sharīf who had been at the bottom of the murder of A.F For Sharīf who was son of the court painter see B 517

33 committed, and what he hoard as not heard, yet the prince had from bad companionship and self-indulgence not sought to please H M, he determined at this time to give him a lesson by putting him in prison In this way he would awake from the slumber of presumption, and seize the thread of enlightenment, and eye salve would be applied to those purblind, inwardly bad men who could not clearly discern the Shāhinshāh's Majesty He therefore had the prince arrested and conveyed to the female apartments[1] He first reproached him, and after enumerating his transgressions gave him many *censures The prince cast his eyes on the* ground and answered with streaming eyes Then an order was given to the servants to put the prince into a closet and to deprive him of wine This was the hardest of punishments The prince grieved greatly and was much heart broken His sisters came and went and sympathised with and comforted him They also represented the contrition and repentance of the prince to H M After ten days H M's innate kindness prevailed and an order was given for his release By H M's orders he went to his own house H M wished that the prince should remain there alone But as he was especially hopeless about Prince Daniel, he stayed the retribution of his acts at this point, and allowed him his fiefs and his rank as before

One of the occurrences was the flight of (Rajah) Bāsu the landholder of Mau The account of his rebellion and punishment has been already written At this time he came to Prince Sultān Selim and begged to be allowed to kiss the feet (of Akbar) He begged[2] that by the intervention of the prince he might cross the river and do homage He used forethought and stayed where he was When the prince put a new colour on his (own) actions in

---

[1] I O MS 260 says Selīm was taken to the female apartments by the route of the 'ibādatkhana Perhaps he was imprisoned there His servants were also put into confinement Cf the Anfa u l Akhbar Elliot VI 247, where it is stated that Selīm was imprisoned for twelve days in a bath meaning I suppose, the *ghusalkhāna* or private parlour

[2] As this passage is pointed in the text it would appear as if Bāsu crossed the river and did homage But the facts as shown by I O MS 260, are different Basū was too cautious to cross the Jumna and when Mādhū crossed in order to seize him, he fled See also Maaşiru l Umarā II, 160

the neighbourhood of the palace, H M privately summoned Mādhū Singh the brother's son[1] of Rajah Mān Singh and ordered him to arrest Bāsū That past master in craft read the signs of the times before Mādhū Singh arrived, and fled

At this time the Amīrs received promotion Some got appoint 834
ments and provinces, and some got presents The list is as follows (1) Āṣaf K, a 4,000 *manṣab zat,* 2,000 horse, and the gift of a flag and drum, and the government of Bihar (2) S Farid Bakhshi, also 4,000 *zat* and 2,000 horse, a flag and a drum He presented 5 valuable pearls, 4 rubies and an elephant (3) S 'Abdu-r rahmān received a special shawl, and the office of punishing the Bandīlas (4) Mir Abir Tūrāb the son of Ashraf K received a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zat* and 500 horse, and his father s title, and the appointment of *faujdar* of Oudh (5) S Bāyazid received a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zat* and 500 horse, and was allowed to keep the Allahābād appointment[2] which the Prince Royal had given to him (6) Payinda K. got a *manṣab* of 3,500 *zat* and 2 000 horse (7) Aminu d din K was appointed to bring Sulṭān Daniel (8) Muqim the Diwān i biyutāt was in the room of Āṣaf K raised to the lofty rank of Diwān and had the title of Wazīr K (9) M'uiz was made Diwā i-i biyūtāt (10) Kalyan Dās the son of Rajah Todar Mal got a *manṣab* of 1 000 *zāt* and 500 horse, and the charge of Fort Kālinjar (11) Iftikhār Beg got an appointment of 1,000 (12) M Wali one of 500 (13) S Kabir one of 500 (14) Sādiq K one of 1,500 *zat* (15) Khwājah 'Abdullah the charge of Kālpi (16) Mir Sharif 'Amuli the charge of Bahraich (17) Qāzi 'Izzat-Ullah one of 700 (18) Mīr Sharif Kūlābi one of 1,000 (19) Hasan Beg Khāki was made diwān of Sarkār Jaunpūr (20) 'Ābadi Khwajah got 1,000 *zat* and 500 horse (21) Rajah Bikramājit Bahaduria and Rai Mukand his uncle and Mir Sharīf the Makhdumzāda each got a suitable *manṣab*

As at this time it was reported to H M that Bāqi K had deserted the rules of administration, and was oppressing the weak and injuring them in their property and honour, and that injustice was current in the country, he conceived the idea of punishing that oppressor and of making an expedition into his ancestral domains

[1] He was only a brother Mān Singh was his father s adopted son

[2] That is he was allowed to remain in charge of the fort o Allahābād (I O MS 260)

His sole idea was to rescue the inhabitants of those countries from the heat of the sun of oppression and to bring them into the shade of equity, and under the garb of world conquest to worship God. As the Khān khānān Rajah Mān Singh and Qulij K. the great officers of the State were not in attendance, he summoned each of them to come quickly and to deliberate profoundly about the expedition (isiq = yāsāq) against Tūrān. Inasmuch as the Khān khānān was leavened with 100,000 wiles and stratagems he represented[1] that the affairs of the Deccan were very important and that he therefore chose to remain where he was. Thus he sought remoteness from the blessing (of waiting upon Akbar). Rajah Mān Singh came from
835 Bengal and Qulij K. from Lahore, but the idea and the conquest were not carried out. The juggler sphere played another game!

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the ruler of Kashmir.[2] As some of the Cak tribe who considered themselves to be descended from the ruler of Kishmir and had an itching desire to rule and were stirring up strife there, Muhammad Qulī set himself to put them down, and proceeded to punish the ruler of Kishtwār who was protecting them. When he came to the mountains of Kishtwār, he sent ahead his son 'Alī Qulī with a few experienced men. The ruler of Kishtwār from foresight sent agents and breathed submission and obedience. He took promises (of safe conduct) and came and waited upon 'Alī Qulī and brought animals of the chase, representing that it was tribute. He promised that he would not give the Cak rebels a footing in his country, and that he would at all times be loyal and exert himself in putting down the sedition mongers. Muhammad Qulī, having had his mind relieved about Kishtwār, proceeded to punish the Caks who were in the mountain of Maru. Though the sun was then in Libra, and the hills were covered with snow, and the roads destroyed yet he courageously advanced on foot and came to the top of the pass. He fought a battle with Aliyā Cak and Husain Cak and was victorious. These two escaped with great difficulty. At night time Zaida a proprietor, joined with the fugitives and made a night attack upon the imperialists. The fight went on till sunrise and when it was

[1] The Iqbālnāma gives an abstract of his opinion. Apparently he was not asked to come in person to advise

[2] So in text but apparently a mistake for Kishtwār.

day the ill-fated ones went off. Muḥammad Qulī dug a trench round the camp and cautiously waited, and used threats and promises to the rebels. Some made treaties and came to Muḥammad Qulī, but Aliyā Cak, Ḥusain Cak, Zaidā, Jabbārī and others prepared for battle. Muḥammad Qulī set out against them. The rebels sheltered themselves behind rocks and made a strong fight, but were defeated, and the imperialists proceeded to their houses and set them on fire. After thoroughly defeating them they returned. Next day Payinda Beg the brother's son of Muḥammad Qulī attacked them with fresh men and reduced them to extremity. Zaidā came in and waited upon Payindā, and made protestations of service; and sent his son with some animals of the chase to Muḥammad Qulī and promised that he would not again stir up strife, and that he would not assist the rebels. Similarly, most of the
836 *zamīndārs* submitted, and gave up their sons as hostages. Muhammad Qulī Beg returned victorious to the city.

Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Anjū arrived from the Deccan and did homage. Mīr Muḥammad M'aṣūm Bhakkarī—who had gone on an embassy to Shāh 'Abbās—returned and produced a letter from the ruler of Persia, and one which the Shāh's aunt had written to Miriam-Makānī.[1]

---

[1] I.O. MS 269 states at the end of this chapter that the pargana of Caund was assigned to Rajah Mān Singh in order that he might by its revenues provide for the maintenance of the fort of Rohtās.

CHAPTER CLV

Beginning of the 50th Divine Year from the Accession, to wit the year Ardībahisht of the 5th Cycle

On the night of Saturday, 28th Shawāl 1013, 11th March, 1605, after the passing of 4 hours, 40 minutes, the world warming sun illuminated the magic house[1] of Mars (Bahrām) and the 50th year of the reign of the world s Khāqān commenced The palace was decorated according to the yearly custom and the gates of joy and pleasure remained open till the sun had attained its degree of exaltation (*sharf*), and there were festivities The officers presented their offerings and the world attained its desires by the justice and liberality of the sovereign Tardi K was exalted by getting a *manṣab* of 2,000 *zat* and 500 horse, and a present of five *lakhs* of *dams* Rahmat K , Faujdar, received a *manṣab* of 1,500 *zat* and 600 horse, Partāb Singh 1,000 *zat* and 500 horse, Hakim 'Ali 3,000 *zāt* 200 horse, Sakat Singh 1,600 *zat*, 300 horse, Kishak Bahādur 500 *zat*, 50 horse During this feast Prince Sulṭān Selim presented one elephant, and Prince Daniel sent the elephant Gajpatī and two other[2] elephants They were accepted It was reported by S 'Abdu-r raḥmān and Khwāja 'Abdullah that Ondca[3] (Orca) had been taken and that Bir Singh Deo had been severely defeated, and had with great difficulty escaped with a few others from the battlefield Aminu-d-din K reported that the prince had conceived suspicions and that he could not come to court so long as the Prince-Royal was there The *manṣab* of Rajah Rāj Singh was made 3,000, Ḥamza Beg got a *manṣab* of 1,000 and Mir 'Abdullah one of 300 Rajah Rāj Singh reported that he had suddenly come upon Bir Singh Deo and had killed many of his followers He (Bir) had
337 saved himself after being wounded Bhao Singh, the son of Rajah

[1] Aries is one of Mars s Houses

[2] Female elephants 1 O MS

[3] The strongest fort in India 1 O MS

Mān Singh, obtained a *manṣab* of 7,000[1] *zāt* and 500 horse. Mīr Jāmālu-d-dīn Ḥusain presented some jewels and other things from the Deccan, and they were all accepted. Ḥusain Qulīj produced 20 horses as *peshkash*. Rām Dās Kachwāha received a *manṣab* of 2,000 *zāt* and 200 horse. Salbadī got one of 700 *zāt* and 400 horse. Saiyid Aḥmad Qādirī got one of 450 horse. Aminu-d-dīn one of 500, and 150 horse. Ḥakīm Moẓaffar 1,200 horse.

---

[1] So in text, but must be a mistake for 1,000. It is clear from the Iqbālnāma the *haft* in text is a misreading of *mansab* in the original i.e. Iqbālnāma

CHAPTER CLVI

Death of Prince Daniel

That wine-bibber did not hearken to the counsels of the Shāhinshāh, and however much H M restrained him from such fatal doings, he, inasmuch as he had formed the habit, sacrificed himself to wine, and listened not to advice As H M had appointed undaunted guardians who took care that he should not be given wine, he plotted with his private servants and went off on the pretext of hunting Those ignorant friends put some wine into gun barrels and some into the entrails of cows and put it under their clothes and wrapped round their waists and in the field conveyed it to that infatuated one He put his foot upon his soul, and washed his hands of life, and boldly drank He took no thought of his eternal ruin, and gave not a glance at his youth and his own destruction

Verse

What thought of headache has the devotee of wine?

Gradually his chief members and especially his brain became entirely upset, and he got severe pains and became very weak, and his constitution failed. His veins and members became benumbed, and he gave up food. No other word but wine passed from his lips For forty days he lay in bed, and on Saturday, 28th Shawwāl, 11th March, 1605, he died [1] while longing for wine He spent 33 years and 6 months in this world, and having drunk the wine of life he fell into the crapulousness of death He left three sons, viz Tahmūras, Hūshang, Bayasanghar and four daughters, S'aādat Banu,[2] Būlāqi Begam, by the daughter of Qulij K, Māhi Begam, the sister of Hushang, Burhāni Begam, the sister of Tahmuras The Prince was wonderfully

---

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that with the exception of the last year of his life the Prince always abstained from wine during the month of Ramẓān

[2] Her mother was Sultan Khwajah's daughter (Iqbalnāma)

attached to Jānān Begam the daughter of the Khān khānān That excellent and faithful lady became inconsolable after this catastrophe and wished to go to the other world with the prince She did not get this boon, and submitting to the prohibitions and 838
advices of others she remained in this abode of sorrow But[1] she was consumed with grief for the departure of the prince She lived for many years but till her last breath, each day of her widowhood was the first day There were some wicked persons who secretly conveyed wine to the prince and who seeing their own good in his harm knowingly conspired to kill that drunkard By the Khān khānān's orders they were imprisoned The first was Shamsi, the brother's son of Khwajagi Fath Ullah, the second was Murshid,[2] artilleryman, the third 'Ali Beg Nadim, the fourth Mubārak Koknāri, the fifth Shujā' the son of Ghiur Beg Kābuli There were also three eunuchs and two barbers Three days afterwards, the well wishers of the prince—whose hearts were lacerated—killed the whole of that crew by sticks and stones, clods[3] and kicks When the fatal news reached H M, owing to his perfect observance of the Divine Will, there was no upset in his disposition But who can estimate his grief?

---

[1] The text calls her Khān khānān Begam but her name really was Jānān Begam (the beloved lady) The remark in the text about her last breath shows if proof were needed that Muḥammad Sāliḥ or Inayat Ullah wrote after the Iqbalnāma for in the latter, she is mentioned as *still living* The Iqbālnāma says that she was burnt from head to foot with the scars of separation and that she always wore cotton and the text evidently copying from this says apparently that she burnt herself from head to foot with scars I do not know if this is metaphorical or if it means that she really burnt marks on her body Probably the latter is meant for it was a practice with lovers to burn themselves on the hands and breast and Babur says his father had such marks *nal i dāgh* (The passage does not occur in P de Courteille or Erskine but is in the Turki) See Vullers s v nal and dagh Jānan is not mentioned in I O 260 nor does it give a list of *Daniel s children*

[2] *Cf* Price s Jahangir 47, where it is said that it was Murshid Qulī who brought the spirits in the barrel of a fowling piece

[3] Kiaht but Iqbālnāma has fists, *musht*, and this is right See I O 260 which adds the picturesque touch that the beating took place at the instance of Daniel s wives

The presents of Quṭb ul mulk the ruler of Golconda consisting of 30 elephants with gold and silver equipments and other ornamented instruments and the rarities of that country were produced before him Qulij K had sent 20 horses from Lahore, and they were shown to H M Hāshim K presented four elephants An elephant was presented to 'Abādi Khwājah From the report of Khwāja 'Abdullah Safdar K it appeared that as Bir Singh Deo had thrown poisonous plants, etc (zahrygiyā, aconite ?) into the wells near Ondcha, many men had died of fever in the course of a few days He could not remain there and so he had left the fort and the buildings[1] that had been erected and gone elsewhere That great officer, Rajah Man Singh arrived from Bengal and did homage He tendered 1,000 *muhurs* and Rs 12 000 as a present Nuran Qulij and others who had accompanied the Rajah did homage Yusuf, the son of Husain K (Tukriya) received the distinguished *manṣab* of 2,000 *zat* and 300 horse The graciousness of H M desired to show incalculable kindness to the Prince Royal With this view he, without informing any one entered a boat and went to the prince s quarters The prince received him with the step of devotion and made the dust of H M 's feet his eyesalve, and opened his lips in thanksgiving After one *pahar* H M returned to his
39 palace Rajah Mān Singh brought numerous elephants from Bengal Sharif K Kabuli received a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zat* and 500 horse Nuran Qulij presented 19 elephants The charge of Jaunpūr was made over to him As Rajah Raj Singh had exerted himself very much in the matter of Bir Singh Deo Bandila and had driven him into vagabondage, H M had regard to his good service and exalted him to the *manṣab* of 4 000 Faridun Barlās received a *manṣab* of 1,500 horse On 5th Shahriyur, 15th August, 1604, Divine month, Sakina[2] Bānu Begam sister of M Hakim, withdrew her countenance

---

[1] Apparently, what the Iqbalnama says and which is probably correct is that Abdulla reported he had left the fort after destroying it and its buildings That this is so is clear from I O MS 260 which says distinctly that the fort and its buildings were levelled with the ground *ba khaq tira barabar sakht* The *tartib* of text must be a wrong reading The MS adds that the officers reported that 1 000 men had died in fourteen days

[2] Daughter of Humāyun and Mah Cūcak wife of Ghāzī K

under the veil of non-existence. On the 16th, the province of Bihar was assigned to Khan Ā'zim M. Koka, and on the same day Prince Sultān Khuṣrū received a *manṣab* of 10,000,[1] a drum and a tuman-togh (standard). Rajah Mān Singh received a *manṣab* of 7,000 *zāt* and 6,000 horse, and the charge of the guardianship of Prince Sultān Khusrū. The *manṣab* of Mahā Singh, the grandson of Rajah Mān Singh, was fixed at 2,000 *zāt* and 300 horse. An order was given that the *dīwāns* should manage the affairs of the kingdom in accordance with the advice of Prince Sultān Selīm, and that his seal should be affixed to the grants of the officer's *manṣab* On 14th Mihr, Divine month, S'aīd K. did homage along with his son and also Abu-l-qāsim Namakīn[2] M. Ghāzī, the son of M. Jānī Tarkhān, came from Tatta and did homage He offered choice presents On the 18th M. Ghāzī and Abu-l-baqā Uzbeg were each presented with a jewel and *'Ābdī Khwajah received a dagger.*[3]

---

[1] Text has 2,000 but Iqbālnāma has 10,000, and this is likely right, for Khusrū was a manṣabdar of 5,000 in A.F's life-time

[2] The text wrongly makes Abū-l-qāsim his son S'aīd K's son was S'aad Ullah See M'aaṣir III 346 and I O MS 260 which gives the son's name

[3] The text omits the name of M Shāhrukh from the list of those who received honours I O MS 260 says he received a manṣab of 7,000, and 5,500 horse It also says that Ḥamza Beg, mentioned at p 836 as getting a manṣab of 1,000, received one of 1,500 According to I O MS 260 it was a dagger that Abū-ul-baqā got, and this is probably correct

CHAPTER CLVII

Of the last events and of the final catastrophe, namely the soul-piercing, sense destroying, heart-rending occurrence of the passing of the empire adorning Khāqān, and of the march of the caravan-leader of Truth's highway from this perishable caravansarai to the Holy world and to the everlasting kingdom

In the beginning of winter, when the air was cold, and the constitution became torpid

Verse

From the cold blasts of Mihrgān (autumn)
The life of the garden congealed,
Recuperative powers remained imbedded,
There was no start of vegetation,
The rose was bared of her silken kerchief,
The hearts of the trees were congealed,
The rose garden (*gulzar*) was congealed into clay (*gil*),
The hundred lamps of the house of mourning died out,
In the garden the glory of the jasmine faded
As when the face of the moon is eclipsed,
The market of flowers and spring broke up,
The world's grandeur was dissolved,
Both the tulip's diadem was reversed
And the cypress's standard laid low

The wind of autumn blew on the house garden of world-rule, and the cold blast of Mihrgān passed over the rose-garden of fortune The ever-vernal flower of the parterre of sovereignty was touched by the hand of decay, and the verdant tree of the garden of the Caliphate lost its foliage Why should I not speak plainly The throne adorner, the world's fortune withdrew his skirt from realm and clime The sitter on the *masnad* of glory shook out his sleeve over throne and diadem The world-lighting luminary which, contrary to the sun and moon, shed his light day and night, became in a

moment dark, and the constellation of fortune, the centre of the world's light, which, contrary to the fixed stars and the planets, bestowed its rays night and day, suddenly became extinguished The sound of the drum of dominion which for years had filled the spheres with joy, at once ceased The notes of the flute of joy, on hearing which Venus used to dance with joy during the night-time, altogether died away

The account of this liver-burning, heart-melting catastrophe, which is another name for the grief of time and the terrene, and the despair of men and animals, is as follows On 12th Mihr, Divine month, 22nd September, 1605, a change occurred in the holy constitution which had given equability to thousands of winters and springs A great mistake was committed by Hakim 'Ali in spite of his pretensions to medical knowledge His ignorance was clearly manifested For eight days he used no remedy The weakness became great and the illness became powerful The disease became a bloody flux and there was a great illness At this time the foolish physician thought of applying remedies! But from want of knowledge, every medicine which he used to check the disease, assisted it He had shown similar slackness in the treatment of that learned one of the age, Shāh Fath Ullah Shīrāzi In these days H M said to him on one occasion by way of reproof, "We raised you from the position of a dervish to lofty rank though you had not performed any service with the idea that one day you would be of use to us In the end the opposite has appeared" Thereupon he remembered that wise man of the age Ḥakim Abu l fath Gilāni and the Galen of the time Hakim Miṣri, and lamented over the deaths[1] of those two famous *hakims* The following lines apply to the condition of H M at this time

Verse

Bid the druggist close his shop,
I've tried his drugs a thousand times,
841 Remove the doctor's forefinger that the sick man
May cease chiding, and the pulse will remain calm

[1] On a former occasion the courtiers drew from the deaths of two famous physicians the comforting augury that Akbar would never be seriously ill again!

The antidotes do the work of poisons,
Methinks the asp thereof has got new life,
If it is a star's disk break it into clay,
If it is prophets' balm fling it into the dustbin

The treatment of that physician produced no effect The debility gradually increased, and matters became critical In such a state of things that lord of the spiritual and temporal world came out every day with perfect composure at the *Darsan*[1] and accepted the salutations (kornish) of his subjects Those waiting in expectation at the gate of the Caliphate gathered light from the sun-rays of the august countenance When the pangs of weakness seized upon his mental and bodily powers, he spent several days in bed On the nineteenth[2] day the physician became confounded at his treatment, and withdrew his hand from applying remedies Either he was afraid of the monarch's wrath or he feared the inmates of the Harem who were showing great impatience He withdrew from H M, who was in a state of extreme weakness, and put himself under the protection of Shaikh Farid, the Mir Bakhshi Bravo for the stony-heartedness of that Amir who applied himself to his protection! On the eve of Wednesday,[3] 4th Abān, 15th October, 1605, H M with-

---

[1] Text Darshan See Blochmann 157 Also called the *Jharokah* or window The emperors used to show themselves there to the people, but Aurangzeb abolished the practice

[2] The 19th day of the illness counting from 12th Mihr and not the 19th day of any month The physician did nothing for eight days then he gave medicines for ten days and then he ran away

[3] I O MS 260 has Monday, 12th Abān equal to 20th Jamādu al awwal as the date of the commencement of *the illness* but Ābān must be a mistake for Mihr which occurs in text 20th Jamādu al-awwal, 1014 corresponds to 23rd September, 1605 The physician Hakim 'Alī is said not to have administered any medicines for eight days He began treating Akbar on the ninth day of the illness and continued to do so for ten days At least this is what MS No 260 seems to say

The root of the confusion about the day of Akbar's death seems to be the Iqbālnāma which in my copy at least begins by saying that Akbar fell ill on 12th Ābān Then it gives the date of death as Wednesday night 12th Jamādu al akhir, 1014, corresponding to 4th Ābān Consequently the 12th Ābān above mentioned must be a mistake for 12th Mihr Akbar died on a Tuesday evening for that is what is meant by the night of Wednesday 12th Jama

drew the shade of his heavenly self from the heads of mortals and spread out the shadow of his beneficence over the heads of the celestials The men of this world sate down in the dark days of failure, while the inhabitants of the other world attained their long-cherished wishes The report of this disaster caused lamentation in heaven and earth There was a daily-bazaar of consternation and terror, and sorrow and affliction became active Darkness took possession of the earth, and the evening of sorrow fell upon mortals in the mid day of contentment The lightning of labour and sorrow struck mankind's harvest of joy The stone of violence and oppression smote on the vases of the hearts of the sincere Good God! What a personality he was! He was pure from every stain and endowed with all perfections What a jewel free from every blemish and pure of every stain! Lofty prestige, a happy horoscope, an awakened fortune, complete auspiciousness, a daily increasing dominion, mounting victoriousness, pleasant friendship, a love of pleasantry, friend cherishing, foe-destroying, a kingdom bestowing liberality, a might that overthrew enemies, a world embracing majesty, a world-conquering resolution, a firmness and gravity together with the working of conspicuous miracles, lofty converse, an illuminated mind, a God-given understanding, an enlightened soul, a taste for knowledge, an expounder of mysteries, and an opener of mysteries, conquest over difficulties, etc , etc.—all these were gathered together in that sublime personality and created astonishment among the lords of insight

Verse

The scrutineers who counted all the perfections
Gave him the title of the Imam of the Age,
He is the spiritual and temporal lord, the unique Akbar Shāh,
Who made the poor, lords of fortune,

---

du al akhir is equal to 15th October 1605 and was Akbar's birthday I O MS 260 and Chalmers have Āẕar instead of Ābān, but this is evidently a mistake caused by the Iqbālnāma giving 12th Aban as the beginning of the illness I O MS 260 says Akbar died after one pahr and seven hours of the night Fer ishta says 13th Jamāda-s sānī The Takmila i Akbarnama the work which appears at the close of the Bib Ind Akbarnāma does not mention that Akbar's illness and death were due to agitation produced by a quarrel at an elephant fight between the servants of Jahangir and Khusrū See Elliot VI 168

That elementary mould has gone, from whose spirit
The pure-hearted gathered eternal truths.

On the morning of Wednesday, which deserved to be called the evening of evil and the black night of grief, the pure body, which had been cleansed and washed by the limpid waters of the Divine Mercy, was further bathed according to the custom of mortals, was placed on a bier and brought out from the fortress of Agra. The smoke of sorrow ascended from the people on beholding the unwelcome sight, and there was a storm of weeping. Their hearts were deeply wounded, and burning sighs arose from every quarter, etc, etc

(*Verses.*)

All the Amīrs and nobles cast dust upon their heads and accompanied the corpse, weeping and lamenting. The sacred garden (Rauza Muqaddas) known as Bihishtābād was fixed upon as his resting place and the earthly mould was committed to the earth. Mor-
43 tals call residence in this inn of five days, Life, but who can comprehend the courts of eternity For awakened spirits of this calibre the use of the word Death is a mistake

Verse.[1]

They ne'er died nor will die those who are spiritual,
Death is but a name in reference to them

The following words give the date of H.M.'s death. *Wafāt-i-Akbar shud*, "The death of Akbar occurred," or, "There was a mighty death" The following remarkable lines also announce it.

(Here a number of lines are given which are chronograms of Akbar's birth, accession and death)

May Almighty God preserve the wise and truth-seeing one from the false calumnies which the blind and superficial have brought against that wise sovereign who was the guide of the searchers after truth, and the Lord of the God enlightened

(Then follows the abridged khātima or conclusion which I have placed at the end of the 46th year)

1 Faizi's couplet

ERRATA AND ADDENDA TO VOLUME III OF THE AKBARNĀMA

P 13 and elsewhere, read Sh'abān for Shābān

P 14, line 13 from foot, after "yet" insert "more"

P 14, marginal figure 10 should be about 10 lines higher up

P 16, n 1, add "see p 66"

P 27, l 11 from foot For Birha read Bārha

P. 28, n 2, add "The Mahmūd who escaped was s Sikandar or Iskandar, and gave much trouble afterwards in Bihar" See p 170

P 28, l 3 from foot Excise words "made out his expedition," and substitute "joined the latter's party," i e sided with Lūdi

P 30, Hāfiz omen from

P 30, line 2, insert comma after Bābā K

P 49, n 3 This n probably wrong There were more than one Naqib, e g Shāh Fakhru d din was so called, p 50 One Naqib was wounded, see pp 125, 145, 422 At p 125, one Sharif b Naqib had such a beautiful voice that his reading moved A to tears

P. 54, line 11, add after "Daniel there" the words "from Āmber"

P 71, n, for wagt read waqt

P 79, n 3, for کور کنا read کر کنا

P 87, line 6 for "at 500" read "more than 500"

P 87, lines 14 and 1 from foot Two Sohrābs are mentioned here One is Sohrāb, cousin Sādiq K of Herat, killed that day. The other is Sohrāb Turkamān He survived and brought in Ikhtiyāru l mulk's head, and is mentioned later, p 191, l 9 For Gujrāt read Gujarāt, and for Chāk, Cāk

P 107, n 2, for Miriam makain read Miriam makāni

P 114, n 1 and 193, Siwānā should be Siwān d Sāran

P. 115, l 13 from foot, after the words "Mun'im encompassed him with royal favours" add "and gave him a fief in Sāran"

P 115, I do not understand how the cutting of Pūnpūn dam could help siege Punpūn joins Ganges at Fatwa, 7 miles east Patna Gaya Gazetteer says, p 8, chief dam is at Kusrah in Jahānābād *Apparently the dam was cut when A arrived, for* the river was then in flood, p 142

P 133 l 12 from foot for vigorous read rigorous

P 150 Perhaps Gorakpur is correct, though B thinks Kharakpūr the proper reading

P 160 I see that I have misunderstood A F's remarks about his entry into Akbar's service The sentence beginning with "As he had the pride of common place knowledge" is a mistranslation The words *safar i diyar sharqi* do not mean the eastern provinces, that is Bihar and Bengal They mean the land of the East, that is Mongolia and China, and should be read in connection with the remarks of A F at p 117 of the Akbar nāma translation, and which are also translated by Blochmann at p xii of his introduction to translation of Āīn They refer to A F's longing to go off to Tibet and China or to Persia or Goa, or rather to Cathay, see p 114 of L & E beginning of 908 (1502), and are interesting as they remind us that Bābur had a similar longing, and wished to go to China Perhaps they both thought of the Prophet's advice to seek knowledge even in China! I would now translate the passage at p 160 of my translation about having the pride of common place knowledge in his head, as follows *As he (the writer) had the pride of common place* knowledge in his head the desire to go to the eastern countries grew strong in his soul, in spite of the spirit of loyalty and devotion that he cherished for his father Though he had not the means for such a pilgrimage (*safar*) yet his idolatrous and self-conceited soul aspired after such an expedition Also there was pride in the idol temple of his knowledge A desire for retirement and for seeing the world was seething in his soul But he did not think it becoming to take such a step without the permission of his honoured father That mine of kindness could not bring himself to bid him adieu' Even now I am not certain if I fully understand what Abul Fazl means It is still possible that A F

means that his father wanted him to do as his elder brother had done, that is, join Akbar and take his chance of service, and that the self-conceited youth still wanted to go his own way, and seek for enlightenment from Lamas and Buddhists

P 173 K͟hān Jahān should be Jahān K͟hān, he was an Afg͟hān, and b Sikandar, and Dāūd's officer

P 174, n 1 435 is p of P T substitute 652

P 193, line 9, Siwāna This is Siwān or Sewān in Sāran d

P 203, n 1, delete S

P 210, n 1, delete this note and also figure 1 in line 2

P 212, n 1 Delete T R, Ross, 330 and substitute A.N translation, vol II, p 40

P 212, line 18, for "will be given" read "has been given" The reference should have been to the second vol A N p 40 of translation There Haidar Beg is called Haram Beg's younger brother Here he is called *baradar dostdar*, ' beloved brother " *Barādar* may possibly mean cousin

P 281, for Gada (beggar) Ālī read Gadā Ali

P 295, middle of page Four and a half lines of declamation have been omitted here They are in praise of Dostam, who was an early playmate of A The lines are difficult to translate, and are also out of place For Dostam, see Ma'aṣir U II, p 3

P 295 and elsewhere For Ajmere read Ajmir

P 295 Five lines of rhetoric about A 's discrimination in making appointments have been omitted

P 305, 2 lines from foot Ism'ail I, should be Ism'aīl II

P 328, n 1 For 259 read 376 I think I have misunderstood the meaning of several passages on p 328 The fortunate army of page 328 and the corresponding passage in P T p 232, line 3, viz *junud i-iqbal* do not mean, as I thought, Khān Jahān's forces They mean, I think, the imperial troops personally conducted by A, and which were expected to come to Bengal Naulaka, I think, mo it that when A came near Tānda, she and her relatives, *mantasabān*, would appear before him K J., I presume, accepted her overtures, and then went back from Sātgāon to his own quarters, that is to Tānda or Sihhatpūr,

where he died in Shawwāl 986, p 381 From Sātgāon he seems to have gone in the first place to Bhātī, i e the low country of Bengal, see p 376 A F, I may remark here, seems prejudiced against K J, and says as little as possible about his exploits, and accuses him of being at heart a rebel There are good biographies of K J in the Ma asir U I 645, and in the Darbār Akbarī, 703 The river Kiyāra of p 377 of A N is probably the Agāra Sindūr of p 32 of the Mymensingh Gazetteer The Majlis of the Mymensingh inscription may be the Majlis Dilāwar or the Majlis Pratāp of A N 377 It is not likely to be the Pratapāditya of Jessore

P 385, for 1589 read 1579

P 393, n 5, for Ijlihād read Ijtihād

P 429 n 2, for p 20 read p 29, for Yrghaliq and Yūrghaligh read Farrakhpūr, i e s Ghaliq K

P 442, l 12 The text is *sipri shudan ruzgar-i Mozaffar* This would ordinarily mean his death but as that is not mentioned till later, perhaps what is meant is disaster "

P 449, top line, for 80,000 read 800,000

P 470, last line and n 4 The words 'outworks of the fort" and n 4 are wrong The word in text is *nakhastin*, not *nakhastan* and the passage means that the first fort was taken In the Āīn A, p 164, Vol II, J 's translation, it is stated that Patna had two forts one was of burnt or *pucka* bricks and the other was of *kacha*, i e sun dried, bricks It was the latter that was taken My note 4 should be expunged

P 472 last line The water here mentioned was rain-water It was September, and the country was flooded The Māh Beg of text is the Tārullah of Badāūnī, Lowe 292, where Tor should have been Tār "The flourishing city of Bahira' and n 3 I have written at length to the Numismatic editor J A S B about Bahira, and have endeavoured to show that the proper spelling is Bhera, and that the place is probably the Bahira or Bahrah of Blochmann, mentioned in his translation of the Āīn A, p 31, and that it is the Bahīra of the historical part of the Akbarnāma In

Blochmann it appears as a mint-town, and probably was Shergotty in Gaya, of which the proper spelling is Shahrghātī, i.e. the city of the Pass. It was the pass which had to be ascended by travellers coming from Gaya to Hazārībāgh. Shahr, however, does not mean a city in the ordinary sense of the word. A. F. uses it elsewhere to mean a well-cultivated or populated tract of country. I think too that there are mistakes in Gladwin and Jarrett's translations of the passage in the account of Gaya. The precious stories, that is, the serpentine or steatite used for making household utensils, were a production of Gaya, and not of a foreign country. The word "foreign" of J. does not occur in the P T. I am also inclined to think that the *banādar*, بنادر of the P.T. Āīn, Vol. I, 417, may be a mistake for *banādirat*, بنادرت (see Richardson, p. 254, col. A), and that the references is to "dealers in precious stones who keep close to the mines." I think too that the *gaj* or *kach* of B.'s Āīn, 223, does not mean sweet limestone, but means the gypsum or steatite which Shīrīn may have been traditionally supposed to have used in building her palace. Though I have written to the Collectors of Patna and Gaya I have not yet been able to hear of any place called Bahīra or Bhera in either district. The Dep. Comm. of Hazaribagh tells me that in his thāna of Hunterganj there are villages called Bahera, Behari and that Bhurha in the Hunterganj is close to the Gaya boundary. The difficulty is that part of Gaya was formerly included in the district of Patna, and also that the Gaya records were destroyed in the Indian Mutiny. These two things make the search for a Gaya Bhera difficult. My belief is that Bahrah, Bhera or Bahīra is the mint-town of B.'s Āīn, p. 31, and that it was in Gaya, and that it is also the Bahīra or Bhera of the historical parts of the A.N., Vol. III.—Probably it was Shergotty in Gaya, of which, as I have just said, the proper name is Shahrghātī, i e. the city of the Pass.

P. 475, the name of the fort is not Kant or Kot. It is Kīnt or Kit, and is spelt in the P.T. of the Āīn II, 423, as Kôt. See also Jarrett II, 157, and B.'s note 2 to 427. It was a dependency of Rohtās. My note 1 to p. 475 is wrong. The fort is mentioned in the Iqbālnāma under the 24th year of A.'s reign. The reason why

'Arab was so savage against Sa'ādat 'Alī Yār was that the latter was formerly 'Arab's ally Apparently Sa'ādat 'Alī was Khiẓr Khwāja's s, but not Gulbadan B's The Muhibb 'Alī here mentioned is the Rohtāsī one, and the Rohtās is the Bihārī one —Do three lines from foot, insert the word "again" between "was" and "made"

P 489, middle of page The passage about dogs (Yit) wants correction The meaning seems to be that in that year they were not to be hunted Apparently the killing of the pariah dogs was considered a sort of duty, or at least as a sport, for we find a Pāyinda Muh mentioned at p 29, as having the title of Sagkush, or Canicide He is also mentioned at pp 611 and at 512 of P T

P. 500, n 3, insert the word "it" after "for"

P 508, line 2, for "that" read "the" The Persian words are *ba dastmāya mālikholiyā shādmāni mī khurd* The passage is highly rhetorical, and seems to mean that the foolish Mīrzā concocted mirth with sorrowful ingredients The allusion to the learned may mean that this class wished for the Mirzā's success as he posed as the champion of orthodoxy, but more probably means that they were loyal, but foolish in wishing to go out to fight

P 509, n 1, for Bāgh i-dilkushā read "Bāghhdilgasha"

P 511, and n 1, for B 114 read 165

P 528, for Gorkhattri read Gorakhattri A F's visit to the secret chamber is interesting

P 535, n 1, for "is" read "as"

P 572, for error read terror

P 578 The tank was a small one It is a mistake to suppose that the Fathpūr lake burst V A Smith's account in his Akbar is an exaggeration In his note the word Solar should be Lunar The day was A's birthday according to the Hijra Calendar, namely the 5th Rajab 990, and the 27th year of the reign It corresponded to about 28 July, 1582 Only one person of note —a leopard keeper—was drowned, the account in the Iqbālnāma is to be found at the end of the record of the 27th year, and almost

on the same page there is the notice of the murder by A 's orders of Ma'sum Farankhūdi, who was attacked by Iskandar Qalmāq in his palanquin There is also the account of the Dumbhouse

P 582, n 1 Though I have said that I have not found Faizābād, it really is the well known city in Oudh It is the Fyzabad of I G, Vol XII

P 584 delete heading (verse)

P 636, for 14 February 1548 read 1584

P 642, went off with some men on a "roadless' road Does this mean was killed? The words are *sipar i berahi shud*, perhaps meaning they were trampled by elephants

P 645, Divine era introduced, beginning of 29th year

P 650, n 1, for Banān read Banar Tok or Thok is in Mymensingh d

P 677, n 1, for doubt thread read double thread

P 693, and n 3, *aznas* should be *arnas*, destroyer of foes

P 694 n 5 col 2, for "on" read "in"

P 705, gardens of Sirhind

P 708, for 'Abdu r Rahmān read Rahim

P 718, n 2 for A F 's son read brother See B introduction, p xxiii

P 731–32 and Elphinstone's note 1 Elphinstone's note is unjust to A F, and is founded on an imperfect understanding of A F's words The words as they appear in the P T, p 485 of Vol III of the A N line 7, are *darin shorish ta pansad kasra ruzgar sipri gasht* Elphinstone has misunderstood the force of the word *kas*, as used by A F *Kas* does not always mean common people or common soldiers It has also the secondary meaning of persons of rank or otherwise notable Thus we have the phrase *kas u nākas*—persons important, and those of no account And this phrase has been rightly rendered in Richardson's dictionary by the words "Everybody, noble and plebeian" So too Vullers II s v *kas*, where two meanings are given, "vir et vir dignus, colendus, meritus"—That A F here means officers and other persons of rank is clear from the fact that Ferishta and others make no comment on A F 's mention of 500 which they certainly would

have done if they had thought that A. F.'s 500 meant common soldiers For they all speak of the loss as being of thousands. Badāūnī for instance puts the loss at 8,000 It is true that he uses the words *kas* in the ordinary sense of common people, but this does not affect the correctness of A F 's use of the word in a restricted sense Blochmann has seen the true sense of A F 's expression, for he says, p 345, 500 *officers* were killed See also his p 204

Pp 735 and 760 These are two references to a famous pigeon expert and to pigeon-flying They should be compared with pp 298 and 303 of the Āin Akbarī of Blochmann's translation The pigeons had arrived at Khairābād Serāi on the west side of the Indus, and A was so delighted at the news that he had the pigeons brought to him at Lahore before the Turanian ambassador had had his audience The passage of A 's letter at p 760 is to me a little obscure, and it may be that the text is corrupt. The last sentence of the preceding paragraph, "we now are enabled through his kindness to send him" should, I think, be read, "we now are enabled to take the benefit of his (that is, Hakim Hamām's) companionship, and to send him (Sadr Jahān)" Then Akbar speaks of the presents he is sending, and expresses his thanks for 'Abdullah's sending Habib the pigeon-expert, and the birds who are famous for their dexterity in fluttering and recovering themselves after diving The words *inti'ashu ahitizaz* appear to be technical terms of pigeon experts

P 759, n 1, for m'azirate read ma'zaratī

P 778, for yarlīgh read yarligh

P 810, for Ābin read Āban —Do last line, for returned read retired

P 811, line 11, for convey read convoy —Do line 19, for Tamkin read Namakīn

P. 812, 7 lines from foot, after instalment add "in Allāhābād"

P 815, contains A F 's reflections

P 818, n 1, for neared read reared —Do for *nazdik* read *nazdik*, and for *shādrawān* read *shadurwān*, i e curtain

P 819, n 2, for kājiwar read kajidar —Do n 4, reference

misplaced. It refers to Qâzî Hasan —Do n 6 (unnumbered, col 2); misplaced It belongs to p 620, and the reference is to Sahibat

P 873, footnote col 2, for 1950 read 1590

P 877, for Lohan read Lohar, and for Major-dorno read majordomo.

P 884, *for* Qâin Kokaltesh *read* Zain Kokaltâsh —Do *for* Man read Mau

P 885, line 11, for Ahamad read Ahmad —Do for disgusts read disgust —Do after Maulavi Husain add "of Khurasân"—Do for "uttered sweets words" read "received soothing expressions" —Do n 2, for Mahani read Makânî

P 895, several mistakes on this page The Shaikh, in line 1 is *apparently* Shaikh Zâhid, and the *spiritual s* is Shaikh Safî *of* Ardabil This Shaikh Safi was not connected with the Safavis, and his name is sometimes spelt Suffi —Do n 4 Halima in Arabic means gentle, and perhaps was intended as the Arabic synonym of Maras or Martha, which also means the meek Despina was the Greek name, and meant mistress

P 896, in Persian Zill (shadow) seems counted as having only one *l*

P 902, n 2, for Girnan read Girnau —

P 914, n col 2 for *sujiyana* read *sufiyana* B line 1

P 915, n 1, *for ban ru* read *bar rû* —Do n 2 perhaps Savdâ is Sâvli in Baroda —Do 10 lines from foot, Kulian may be the wild tribe in W India called Kolîs —Do n 4, for Rahim read Rahîm As the note says, it seems to be a mistake for zakhmi

P 938, and n 1, Ampur may be Omarpûr or Amanpur in Sind

P 940, 11 lines from foot, rebels in eastern province submit

P 942, and n 2, the little stars were perhaps meteors They may have been Perseid meteors

P 943, n 4, for his read has

P 948 line 10, for Jain read Jâm

P 950, verse, for sold read bought —Do text, 2 lines from foot, for Daûd Cakli read Daûd Caktî —Do in heading of chapter, YADGÂR KUL read KAL (bald)

P 998, n 1, for 'Omâm read 'Omân

P 999, Khwaja Daulat Nâzir is not the Sherâfgan who was Nûr Jahân's husband

P 1000, A enters subaqueous building

P 1006, for "a new aspect was given to submission" read 'a new subject for laudation was given," meaning that A's kindness was a new evidence of his graciousness

P 1021, Qulij K's d, wife of P Daniel

P 1027, important passage, as it refers to annexation of two districts in Qandahar, viz Garmsir and Zamin Dâwar The Mirzas in question are Mozaffar Husain and his family See B 313–14 Mozaffar was a Safavi and a grandson of Shâh Ism'ail and a nephew of Shah Tahmasp He had four brothers S Tahmâsp gave Garmsir and Zamin Dâwar to his nephews, but the Uzbegs dispossessed them They, however, recovered possession by A's help Shâh Beg Arghun, commonly called Khân Daurân—one of A's officers and s Ibrahim Beg (see B 313 and 377 and the M U, vol I 442–45 and A N translation p 999)—became governor of Qandahar He took part with inhabitants Garmsir, etc, and induced M Husain to resign and go to India Who Muh 'Iwâz was (mentioned A N 1027) I do not know He was not the historian mentioned in B 347 The fort he took was Teri in Kohat

P 1032, A, his trial by ordeal, and n 1, for "three horse men" read 'three horse men,' i e men who have three horses The word barâwardi used in B 231 not in dictionaries, nor does Irvine explain it It might be rendered by "enlisted" or by "horse breeders'—Do n 3, possibly *betar* is right As it was a case of branding a farrier might have been consulted For methods of ordeal, see B 205 and Badauni Lowe, 368

P 1033, Ormuz Portuguese viceroy, sends two ostriches

P 1041, n 2 in two places read at' for "al'

P 1043, for Sherpur Hurra read Sherpur Murcha—Do 4 lines lower down, for man read men

P 1063, 14 lines from foot for 'Îsak read 'Îsâ K

P 1067, for Jalpesh read Jalpes

P. 1072, n 1, for elephants read elephant A F 's remark is witty and just

P. 1073, cf A 's gibe at Quli, J III, 392, and also B 34, n 2

P 1085, delete words "native of Ghor" The meaning of ghorīzāda is given at p 1080, n 4 The impostor claimed to be a s of M Sulaimān However, ghorizāda may mean born in Ghori, for there was a place of that name See translation p 218

P 1088, n 1, for Lain Lankā read Zain Lanka

P. 1090, account of a lunar rainbow and haloes

P 1139, this is an early reference to the use of bills of exchange (hundis)

P 1140, 'Īsā K 's death

P 1141, top line My translation is wrong, instead of that distinguished officer, we should understand Sultan Dāūd, *an buzurg nuyīn* means, I think, Daniel the king's son and Nuyin means, I think, Dāūd and not M Kh P T 763, line 15 means the king's son, the statement that P D had neglected his duties, but that A now caressed him and sent him off He left at the second stage, and went off to the Deccan —Do, I do not find Taltūm mentioned as a seat of government A better translation is in old times the ruler of Berar founded the fort of Taltum Taltum is mentioned in the Bādshāhnama The A N note says it was in the Payanghāt portion of Berar See supra p 1131 and n 2—Do, near end first para, perhaps the translation is not quite correct Instead of *nakhastīn* being rendered "in the first place," the translation should be "there were two forts"—the first, i e Narnala, was taken by Sundar Rai Taltum was taken later

P 1149, insert "14th" before Ramzān in n See also B XXII

P 1152, 7 lines from foot, for fort read forts

P 1153, for Sardār K read Safdār K

P 1169, line 18 for "the last of them had two sons" read "the first of them (i e Latif) had two sons"

P 1170, for *hawālaladārān* read *hawaladārān* —2nd para, the word translated "souls" is "jāndār" The word for creatures

is "jānwar," and would have been better translated by the word "animals" The word *kas* is here used for persons, and is her used for all classes of mankind

P 1171, session Perhaps it would be better to translate *khatam* by "recitation" (of the entire Koran) The preposition *ba* should, I think, be translated here by "from" It is more likely that Bijāpūr, etc, sent ambassadors than that A did so Moreover, the sending of ambassadors to the Deccanī rulers so mentioned a little lower down —Do n 1, for Mubārak read Maqarrab

P 1175, for Lādū read Lodi

P. 1224, second last line add son of" after "the"

P 1228, in title of chapter read 48th instead of 47th

P 1235, Lahari Bandar given P Selim —Do, death of Kedār, Bengal zamindār

P 1236, A's orders about travellers' comforts

P 1238, 49th year begins

P 1239, P Daniel's marriage

P 1242, Selim's cruelties

P 1244 45, M Makani's illness and death

P 1246, *kishti i-aora daryabi sakht*—made him a sailor ?

P 1252, 50th year of reign begins

P 1254, death of P Daniel

P 1255, and n 1, affection of Jānān B —Do, P Daniel's menials put to death See n 3

P 1256, A visits Selim

P 1258, account of A's death

P. 1261-62, burial, and chronograms

PREFATORY NOTE TO THE INDEX TO VOLUME III OF THE AKBARNĀMA.

The third volume, Bib. Ind. ed., begins in the middle of the 17th year of the reign This is because the 30th year of Akbar's life ended then The date nearly synchronises with that of the death of Sulaimān Kararānī, ruler of Bengal He died in the beginning of Ābān 980 A.H (11 October, 1572), and Akbar was born 8 Ābān, 949, equal to 15 October, 1542, and so was thirty when the volume begins

With reference to Blochmann's note, p 427 of his translation of Āīn Akbarī, it should be pointed out that the Tabaqāt i Akbari does not explicitly state that Sulaimān died in 980 A H, and that Ferishta, who professes to copy the T A, gives the date of Sulaiman's death as 981 Badāūnī, however, has 980, see Lowe's translation, p 166, and there seems no doubt that 980 is correct

I have received much help from the Index to the Persian edition, but it is a mere list, and embarrasses one by the multitude of entries Thus, it has 84 entries under the word Agra, though nearly all are unimportant There are only two, or at most three, worth looking up The indexers have made their lists with considerable care, but some entries are wrong and mix up two or three persons of the same name Some entries also are under insignificant headings, such as Rajah, Mirzā, etc

H B

INDEX

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME

The numbers refer to the pages n stands for " footnote

[1] But according to B M MS Add 27247 it was Abdūl Hai the Armenian who is

C

The Persian *Che* has in this Index some times been rendered by *C* and sometimes by *Ch*

E

G

I

K

L

The geographical entries under this letter are few and unimportant Some well known places are mentioned, such as Lahore Lucknow, Ludiana and Lahori Bandar, but there are no details about them Readers are referred to the Āīn Akbarī vols The personal list may also be much reduced

[1] Māma Āghā was Shihabu d-dīn s widow 990 and *n* 4 d ed, 1066

[1] There are several Pāyindas and the P T. has a good many entries against none of the men seems to have been of much importance Two of

[1] There are several Pāyindas and the P T. has a good many entries against them But none of the men seems to have been of much importance Two of

them, Payinda Hasan Ghaznavī and P Qulī Mogha, translated a small part of Babur's Mem See Ethé's Catalogue of Persian MSS in I O n 214

[1] The entries of Qulīj K's name are numerous I have omitted some of them

[2] Owing to absence of some fasciculi of my translation I have occasionally been obliged to quote the Persian original, they are marked P T (Persian Text), and as the pages of the text are marked in the margin of the translation, there will be no difficulty in finding them

[1] I have occasionally noted the Persian Text page for want of the printed copy of translation This will cause no difficulty, as the P T. is, as a rule inserted in the margins

[1] The Mīrzā K of P T 389 is evidently not the Mīrzā K who was s of the great Bairām the Khān Khānān He was an inhab of Nīshāpūr and related to Shihāb He is entered in P T Index on p. 60, col a, top of p See B 502, No 303, pp 624 and also 1116 where my remark identifying him with the K K is wrong

[1] Note on Hasan Batanī or Patnī and Sāran, p 115 of translation Hasan Batanī was an Afghān and so at first a partisan of Sulaimān Kararānī and Daniel but afterwards was won over by A and Mun im K He appears

to be a relative of Hasan Patnī or to be Hasan Patnī himself though the Ma āsir calls him Fath K Patnī or Panī See Ma'āsir I, p 626 A F speaks highly of him and especially commends him for his recommending the taking of Hājīpur and the destruction of the Pūnpun dam But neither of these things was speedily accomplished, and the cutting of the Pūnpūn dam is to me unintelligible, unless there has been a change in the course of the Pūnpūn since A 's time The Pūnpūn is a small stream rising in Gaya d and falling into the Ganges at Fatwa seven miles below Patna We are told that Hasan recommended the cutting of the dam, because otherwise it would flow towards the Patna Fort and injure it But how could the water get near that fort, and what harm would ensue to the besiegers if it did? The Pūnpūn was never a large stream, apparently, and now a-days it is so drained away by irrigation channels that very little of it falls into the Ganges So unimportant is the Pūnpūn that there is no article on it in the I G, though it is noticed in the article on "Patna' In the P T of the A N it is said at p 82 that Hasan was rewarded for his loyalty by being made fief holder Unfortunately, this statement has been inadvertently omitted in my translation Nothing is said about the Pūnpūn dam in the I A and I am inclined to think that A F or his copyist has made a mistake and that for Pūnpūn one should read Gandak (the Great) though possibly the river meant is the Gumti which joins the Ganges near Chunār The dam on the Gandak might prevent the Imperialists from boating up the river in order to capture Hajipur It never was necessary for them to take the Patna Fort for Daūd abandoned it after Hajipur was taken!

[1] Note on Hasan Batanī or Patni and Sāran, p 115 of translation Hasan Batanī was an Afghan and so at first a partisan of Sulaimān Kararānī and Daniel but afterwards was won over by A and Mun'im K He appears

---

to be a relative of Hasan Patnī or to be Hasan Patnī himself though the Ma'āsır calls him Fath K Patnī or Panī See Ma'āsır I, p 626 A F speaks highly of him and especially commends him for his recommending the taking of Hājīpur and the destruction of the Pūnpūn dam But neither of these things was speedily accomplished, and the cutting of the Pūnpūn dam ıs to me unintelligible, unless there has been a change in the course of the Pūnpūn since A's time The Pūnpūn ıs a small stream rising ın Gaya d and falling into the Ganges at Fatwa seven miles below Patna We are told that Hasan recommended the cutting of the dam, because otherwise ıt would flow towards the Patna Fort and injure ıt But how could the water get near that fort, and what harm would ensue to the besiegers ıf ıt did? The Pūnpun was never a large stream, apparently, and now a-days ıt ıs so drained away by irrigation channels that very little of ıt falls into the Ganges So unimportant ıs the Pūnpūn that there ıs no article on ıt ın the I.G, though ıt ıs noticed ın the article on "Patna" In the P T of the A N ıt ıs said at p 82 that Hasan was rewarded for his loyalty by being made fief holder Unfortunately, this statement has been inadvertently omitted ın my translation Nothing ıs said about the Punpun dam ın the I A and I am inclined to think that A F or his copyist has made a mistake and that for Pūnpūn one should read Gandak (the Great) though possibly the river meant is the Gumtı which joins the Ganges near Chunār The dam on the Gandak might prevent the Imperialists from boating up the river ın order to capture Hajıpūr It never was necessary for them to take the Patna Fort, for Dāūd abandoned ıt after Hajıpūr was taken!

[1] There are three entries under places beginning with Ṭoi, but they are of no consequence and so I have not recorded them See P T, Vol I, p 84

EXCURSUS

P 645 The *references* as note 2 to pp 257 and 260 are wrong and should be deleted

---

A F's account, p 432, P T is obscure, and Professor Dowson has the remark at p 73 of the 6th volume of Elliot s "History of India' that "the whole description is unintelligible" But I think that part of this obscurity is due to Dowson's misreading of the Persian text He translates "On the west was the hill country south of Tānda' I do not know if Dowson used the Bib Ind edition of the Akbar Nāma. Probably he did, for the words in his note agree with the Bib Ind ed p 432, ten lines from foot But they do not support his translation, for they mean "the hill-country of the Khyin (?)* tribe, on the south is Tānda," see my notes pp 645–47 The Bib Ind text then adds On the south is Tānda, and on the north is the Ocean! Obscurity however is caused by the conjunction "also" in "on the north also' What however the passage means is clear enough 'Tānda lies south of Bhātī and on the north is the Ocean (or salt sea)," that is the upper part of the Bay of Bengal Perhaps however A F meant that Tānda and the Bay of Bengal were both south and north of Bhāti, for this would be correct The southern part of Sylhet would be north of Bhātī and the Bay of Bengal was partly north of Tānda and partly south of it In making these remarks I do not wish to say anything disparaging about Dowson, who was a good scholar and who did good work on Elliot s History

I must add that exceedingly great as was Abu l Faẓl s industry and very grateful to him as we all should be for his gigantic labours, I do not think that geographical knowledge was his strong point The want of maps must have been a great drawback to him I doubt also if he ever was in Bengal or Bihar His account of the Pūnpūn dam is vague, and I think wrong, and so also is his account of the Bahīra Mint-town

---

* See my note 4, p 586 I believe that A F means the Khas or Cossyah tribe i e the inhabitants of the Cossyah Hills They are therefore allied to the Santāls, see I G, I, 296 and VI, 44 and 46 A F's word may however be Khyīn or Chīn and be an allusion to an Arracanese tribe See p 587, note

EXCURSUS.

There is a good deal of confusion about the three or four persons who all bore the name of Yūsuf, and who were connected with Kashmīr in the last days of its independence Part of this is due to the pedantry of A. F. who insists on calling the last King of Kashmīr Yūsuf K. instead of Yūsuf Shāh. He seems to have been well entitled to the name of King, for he was son of the 'Alī K. Chāk who was King of Kashmīr and was accidentally killed while playing

polo And when the latter died, he seems to have been recognized by the people of Kashmir as their king Indeed, A F himself calls him, in his list of kings in the *Āīn Akbarī, Jarrett, p 380, Yūsuf Shāh and makes him have two reigns* See also the Ma'āsir U III, 954 Th n there was the Yūsuf Reẓavī who was a Persian Saiyid and never seems to have been more than a farmer of Kashmir under Akbar, though B speaks of him as governor of Kashmir He ended his days in the Deccan *He is described in B 346 as Mirzā Yūsuf K, s Mīr* Ahmad Reẓavī He is the Yūsuf K of B 480, and B tells us that he must not be confounded with No 388 But it seems to me that B must have written this caution after he had made the confusion, for, the M Y K of B, whose people assumed a threatening attitude, must be, I think, not the Reẓavī M Y K, but the Yūsuf Chāk who became King of Kashmir The Persian Index also has confounded the two Yūsufs for the Reẓavī never got a fief in Bihār Nor can the Reẓavi, I think, be the M Y K who, according to B 347, was reinstated at Selim s request. Yūsuf Shāh had a son Ya'qūb who also became king of the country for a short time Then there was another Yūsuf who was only a servant of Yādgār the bald man and who was killed by A.'s men Yūsuf Shāh is the Yūsuf K Kashmiri of the Ma'āsir U III, 954, who is said, at p. 956, l c, to have been put under the charge of Todar Mal. I have said elsewhere that Todar Mal probably was never in Kashmir, and I do not think this statement is contradicted by the above statement that Yūsuf Shāh was put in charge of T M for, even if this was so, it does not follow that Todar Mal ever was in Kashmir For, Yūsuf Shāh escaped after he was put under arrest, and got himself recognized as king of the country